THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

VOL. XXXIII.

PUBLISHED IN

DECEMBER, 1824, & *MARCH*, 1825.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1824.

THE

QUARTERLY REVI

ART. I.—1. *The Book of the Roman Catholic Church, &c.* By C. Butler, Esq. New Edition. London. 1824.
2. *Strictures on the Poet Laureate's Book of the Church.* By John Merlin.
3. *Letter to C. Butler, Esq.* By the Lord Bishop of Chester.
4. *Answer to the Bishop of Chester.* By C. Butler, Esq.
5. *Lingard's History of England.* Vols. 3. and 4. 4to.
6. *Review of Fox's Book of Martyrs.* By W. E. Andrews. Nos. 1. to 40.
7. *Cobbett's History of the Reformation.* Nos. 1. to 10.

THE question at issue between the Church of England and that of Rome may be reduced to a single point; is the creed of the latter to be found in the Bible, or is it not? To this test the Protestant appeals with triumphant security; the Word of God bears witness in his favour, and he naturally acquiesces in its decision with perfect satisfaction. The apologists of the Church of England, however, from Jewel down to Marsh, have never feared to abandon this vantage ground; nor refused to combat on the wider and more various field of ecclesiastical history. There also, by tracing with accuracy as well the source, as the gradual growth of every error; by developing the progress of popery from the episcopal administration of a city, to the usurpation of dominion over the world, their success has been equally decisive; the sophistry of their adversaries has been incontrovertibly detected; and the testimony of the purest traditions of the church has been turned against the appellants to their authority. On the other hand, the favourite system of aggression, which the Roman Catholic writers, from the most ignorant bigot to the most powerful polemic, have adopted against the protestant faith, has been the crimination of the great leaders of the Reformation, in Germany, France, and England. Motives the most unworthy have been imputed to all those eminent men to whom we are indebted for our emancipation: avarice, licentiousness, cruelty, dissimulation have been charged against some of the purest and most upright of mankind; every action has been distorted with the most ingenious perversity, and where misrepresentation has failed, direct falsehoods have been advanced with an intrepidity, which the modern Romanist, in many instances, prudently and properly declines to exhibit. It is important, indeed, to remember, that many of these falsehoods are now rejected by the descendants of those who first propagated

them; because thus rejected, they throw a suspicious character over whatever rests on the same testimony uncorroborated by other authority. That cause which has been mainly supported by writers wanting in veracity is not unfairly supposed incapable of vindication on trust-worthy and unexceptionable evidence. The Protestant who reads the foreign histories of our Reformation, that of Davanzati for instance, or even Bossuet, is at first absolutely bewildered with assertions, supported by no proof whatever, but advanced in a tone as peremptory, as if they were 'truths of holy writ:' as he proceeds, however, he finds so many statements which he knows to be false, that he recovers from the temporary shock which his faith has sustained, and settles into a rooted and perpetual mistrust of such authorities for the future.

It is obvious that, of these three modes of controversy, the first alone is conclusive; the second of great but subordinate importance; the last is not merely inconclusive, but recoils with tremendous and destructive force upon those who employ it. Take the worst of the Protestant leaders, as they are described by their enemies, even the cruel and lustful King Henry, who was indeed no Protestant, and, excepting his denial of the Papal supremacy, remained a Roman catholic to his life's end; and compare them with the Popes of the same period, as delineated by their own writers. It is perfectly intelligible, that Providence should overrule the will of the passionate and remorseless monarch, so that he should contribute to advance the great design of purifying the church from its corruption, and even by his crimes incidentally advance the cause of the Reformation. But that the vicegerent of God upon earth, the delegate of the meek and holy Jesus, the spiritual head of the communion of saints, the infallible oracle who was to pronounce upon the authority of every Christian doctrine, and the soundness of every exposition of the word of God, should be a furious Julius II., a voluptuous Leo X., or a monster of every iniquity like Alexander VI.—this indeed is so enormous an improbability, that no subtle distinction between the personal and spiritual character of the Pope, no attempt to separate the man from the successor of St. Peter, can reconcile it with our notions of God's moral government. Burnet has put this argument with great force in his preface. After admitting the enormities of Henry VIII.'s reign, he subjoins,

'these are such remarkable blemishes, that as no man of ingenuity can go about the whitening them; so the poor Reformers drank so deep of that bitter cup, that it very ill becomes any of their followers, to endeavour to give fair colours to those red and bloody characters, with which so much of his reign is stained. But our church is not near so much concerned in the persons of those princes, under whom the Reformation

began, as theirs is in the persons of their Popes, who are believed to have far higher characters of a divine power and spirit in them than other princes pretend to. And yet if the lives of those Popes who have made the greatest advances in their jurisdiction be examined, particularly Gregory VII. and Boniface VIII., vices more eminent than any can be charged on Henry will be found in them.'

After detailing some facts in the lives of the contemporary Popes, he subjoins Guicciardini's memorable reservation, when he calls Pope Clement a good Pope, 'I mean not goodness Apostolical; for in those days he was esteemed a good pope that did not exceed the wickedness of the worst of men.'

With regard to Henry, we hope to be able to show in the course of the present article, that in the greater part of his worst enormities, he was under the influence of Roman Catholic advisers; that wherever his conduct was most exceptionable, not Cranmer and Cromwell, but Gardiner and Bonner were predominant in his councils; that the latter, with others of their party, must share the infamy of almost every transaction, while of many they must bear the whole weight without participation. But in defence of the real leaders of the Reformation in England, we fear not to take up the cause on higher ground. They were men indeed, like those their inspired predecessors, 'of like passions with ourselves;' sometimes not sufficiently resolute in their assertion of the truth; sometimes erroneous in their judgments, in some respects unemancipated from the barbarous opinions and prejudices of their times, but on the whole worthy of our highest veneration; and when we take all the circumstances of their case and of the times into consideration, we shall wonder that they effected so much, rather than that their system and conduct fell short of perfection. We deny not their infirmities, their errors, even their crimes: but we owe to them, under Divine Providence, the *establishment* of that religion from whence we derive all our consolations on earth and all our hopes of heaven; and in our soberest judgment we cannot refuse them our admiration for the caution with which they organized their plans, the temper with which they conducted them, the constancy with which they adhered to them through evil report and good report, the resignation with which they died for them at the stake and in the flames.

Nor is this vindication uncalled for at the present moment. Most of the works at the head of our Article have been avowedly or manifestly written to disparage our English Reformers. They are, we believe, but a small part of those which the activity of the Roman Catholic press has recently disseminated. But on this point we shall be more explicit, after having noticed the more formidable and more powerful works at the head of our list.

From the reproach of unprovoked aggression an honourable exception must be made in favour of Mr. Butler, whose work is not only defensive, but written with an amenity of temper, and an excessive suavity, almost approaching to what Hotspur calls 'a candy deal of courtesy.' This, however, is a fault so rarely to be found in polemic writing, and so nearly approximating to a high virtue, that we almost recall a phrase which may bear the remotest appearance of disapprobation. In one instance indeed Mr. Butler has deviated from his accustomed urbanity and moderation; and by adopting an ungenerous scoff of Mr. Gibbon, has called down upon himself the merited and conclusive yet temperate rebuke of the Bishop of Chester. To this Mr. Butler has made no answer; he has indeed put forth a pamphlet under the name of a reply, in which, however, he totally omits to notice or maintain the gross charge before advanced against the majority of the clergy, but attempts to prove a point totally irrelevant to the previous question. In the general conduct of the controversy he has made, if he will allow us a phrase familiar to him, a fair *case* on a cause, in which our verdict must at last be decisively against him. We can evidently see that he has been educated and has mingled in social intercourse with the most eminent men, in a profession, of which it is often the business 'to make the worse appear the better reason.' His work is curious, as illustrating the manner in which a mind naturally ingenuous and acute justifies to itself its belief in error; and as being perhaps the volume of all others in which we may most perspicuously trace the subtle distinctions by which the educated and conscientious Roman catholic vindicates the more irrational and unscriptural articles of his creed. The inaccuracy of his quotations can scarcely fail to raise in the minds of strangers a momentary suspicion of his integrity; there are, indeed, in his work suppressions and misrepresentations of a most extraordinary nature; but the charitable, and we sincerely believe the just, supposition is, that he has been deceived by placing too implicit reliance on the more eminent controversialists of his church. Even this retreat must be painful enough for one who has put himself in the front of the battle, and we will not add to its discomfort by suggesting any of the reflections, which must naturally arise in such a mind as his, and extend from the defenders to the cause itself, which appeared to them to require such arts for its support. It has been very fortunate for the church of England that Mr. Southey's Book of the Church attracted the notice of such an antagonist as Mr. Butler; his talent and respectability, the merits and the faults of his work, have ensured for his cause a patient hearing, able opponents, and a decisive overthrow at every point. Mr. Southey is arming, but it cannot

cannot be in his own defence, for he will scarcely find an enemy to combat. Mr. Butler's appeal to history has been accepted by Mr. Townsend; his theological information has fallen to nothing before the learning and acuteness of Dr. Phillpotts; and what answer can he give to the affecting personal experience of Mr. Blanco White? It forms no part of our *present* intention to enter into the detail of this splendid and interesting controversy; but before we part with Mr. Butler, he must allow us to add, that his work bears evident testimony to his having lived not only among members of the legal profession, but among protestants. When was a volume on such a subject equally liberal and courteous, written in a country in which his own religion was dominant? Would even Fenelon have composed such a treatise against heretics? Mr. Butler will ascribe this alteration in the tone of controversy to the spirit of the age; but we must take the liberty of ascribing that spirit to the progress of real, scriptural, vital christianity, by means of protestant writings and protestant preaching. It is the word of God which has said, 'Peace, be still!' and though its effect in allaying the tempest of human passion and violence may not have been instantaneous, it has not been the less sure.

The next work is indeed of a totally opposite character, and we sincerely regret that we cannot leave the author's name in that obscurity which the anagrammatical title seems intended to throw over it; Mr. Butler tells us that Merlin is only the representative of Dr. Milner. We have here the two fountains of Ariosto: if we cannot approach that of Mr. Butler without sentiments of regard; it is difficult to repress emotions of abhorrence, when we touch the bitter, turbid, and rancorous waters of the other. In the first page we have a definition of religious fanaticism, which we entreat the author to adopt for his own use: 'It confuses the imagination, misleads the judgment, and hardens the heart.' The whole of the pamphlet is a perfect exemplification of this great truth.

Dr. Lingard's History of England (the third and fourth volumes of which are the great authority among the Roman Catholics on our present subject) is written with great care and skill. The author has studied the art of composition in the school of Hume and Gibbon, and has used the consummate artifice, which they employed against Christianity, to the disparagement of the Protestant religion of this country. His purpose is effected rather by the general tendency of the whole narrative, than by particular misstatements, which, as they are open to contradiction and unanswerable detection, are infinitely less dangerous, than the system, long and constantly pursued, of perceptible, yet scarcely definite, misrepresentation. He wears away the foundation rather by the per-

petual droppings of insinuation, than a bold and regular attack, which may be fairly met and repelled. Undue consideration, in one part, is attached to particular incidents; in another a partial shifting and delusive light is thrown upon important facts, so as to fling them back into obscurity. Here all is told, there a plausible excuse is given for compression or omission. The Marian persecutions are too horrible to detail, but the most dreadful circumstances in the fate of the missionary priests are studiously selected. The general leaning to the authority of Popish writers is occasionally qualified by a partial distrust, or even a total rejection of their testimony. Probabilities are weighed on each side with scrupulous exactness, but while all our attention is concentrated on the accuracy with which the weights are adjusted in the separate scales, we scarcely perceive that the author has given a latent inclination to the beam. But the greatest skill is shown, as by his able predecessors in this mode of historical writing, in managing the interest, and exciting the enthusiasm of the reader. While he is captivated with a specious appearance of fairness, the argument on the one side is completely neutralized by an insidious qualification, while on the other, the warmth of admiration or the emotion of pity is left unallayed, or cherished with new excitement. Thus the extreme youth of Edward the Sixth, and of Lady Jane Gray is artfully introduced, in order to throw a doubt on the exquisite perfection of their characters; while every palliation which the most excessive charity can admit, every point which can turn to the praise of Mary the First, is paraded with anxious fidelity. Compare the account of Anne Boleyn with that of Mary Queen of Scots; observe the manner in which the more questionable guilt of the former is impressed upon the reader, that of the latter softened, doubted, obscured: look to the execution of each, equally unjust and barbarous; with what equity is the demand upon our commiseration advanced? with what fairness is the latter elevated into a heroine and martyr; the former degraded to a criminal, suffering indeed a cruel fate, but with little claim upon our sympathy? After all, the whole work is by no means so effective as might be expected; the overstrained pretension to candour excites distrust; the tone appears dispassionate, not because the mind of the author is naturally temperate, or is resolved to be impartial, but because it is full of suppressed rather than subdued passion: the very speciousness and elaborate plausibility have in them something suspicious; and while the author strains every nerve to convince us of his indifference to all but truth, it is impossible not to feel as we read, that we are occupied only with the artful statements of a very zealous partisan.

We might have greatly multiplied the class of low and virulent writings

writings against the Protestant religion, of which the two last works on our list may be considered specimens. The vigilant Bishop of Chester has not allowed the inroad made by them on his diocese to remain unnoticed.

'Out of a great many controversial tracts in which the Protestant faith and ministry are ridiculed and reviled, I will only mention one by the Reverend T. Baddely, which is now distributed with great assiduity by the clergy of your communion, amongst the humbler classes of ours, in certain parts of the country, (Lancashire,) entitled, "A Sure Way to find out the true Religion." The author says that he has drawn up his book for the use of the poor of his own congregation, to help them to discover the falsehood of those *deceitful* and *impious* books, which the clergymen, of different persuasions, are so busily employed in spreading amongst us." He tells us, "that the Protestant parsons have no lawful mission whatever, and therefore they cannot act as priests in the Church of God;" and that "the Protestant church will infallibly lead men to hell;" that "Fox's Martyrs were nothing but a set of deluded, rebellious, impious and blasphemous wretches, put to death by the law of the land for their crimes;" "to call a man one of Fox's saints, is become the same as to call him a great rogue." The same gentleman* enumerates the different crimes for which offenders have been tried at the Old Bailey for the last twenty years, and then says, "These are the lamentable fruits of the Protestant religion. That it has always made men wicked from the first day it began, we can prove from the Protestant writers themselves." "There is nothing in the Protestant religion that can make a man more holy or more virtuous: no private instruction given to poor ignorant people: the children are left to their own will;" but as to the Roman Catholics, "*every one* of their practices helps to make a man more holy and pleasing in the sight of God." If you wish for specimens of still more intemperate and virulent abuse, I refer you to the writings of Mr. William Eusebius Andrews, of whom you speak in terms which lead me to suspect that you have never read his productions.'—*Bishop of Chester's Letter*, p. 17.

This is no ungrounded suspicion. The liberality of Mr. Butler is offended because 'he possesses a picture book for children, published by an eminent Protestant clergyman now living, in which the fires of Smithfield are vividly represented.' Can he have seen even the frontispiece of Mr. Andrews's work, which he honours with his eulogy, and which represents John Fox writing, and the Devil behind prompting him? Can he write seriously in commendation of that man's learning, the extent of which is a tolerable acquaintance with the works of Father Persons, and some of the older martyrologists of his own church; but who when he commenced his publication was so profoundly ignorant of

* His lordship is aware, we doubt not, that this notable argument is in constant use by the writers of Mr. Baddely's stamp.

English Protestant literature, as actually to mistake Burnet's History of his own Times, for his History of the Reformation, (No. 1. 2.); or will he defend his honesty, who, having given this convincing proof of his familiarity with the work, boldly accuses it of being a counterpart to Fox's, in lying and misrepresentation? In many respects no writer need be ashamed of being the counterpart of Fox; he is not, indeed, always a safe guide in the ecclesiastical antiquities of the Primitive Church. When he wrote, that branch of theology had not been critically studied. But we have the explicit testimony not merely of Burnet, but of the laborious Strype, to his fidelity with regard to our domestic transactions. Of whatever errors he may have been guilty in this department, we must have more solid evidence than the counter-statements of Father Persons. As for Mr. Andrews's arguments, they bear about the same relation to sound logical reasoning, as the scrawlings of a lunatic to the diagrams of the mathematician. Among other expedients to attract attention, he has had recourse to one, which afforded us some diversion, and lightened the painful duty of toiling through his Numbers. He has collected many of the monstrous tales for which the veracious chronicle of Sir Richard Baker is celebrated, and as far as we can comprehend his meaning, adduces them as instances of extraordinary Providence, declaring the wrath of Heaven against this ill-fated and reprobate land. We must amuse our readers with a specimen.

'In her (Elizabeth's) thirty-eighth year, Lord Hundson, being sick to death, saw six of his companions, already dead, come to him one after another. The first was Dudley, Earl of Leicester, all in fire; the second was Secretary Walsingham, also in fire and flame; the third, Pickering, so cold and frozen, that, touching Hundson's hand, he thought he should die of cold; the fourth, Hatton, Lord Chancellor; the fifth, Heneage; and the sixth, Knolles: these three last were also on fire. They told him that Sir William Cecil, one of their companions, yet living, was to prepare himself to come shortly to them. All this was affirmed upon oath by the said Lord Hundson, who a few days after died suddenly.'—vol. i. p. 124.

We have also an engraving by some spiritual Cruikshanks of the Roman Catholics, in which (we quote the legend)

'the virgin Queen Elizabeth—whose notorious amours with her court-favourites are acknowledged by both historians and novelists, and whose cruelties towards the Catholics are not *excelled* by Nero or Domitian—is seen, after a reign of forty-two years, lying in bed, and viewing the appearance of her own person, *lean and fretful*, in a flame of fire.'—No. 9.

With regard to the last writer on our list, the notorious Cobbett, it is the most melancholy instance of party-fanaticism in our memory, that an assembly of men, connected by bonds of religious

gious union, should accept the advocacy, and eulogize the character of the importer of Tom Paine's bones. It is some consolation, however, to find that such a writer, indefatigably supplied with information by his employers, has made at last so miserable a case; it is a still more favourable sign of the times, that by his own inconsistent and unprincipled conduct, the best mob-writer of this or any day, the man who, with strong powers of his own, has more successfully than any other person, studied how to address himself to the common intellect of the people, should so entirely have lost his hold on the public mind. A few bigots may read his work to gratify their rancour; a few of the irreligious may be delighted with his as with any coarse and unjust attack on the purest form of Christianity existing; many may have have felt an idle curiosity to see how such a writer would handle such a subject; but after the first Number, we believe, these motives ceased to operate very extensively; and the writer cannot enjoy the gratification of having effected any serious mischief.

We now proceed to our subject. The reformation has been charged with all the odium of Henry the Eighth's first divorce, and the cruel usage of that virtuous and noble-minded woman, whom Shakspeare has represented so affectingly, yet with so much historical truth, that many of her most noble speeches in the tragedy are merely versified with little alteration from the Chronicle of Holinshed. While the Protestants have thus been criminated, the Papists have been represented as the enthusiastic advocates of suffering virtue, and as animated with an independent and honest hatred of oppression and immorality. But, what, if this divorce was grounded on the arguments of Roman-Catholic divines, maintained by Roman-Catholic advocates, urged by a Roman-Catholic parliament, furthered by Roman-Catholic agents, vindicated by Roman-Catholic universities, encouraged by the college of Cardinals, and not disallowed, till a very late period, by the Pope himself? To the authority of what divine did Henry in the first instance appeal, to Luther or Melancthon? to Thomas Aquinas. Were Sir Thomas Boleyn and Cranmer employed in furthering the cause? Were not also Stephen Gardiner and Edmond Bonner, their more active associates? The readers, indeed, of Dr. Lingard will not suspect this, who has studiously suppressed or palliated the disproportionate share which these two prelates took in almost all the unprincipled transactions of this reign. To the petition of the parliament, persuading the Pope to grant the divorce, we find subscribed the names of the two archbishops, four bishops, and twenty-four abbots. We have the letter of Henry to the holy consistory, thanking them for the alacrity with which they supported his cause; we have a countless

countless mass of papers, all of which bear testimony to the duplicity and tergiversation of the Pope. Of the Roman Catholics, Catherine had in the first instance to complain; the affair was conducted at Rome, not on high and direct principles of morality, not with reference to the word of God, not even with a resolute assertion of the authority of the Papal dispensation; but its success or failure depended on every fluctuation of political circumstances; no unprejudiced mind will doubt for an instant that the Pope's decision was at the service of that party from which he promised himself the greatest advantage. 'Be thou well assured,' says Bonner, in his preface to Gardiner's Book, De verâ Obedientiâ, 'the Bishop of Rome, if there were no cause else but only this marriage, would easily content himself, specially having some good morsel or other given him to chew upon.' Had Catherine been the daughter of some obscure and petty sovereign, no reasonable person will maintain that the slightest impediment or difficulty would have existed. We must allow that, at this period, Clement was in a situation of much embarrassment; he had recently experienced signal marks of the respect paid by the emperor to the successors of St. Peter, in the sacking of his city, and the confinement of himself in the Castle of St. Angelo. But, even then, the French influence was powerful enough to make him vacillate, and he could not resolve to decide in favour of Catherine. In short, as long as an alliance with a French princess appeared to be Henry's object, the injuries of the queen and the cause of morality had little weight. Even when it was publicly known, that a heretic and an Englishwoman was the object of Henry's choice, neither did the future champions of papacy, Gardiner and Bonner, throw up their employment, nor did the Pope take any decisive step, till Anne Boleyn had been publicly proclaimed queen. Then, indeed, he came to the decision, which, Mr. Butler considers as having done him so much honour! *

While such was the conduct of the Pope and his adherents, that of the Protestants was at least direct and open. If Cranmer and his friends erred in attaching an undue importance to the prohibition of such a marriage, as that of Henry and Catherine, in the book of Leviticus, they erred with far the greater part of the Christian world; and with the canon law, in which the prohibitory clauses were incorporated. It was impossible, indeed, for them not to deny the legality of the marriage; for its main stay was that precise point which the Protestants explicitly and conscientiously opposed, the dispensing power of the Pope. The cause of Cranmer's first introduction to court was his casual

* Butler, Mem. i. p. 273.

saying,

saying, reported by Fox, Bishop of Winchester, to the monarch:—'If it can be proved that marrying a brother's wife is contrary to the law of God, a dispensation would be out of the Pope's power.' That, independently of all other considerations, the Reformers seized so favourable an opportunity of contesting this usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, is neither to the discredit of their sagacity as politicians, nor of their honesty as men. Doubtless, they rejoiced in finding a powerful monarch ready to enlist in their party on such a quarrel; they knew, that if they carried this point, of wresting from the Pope his dispensing power, they shook the foundations of his despotism to its base. With respect to the marriage itself they were not originally parties in the contest; nor was the question of recent date; for public objections had from time to time been taken against its validity, from the earliest period, when Archbishop Warham is known to have been averse to it; and the states of Castile, as well as the ambassadors of France, had subsequently in different negotiations raised difficulties as to the legitimacy of Mary. History, indeed, furnishes no ground on which to question their conscientious conviction of the illegality of the marriage; except that it was their interest to adopt that side of the controversy; and we have no right to criminate them, if thus convinced, for openly and boldly avowing their opinions, and thus advancing the cause of emancipation from the authority of the Pope.

Much confusion has arisen, and many mistatements have been made, in consequence of not clearly distinguishing between the different meanings of the word divorce; that which implies the dissolution of a legal marriage; and that which imports no more than a declaration of nullity, and pronounces the bond of union void ab initio. Thus it has been affirmed, with a want of caution which extreme zeal will often occasion, that Henry to his other crimes added that of bigamy, that Queen Elizabeth was not begotten in lawful wedlock, and that Cranmer is to be covered with infamy; because the marriage with Anne Boleyn was celebrated before the sentence of divorce from Catherine was pronounced.* No one, indeed, except the learned Mr. Eusebius Andrews, adheres to the old story of the primate's presence at the marriage; the substance of the letter in which he denies the fact so strongly having been long before the public. But the letter itself, which is published entire in Mr. Ellis's interesting collection, not merely denies this charge, but is expressed in terms which imply his disapprobation of the measure, and clearly show

* Ed. Rev. vol. xli. p. 431. It would lead us into much minute detail to expose all Dr. Lingard's mistatements of this affair; we must therefore content ourselves with a reference to the confutation by Mr. Todd.

that

that his influence in the transaction was much less than has sometimes been supposed. He is evidently indignant at the charge. But it is not a little remarkable, that the very proceeding which is so strongly reprobated by Roman-Catholic writers, and for his participation in which Cranmer is loaded with obloquy, namely, the taking another wife, and thus bringing the validity of the former marriage to the test, was recommended (our readers will scarcely believe it)—*by the Pope himself*, as we read in the history of no less an authority than Dr. Lingard.

'The king (says his Holiness) appears to me to have chosen a most circuitous route. If he be convinced, as he affirms, that his present marriage is null, let him marry again. This will enable me or the legate to decide the question at once.'—*Lingard*, vol. iv. p. 134.

Nor is this the only instance in which the facility of the indulgent Pope appears. The following is an extract from Sir Gregory Casalis's dispatches in Herbert: (p. 330. ed. 1672.)—'Superioribus diebus, Pontifex secreto, veluti rem quam magni faceret, mihi proposuit conditionem hujusmodi, concedi posse vestræ majestati, ut *duas uxores* habeat.' Luther, we know, is *accused* by the Roman-Catholics of sanctioning polygamy in the case of the Landgrave of Hesse, and all their virtuous indignation blazes out at the licentious doctrine; they were not aware, perhaps, of the high authority which could, if necessary, be found in support of its propriety.

Let us now examine into the treatment which Catherine's more unfortunate rival has received from Roman-Catholic writers, and into the real circumstances of her case, as far as they can be authenticated. Few, except the lowest and most ignorant of her modern assailants, are hardy enough to maintain to their fullest extent the atrocious calumnies of Sanders, which, however, were received with implicit faith by foreign writers, like Davanzati, and for the wicked invention of which, by their own party, the present Romanists acknowledge neither shame nor contrition. But we fear that the liberality of her modern enemies is more specious than real. They no longer embarrass themselves with the defence of impossibilities, nor do they allow themselves to be led away by impetuous rancour into irreconcileable contradictions. They no longer assert this fatal beauty, on whom the fastidious Henry doted with such extravagance for five years, to have been a monster of deformity; or the cold and designing female, whom nothing less than a crown could tempt, a woman of the most notorious and proverbial impurity. But their charity is still cautious and jealous; they carefully avoid betraying their readers into any feeling like commiseration. It is, indeed, not a little curious to observe the manner in which Dr. Lingard details the whole progress of the amour during five years, with

with the precision and accuracy of one of Marivaux's novels. He appears as familiar with the scandalous chronicle of Henry's court as if he had a Grammont or an Angleterre galante for his guide. His authorities for all this are a few dateless letters and a furious invective by Henry's enemy, Cardinal Pole.* But neither is the story, as told by him, quite consistent. The finished coquette, who coldly and with ambitious calculation for two years refused a less price than a crown for her affections; who, by consummate artifice, wrought the amorous monarch to divorce his wife, and wed herself; is stated, nevertheless, to have lived as Henry's concubine during three years; for Dr. Lingard is particular in his dates. Now, in the absence of all authentic evidence, would it not have been more natural, undoubtedly more charitable, to attribute her long resistance to her virtuous principles, perhaps to her previous attachment to Lord Percy? her weakness, to the seductions of Henry's ardent attachment, and to her confidence in the fulfilment of his promises when the supposed impediment to marriage should be removed? For Henry was then in the zenith of his glory and his power, with every thing to captivate; nor had the cruelty of his character been developed, she herself being reserved for its first victim. All that is *proved* against her in this part of her history is, that she was married on the 25th of January, (in a garret, as Dr. Lingard, with due regard to probability, asserts,) and that Elizabeth was born about the 13th of September.

There remains, however, one circumstance in the history of her elevation, to which, having rejected the other calumnies relating to her family, Dr. Lingard and Mr. Butler adhere with firmness, namely, the previous connection between Henry and Mary, the sister of Anne Boleyn. The evidence on which this rests, is the direct assertion of Pole, and an inference drawn from one passage of a most remarkable document. Now, the testimony of Pole is entirely unsupported, unless by this inference, and we confess that we have not sufficient confidence in his integrity to receive it without great suspicion. The work in which it is contained is admitted by his friends to be a most 'acrimonious invective; in which,' according to his own biographer, Phillips, 'every aggravation which regards this article is set forth in all its iniquity, and heightened with all the colouring which indignation and eloquence can give.'* It is far, there-

* Those of our readers, who know Cardinal Pole only from the picture drawn of him by Dr. Lingard, will have but an incorrect notion of his character. In his address ad Cæsarem he urges the Emperor, as his most imperious duty, to neglect his wars against the Turks, for the purpose of invading England; and says, that if his fleet were actually in the Hellespont, he should still urge him to abandon that enterprize, in order to chastise the King of England.

fore,

fore, from improbable, that Pole may have 'heightened and aggravated' some idle and scandalous report into a positive assertion; more especially, as he is known to have watched with a vigilance, not entirely disinterested, the claim of Mary, daughter of Catherine, to the succession. Any tale, therefore, which would bring the legitimacy of Anne's children into the same predicament, and make them liable to the same doubt, would serve his purpose, and be received without too close an examination into its truth and certainty. But Sir Thomas Boleyn's character stood high, as an honourable and religious man. He is highly praised by Erasmus, and we cannot but consider his unimpeached integrity as a strong guarantee against the truth of such an enormity in the bosom of his family. Dr. Lingard's second proof is ingenious, but, if conclusive, involves not merely Henry and Anne Boleyn, but the Pope himself, in this monstrous iniquity. In a note relating to a dispensation granted by the Pope at Orvieto is this statement:—

'Mary Boleyn had been Henry's mistress. Now, the relationship between sister and sister is as near as the relationship between brother and brother; whence it was argued, that if Henry, as he contended, could not marry Catherine, on the supposition that she had been carnally known by his brother Arthur, so, neither could Anne marry Henry, because he had carnally known her sister Mary. On this account the following clause was introduced: "Etiamsi illa tibi alias secundo aut remotiore consanguinitatis aut *primo affinitatis gradu*, etiam ex quocunque licito seu *illicito* coitu proveniente, invicem conjuncta sit, dummodo relicta fratris tui non fuerit." Thus the king was placed in a most singular situation, compelled to acknowledge in the Pontiff, a power which he at the same time denied, and solicit a dispensation of the same nature as that which he maintained to be invalid.'

But this dispensation, says Dr. Lingard himself, the Pope *signed without any alteration:* therefore, if his own construction be correct, the Pope, the infallible guardian of Christian morals, unhesitatingly sanctions the grossest incest. Pole, alluding probably to this very clause, (and, indeed, on examination of the passage it seems a safe inference that he had no other ground for his scandalous assertion,) is equally conclusive against his Holiness; 'idque impetrasti' is his phrase. Ill as we think of the Pope, we cannot quite credit this extravagant charge; while the folly as well as inconsistency attributed by it to Henry is in itself absolutely incredible. If the incestuous connection were a secret from the world, would he not have thrown the proof of it on others, rather than thus have proclaimed it? If it had been so public and notorious as to make concealment impossible, must not some other evidence besides Pole's have remained? Lord Herbert,

Herbert, the earliest historian of the transaction, and who published the document, clearly adopted a different construction, for he translates the illicito coitu, 'forbidden wedlock.' But the whole history of the dispensation itself is obscure. Lord Herbert appears far from confident of its authenticity, and at all events, no impartial historian would have so peremptorily and positively stated, what rests on such partial, questionable, and suspicious evidence.*

But the attractions of this remarkable woman, her accomplishments, her patronage of learned men, her delight in letters and in the society of the rising poets of the day, Wyatt, Bryan, and her amiable and ill-fated brother, Rochford; her boundless charities and her religious devotion; the total want of proof, that she was guilty of infidelity; the cruelty of her tragical end; all these facts rest on evidence clear and unexceptionable. But the tender mercies of some are cruel, and the charity of others is not much better. Her most innocent expressions are still distorted into proofs of her guilt; her interest for her attendants accused with her; even her pathetic exclamation, 'Oh! my sweet brother, art thou, too, in trouble!' have been perverted into indications of conscious criminality. Even the feeling, not unbefitting a martyr, that induced her to send and implore the forgiveness of the Princess Mary, before her death, is perverted into a proof of her having been guilty of some secret and more cruel injury, than their own† calumnies can afford any ground for believing. The few indiscreet speeches which she confessed, considering the manners of the time, and her education in the French court, where freedom with inferiors has always been habitual, are really trivial and unimportant. Why, then, would Dr. Lingard mislead the common reader, by saying, 'that she had descended from her high rank to make companions of her servants'? Of the attendants who shared her fate, not one, excepting Smeaton, but was a man of birth, rank, or distinction. Norreys and Weston had been employed in high stations; Smeaton she denied having seen more than once. To the argument in proof of her guilt, which is drawn from her language at the place of execution, we shall first suggest, that her daughter was at the mercy and dependant upon the caprice of Henry; and

* 'Can it be thought credible,' says Burnet, 'that at the same time when the king pretended such scruples and troubles of conscience, he could be guilty of such folly and impudence as to put himself thus in the Pope's mercy by two such demands? This was a forgery of Cardinal Pole's, which Sanders greedily catched to dress up the same.'—*Burnet*, App. i. p. 281. Dr. Lingard remarks, that the reluctance of Burnet to acknowledge Mary as one of the king's mistresses, must yield to the repeated assertions of Pole, in his private letter to Henry, written in 1535—as if the repetition of the assertion by the same person at all increased its authority.

† Andrews, No. 35.

then

then subjoin a beautiful passage and apposite quotation from Mr. Glocester Ridley's Triumphant Answer to Phillips.

'If her gentleness and meekness forgave the King so great an injury, and was desirous to turn the spectators' thoughts from the particular cruelty of her death, to what she believed was his general disposition; such more than ordinary charity did not deserve so perverse an interpretation. The reach of Shakspeare's powerful genius, when he would represent the amiable virtues of the injured Desdemona, to excite pity in the spectators for her, and indignation at the revilers of suffering innocence, could not imagine any thing more affecting, than to represent her in similar circumstances to those of Anne Boleyn.

Des. A guiltless death I die.
Emil. Oh! who has done this deed?
Des. Nobody, I myself—farewell,
Commend me to my *kind* Lord—Oh! farewell.'

Before we quit this subject, we would observe, that Mr. Ellis has adduced some convincing arguments to prove the celebrated letter of Anne Boleyn to be genuine, a composition unquestionably of the most exquisite and pathetic beauty.

But, after all, the character of Anne Boleyn is a subordinate and unimportant question in the history of the Reformation. The Roman Catholic writers have felt that if they could not strike a nobler quarry, they would advance their cause but little, by blackening the character of this unhappy woman. It is obviously impossible for us, in our narrow limits, to enter into a detailed defence of our Protestant 'army of Martyrs.' We shall, therefore, select Archbishop Cranmer, as the principal object of their obloquy. Their motto appears to have been,

αι κε ποθι Ζευς
Δωη Οδυσσηα βλησθαι, και κυδος αρεσθαι
Των δ' αλλων ου κηδος, επην ουτος γε πεσησιν.

To exemplify the fairness, the liberality, and the consistency with which this great man's memory has been treated, not by the most rank and virulent of the Popish writers, such men as Persons, Sanders, or Andrews; but the more moderate and dispassionate, we first recommend to the notice of our readers two passages from Dodd's Church History, which occur in two successive pages. 'He (Cranmer) had already taken a wife in Germany, and showed his inclinations by *opposing the Six Article Act*, and daily entertaining in his house such as affected novelties in religion.' Turn the leaf, and we read, 'He never was known to *oppose the tyrannical proceedings of King Henry the Eighth*, but went along with him in persecuting to death both Protestants and Catholics—he went all the lengths of the court in the Six Article Act.'—*Dodd, Article Cranmer.* Dr. Milner, under the name

name of Merlin, asserts, that in Germany he (Cranmer) became a bigamist by marrying Osiander's sister—using this term, as it should seem, for the double purpose of misleading common and ignorant readers such as Cobbett* into receiving it, in its popular acceptation; and at the same time of sheltering himself from the charge of deliberate falsehood under its ambiguity? If he means that Cranmer had two wives at once, it is difficult not to make that charge directly and explicitly: he must, or he ought to have known that Cranmer was readmitted to his fellowship at Cambridge on the death of his first wife, a year after his marriage. From writers such as these, it is almost cheering to turn to the pages of Mr. Butler, who thus sums up the character of Cranmer, in his Historical Memoirs of Catholics, and repeats the same estimate, with some alterations, in his Book of the Roman Catholic Church, unjustly, as we conceive, but with a liberality unprecedented in his party.

'His (Cranmer's) protection of the Princess Mary from the fury of her father; his endeavours to save Sir Thomas More, Bishop Fisher and Cromwell; his resistance to the passing of the sanguinary enactment of the six articles; and his encouragement of letters and learned men, are entitled to praise. But when we find that, though he adopted the Lutheran principles so early as his residence in Germany on the business of the divorce, he yet continued, during the fifteen subsequent years of Henry's reign, in the most public profession of the Catholic religion, the article of the supremacy of the Pope alone excepted; that though, when he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, he took the customary oath of obedience to the see of Rome, he yet, just before he took it, retired into a private room and protested against it; and that though he subscribed, and caused his clergy to subscribe, to the six articles, the third and fourth of which enjoined celibacy to the clergy, and the observance of the vow of chastity, he yet, though a priest, continued to cohabit with his wife; we must pronounce him guilty of dissimulation. When we find that, though he knew Anne Boleyn was under no precontract of marriage, he yet, to use Bishop Burnet's expression, extorted from her, standing as she did on the very verge of eternity, a confession of the existence of such contract, we must pronounce him guilty of subserviency to his master's cruelties; when we see how instrumental he was in bringing Lambert, Anne Askew, Jane Bocken, Von Paris, and others, both Catholics and Anabaptists, to the stake; and particularly when we read his successful exertions to induce the young prince to sign the sentence for Jane Bocken's condemnation, we must pronounce him guilty, both of the theory and practice of religious persecution: when we find that, previously to Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves, he declared that the negociations for her marriage with a prince of the house of Lorraine were not a lawful impediment to her marriage with Henry,—he yet, within six months after it, declared that they created such an impediment, and

* See History, No. 8.

solemnized the monarch's adulterous marriage with Lady Katherine Howard—we must pronounce him guilty of sacrilege: and finally, when we find that, notwithstanding the undoubted rights of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, he yet, on the death of their royal brother, strove to exclude them both from the throne, and to place Lady Jane Grey upon it, we must admit the justice of the verdict, and pronounce him guilty both of ingratitude and high treason. Still the sentence, which, after he had been pardoned for high treason, condemned him to the flames for heresy, was execrable. His firmness under the torture to which it consigned him has seldom been surpassed.'—*Butler's Mem.* vol. i. p. 261.

Let us dispassionately, and with due regard to the circumstances in which Cranmer was placed, inquire, 1st, whether the list of his offences may not be materially diminished; 2d, that of his great and virtuous actions as materially increased.

I. The progress of Cranmer's mind in the adoption of the Lutheran principles was slow, circumspect, and conscientious; he renounced no doctrine till after a rigid examination; accepted none without long consideration. How far his opinions advanced in Germany we have no evidence, except that he married, and that he denied the supremacy of the Pope. Other superstitious practices of the Church of Rome he endeavoured to abolish; the right of the people to read the scriptures in their native tongue he acknowledged himself, furthered the translation, and procured an enactment that the Bible should be placed in every parish church. But at what period he renounced the other *doctrines* of popery it is impossible to aver with certainty, except that of transubstantiation, from the belief in which he was converted by the arguments of the admirable Bishop Ridley, at a late and well-ascertained period.

II. Henry's commands having overcome the unwillingness which he felt, on account of the oath, to become Archbishop of Canterbury, he took it, by the advice of the best civil lawyers, with a protestation, reserving his allegiance to his God, his King, and his country, and his design for a reformation of the abuses in the church. *He did not retire into a private room.* 'They assembled in the chapter-house of the King's College of St. Stephen. Present, as witnesses, Watkins, the King's prothonotary; Dr. John Tregonwel; Thomas Bedyl, clerk of the King's council; Richard Guent, doctor of decrees, &c.; and John Cocks, the Archbishop's auditor, &c. Cranmer, in the said chapter-house, before the said witnesses, made a protestation.'—*Strype's Cranmer*, vol. i. And at every separate part of the ceremony he *publicly* renewed the same protestation.

But we would ask all Roman Catholics who hold the doctrines

of Mr. Butler and the Gallican Church, and especially we would ask the Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland, whether they would take the same oath under any other interpretation, either virtually made or explicitly avowed, as far at least as reserving their duty to their King and country: whether, as to the point of reformation, all who assert the superiority of a general council to the Pope, and the right of the church thus represented to reform even the Papacy itself, must not either have made a similar reservation, or have been guilty of violating their oath. We think that, in this point of view, neither the oath nor the protestation have been fairly considered.

III. After having resisted the Six Article act with such energy, that the King desired him to quit the parliament if he would not assent; after having refused so to do, and continued to oppose it to the last, and thereby probably having procured some desirable modifications of it; when the enactment had become the law of the land, he acquiesced, and doubtless in his courts its observance was enforced. Mr. Todd, in his able preface to the republication of Cranmer's work on the Sacrament, has hunted Dr. Lingard through his many mistatements with severe and unrelenting vigilance, and on this article asserts, correctly, that *subscription* was not required. But the obedience which he was thus unwillingly obliged to exact, Cranmer displayed himself; for when the King demanded whether his chamber would stand the scrutiny of the act, he stated, and stated truly, that he had sent his wife to her friends in Germany.

IV. Anne Boleyn was condemned to be, at the King's pleasure, either burnt or beheaded: the ill-fated woman, to avoid the more horrible punishment, confessed a precontract. Cranmer accepted this confession, though contradicted by Lord Piercy, in hopes probably that it might not only mitigate, but avert her doom. It is false that Burnet represents Cranmer as *extorting* this confession; but that writer justly observes, 'the two sentences that were past upon the Queen; the one of attainder, for adultery; the other of divorce, because of a precontract, did so contradict one another, that it was apparent one, if not both, of them must be unjust.' Cranmer therefore might rationally hope (for Henry's wife-killing propensities had not yet been made manifest) that he might be satisfied with annulling the marriage, which made the crime of adultery impossible, and might thus be led to spare the unhappy object of his former attachment the pains of an ignominious death, and his own soul the crime of a judicial murder.

V. We proceed to the more important topic of persecution. Cranmer disputed against Lambert, and conscientiously, for he then believed in transubstantiation. Cromwell read the sentence

by Henry's specific command, who was irritated by the inefficacy of his royal arguments to move the firm consistency of the martyr. Cranmer therefore must be acquitted of personally urging this condemnation; and Anne Askew's took place at the precise period when his influence was on the wane; and when, but for the personal attachment of the King, he would himself have been accused, probably convicted, of heresy, by the intrigues of Gardiner. In the minute and authentic account of Askew's trial, in Strype's Memorials, this last prelate appears to have taken the lead against her; nothing whatever appears to implicate Cranmer. The archbishop's persecution of Roman Catholics is indeed entirely without proof; but with shame and with sorrow we confess that it is not so with regard to the Anabaptists. We will not rely upon the unsatisfactory excuse, that persecution was the last article of the sanguinary creed in which he had been educated, which he put off. The man who could cause the Gospel of Christ to be translated into his native tongue, and read in every church, has no right to the plea of ignorance; he ought to have known the awful testimony borne against him by that volume. With no design of palliating this offence we still however bear in mind that the Anabaptists were not the harmless fanatics of later times, far less the prosperous and well-organized sect, which bears the same denomination at the present day. They were the ruin and the calumny of the Protestant cause by their licentiousness and seditious extravagance. Their doctrines were those of the French jacobins, their deeds as sanguinary and atrocious. We cannot forget that the ruins of Munster were still smoking, and that another John of Leyden might be apprehended among their frantic followers.* It appears from the trial of Barnes, that the nonsensical tenet of Joan Bocken was an article of the wilder Anabaptist creed; the rest who suffered, were certainly of the same class. Still, other legal means of restraint should have been adopted; their punishment was horrible, and, doubtless, if earthly thought troubled the soul of Cranmer, when he himself was perishing in the flames, it must have been the recollection of those poor victims, who, like himself, were suffocated, blinded, tortured, consumed. But if the Reformation is to bear the reproach of Cranmer's urging this sanguinary measure on the repugnant Edward; let it triumphantly claim for itself the long and noble resistance of the youth, who was, indeed, the representative of Protestant principles, nurtured by Protestants in the word of God, and therefore intuitively alive to that pure sense of the Holy Scriptures, which long usage with the world

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 297.

and

and early prejudice still obscured and weakened in minds like Cranmer's.

VI. To the solemn farce of the dissolution of the marriage with Anne of Cleves, Cranmer was unquestionably a party, but with the whole convocation—indeed here, as is usual in objectionable proceedings, the Bishop of Winchester was most active. Anne of Cleves certainly confessed something like a precontract; and it is ludicrous to see with what phlegmatic coolness she acquiesced in the divorce, without repugnance or complaint, and 'retired on a pension' in perfect good humour. We wish to justify neither the immorality of the proceeding, nor the servility of the convocation.

VII. Had Mary executed Cranmer for treason we might have lamented his fate, but should scarcely have accused her of unprecedented cruelty. He had undoubtedly been guilty of that, which she was entitled so to punish; but when Mr. Butler speaks of his ingratitude, he surely forgets that he signed the patent for the new settlement of the crown with great reluctance and after long hesitation, at the urgent entreaties of the dying Edward, whom he not only tenderly loved, but who undoubtedly had the first claim to his gratitude. It is not a little remarkable, by the bye, that the Roman Catholics could adopt the principles by which Jane was raised to the throne when it suited their purposes; in the work of Doleman, (Robert Persons, the Jesuit,) on the succession after the death of Elizabeth, they are fully developed and vindicated—a work from which Mr. Butler does not withhold his approbation.—See 2d vol. of Memoirs, p. 22. Principles indeed they are, which are capable of misapplication; but they are the same on which the glorious revolution of 1688, and the accession of the House of Brunswick, are to be justified.

So much for the darker side of the picture; let us now turn to the brighter. Cranmer's interference in favour of Mary is thus described by Fox.

'Unless ye account him blameworthy for this, that when King Henry, father to Mary, upon great displeasure conceived, was, for some secret causes, determined to strike off her head, this reverend archbishop did pacify the wrath of the father, and with mild continual intercession, preserved the life of the daughter; who, for life preserved, acquitted her patron with death.'

In the two greatest crimes of the age, the death of Fisher and of More, Cranmer is unanimously admitted to stand free from all participation, and to have laboured hard to prevent them. Fisher was an excellent and learned man, blindly, but conscientiously, attached to his religion: his death itself was cruel; his pre-

vious privations and sufferings barbarous. We should as fully enter into the most ardent admiration of More, could we entirely acquit him of apostatizing in practice from those doctrines of tolerance which his better-judging youth had promulgated in his Utopia. Instead of wondering that Cranmer advanced the reformation so little during the reign of Henry, it is most extraordinary, that he could effect so much. His influence over the capricious monarch is thus described, to his honour, by Cromwell. 'You, my lord, were born in a happy hour I suppose, for do or say what you will, the King will always take it well at your hands.' This is the forbearance which is extorted even from a tyrant like Henry, by uniform temper and virtue. But in all his schemes Cranmer was thwarted by the influence of the Howards, and the acutest politician of the age, Gardiner. He did not, therefore, urge any measure for which the minds of men were not fully ripe; he silently undermined the superstitions of the country, by suppressing the more offensive practices, removing the idols, discouraging pilgrimages, detecting the flagrant impostures of relics and miracles, inviting and patronizing all men of learning, whom he supported with the utmost liberality; and, above all, 'casting the seed of the word of God upon the waters,' which he found again after many days. He left the Bible to work its own way, and thus prepared the nation with equal wisdom, temper, and moderation, for the great, bloodless, and almost unresisted change which was effected in the subsequent reign.

In reality the positive advancement of the Reformation, during the reign of Henry, was very imperfect and precarious. Two points only were decidedly carried, the supremacy of the king and the dissolution of the monasteries. With regard to the first, it is remarkable with what unanimity it passed; few refused to subscribe; it is even questionable whether Pole himself was not in the number of conformists as Dean of Exeter: but our readers may not be aware that the most vigorous defender of that doctrine was Gardiner, whose work was accompanied with a preface by Bonner, in which the Pope is assailed with the coarsest acrimony, and called 'a ravening wolf.' 'In the dissolution of the monasteries, much abuse undoubtedly prevailed, many tyrannical and unjustifiable acts were committed, and the rapacity with which the plunder was seized by Henry and his courtiers, covers their memory with shame. But of these abuses the real religious protestants were guiltless. The general corruption of the monasteries is asserted on the evidence of whatever records Burnet could obtain; and on the still stronger testimony afforded by the anxiety with which all documents on the subject were directed to be destroyed

stroyed by a royal commission under Queen Mary.* This commission cannot but call to mind the description of those 'who love darkness,' for wise and prudential reasons.

Any one who has travelled in a country purely catholic may form some notion of the mixture of fraud and folly which prevailed in the worship of images and relics, and in the practice of pilgrimages, of which the monasteries were the strong holds, the monks the earnest and not disinterested advocates. But the precedent even for this transaction is to be found among Roman catholics; not to mention the example of Henry V. Wolsey, with the express sanction of the Pope, suppressed many monasteries, and, what is singular, Cromwell was his agent in this usurpation upon the rights of the monastic bodies. Let us, however, be just to the memory of this great man, whose statesman-like foresight is conspicuous in this measure. Wolsey's object in this spoliation was the endowment of his splendid establishments in Oxford and Ipswich. Doubtless, with the sagacity of a great politician, he had seen that the monasteries, useful as retreats of learning in barbarous and uncivilized times, were ill adapted to maintain the influence of the church over a more enlightened people; and that it was only by taking possession of the seats of education, and thus advancing with the advancement of knowledge, that the clergy could hope to preserve their authority.† The Reformers entered into his views for the encouragement of education, but, with a more far-sighted confidence in the truth of their cause, augured from such institutions the advancement of real religion, rather than the maintenance of the existing system. Their hopes were in part disappointed by the predominance of the unprincipled and covetous. Cranmer and his friends remonstrated in vain against the improvident waste of funds, from which they hoped to see new episcopal sees created, provision made for the maintenance of the parochial clergy, and, above all, for public education. The advocate for the instruction

* Burnet's Preface, where the document is quoted.

† Wolsey was preceded in this observance of the signs of the times by his patron Fox, the munificent founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He had meditated an establishment for monks and secular scholars, and the buildings were in progress; when Hugh Oldham, the Bishop of Exeter, is said to have reasoned with him thus:—'What, my lord, shall we build houses and provide livelihoods for a company of monks, whose end, and fall we ourselves may live to see? No, no; it is more meet a great deal that we should have care to provide for the increase of learning, and for such as who by their learning shall do good to the church and commonwealth.' Fox's acute mind was struck with the observation; he changed his plan; and we owe to this change the existence of a College famous from its first foundation for the introduction of elegant literature into Oxford, small indeed in the number of its members, but not excelled by any House in any University for the wisdom and liberality of its institutions, or the splendid list of worthies whom it has produced. We may cite three—Jewell, Hooker and Hales.

of the poor will read with no common interest Cranmer's arguments on this subject.* But the work of reformation became a work of plunder, and the Church of England experienced at its birth a blow, from the effects of which it has not yet recovered. Unhappily the covetousness of the monastic system had absorbed the revenues of those who were then called the seculars, and whom Mr. Brougham now denominates 'the Working Clergy.'

'Most of the monasteries,' says Burnet, 'had been enriched by that, which was indeed the spoil of the church; for in many places the tithes which belonged to the secular clergy were taken from them, and by the authority of papal bulls given to the monasteries. The abbots having possessed themselves of the tithes, and having left to those who served the cure, either some small donative or stipend, and at best the small tithes or vicarage, those who purchased the abbey lands from the crown in the former reign, had with them no other charge reserved for the incumbents, but that small pittance that the abbots had formerly given them.'

During all Henry's reign, 'plans were devised, revenues fixed, the incumbents appointed upon paper;' a splendid design of Cranmer's for making the prebendal institutions of great use, was entertained; but improvidence and rapacity interfered, and neither in that reign nor subsequently, was the good work accomplished. The nobles, when the chantries were suppressed in Edward's time, (foundations manifestly not to be permitted under a religion which disclaimed prayers for the dead,) deceived and plundered as in the days of Henry; and thus the best plans were rendered abortive.

From the accession of Edward the Reformation really commenced; then, and not till then, the influence of Cranmer and his coadjutors became completely predominant. It is not for us to eulogize the temper and prudence with which this great national change was conducted; yet we may be allowed to say thus much; that nothing was abolished till the proper substitute was prepared; the church was remodelled, not destroyed for the chance of erecting a more useful edifice; the excrescent errors and insititious corruptions were pruned away, but the tree was not cut to the quick, so as to drain off its healthful and invigorating juices. Cranmer was indeed interrupted in his great task by the violent intrigues and the rapacity of the nobles; from the former he withdrew as far as his situation would allow, to the latter he opposed vigorous but too often fruitless remonstrances. Had Edward lived, the prince, whose premature talents, with all allowance for the minute exceptions and detraction of Dr. Lingard, were of the most extraordinary nature; the youth, whose amiable disposition,

* Strype's Cranmer, book i. 22.

yielding

elding only in abhorrent tears to sign the warrant for persecution, ore the best testimony to the purity of the principles which he d imbibed from the word of God; had his reign been prolonged, e Church of England would have risen under his auspices, when ' became emancipated from the controul of his more unprin-pled court, and when his early principles of toleration had gained e sanction of his mature judgment, without spot or blemish. he annals of the country would have been spared not only the rocities of Mary's reign, but long centuries, perhaps, of mutual imosity and aggression between the conflicting parties of papists d protestants.

The reign of Queen Mary is now left almost without defence; e more respectable Roman catholic writers join in the cry of ecration which has been raised from generation to generation by otestants of every description. Their utmost endeavours are nited to palliate its atrocities, to diminish the number of suf-rers, and to cast the blame from the principles of their religion on the spirit of the age. In the first of these objects they are minently unsuccessful. We have before stated our opinion as to e general veracity of Fox; but the number of those who suf-red in the great persecution is carried even higher than his com-ıtation by the indefatigable and accurate Strype. Dr. Lingard ates the number of sufferers at *almost* 200, ' after all allowances ade.' Strype's account gives 288 *actually* executed, ' besides ose that dyed of famine in sundry prisons.' The convenient ten-erness of Dr. Lingard's nature, which will not allow him to dwell ı such atrocities, we have already noticed. But the following is ill worse. Burnet and Hume assert that the commission for the ıtirpation of heresy was an attempt to introduce an Inquisition, *'cause* at the same time instructions were issued (which they ıote) for the application of *torture* and the employment of in-ormers. Dr. Lingard dwells entirely on the commission, (for art of which he quotes the words of another document,) omits ıtirely the torture and the informers, and thus obtains an easy iumph over his antagonists.

We shall postpone the discussion of the more important ques-on, namely, the connection of the Roman catholic creed with tolerance and persecution, and proceed to that which the Ro-anists consider their final and triumphant argument, recri-ination. ' Let protestants cease to reproach the Roman catholics ith Mary's fury, and Roman catholics shall be equally silent on ıe sanguinary code of Elizabeth, and the savage executions under .' Such was the proposition of Dr. Milner, and it is now reiter-ed by Mr. Butler: let us dispassionately examine the circum-

stances

stances of either case, and inquire into the points of coincidence and disagreement. The following is the theory of Elizabeth's reign, devised by the Roman catholic writers, developed with great industry and skill by Dr. Lingard, and zealously maintained by all the chivalrous apologists whom the beauty and sufferings of Mary Queen of Scots still fascinate and who are always ready to break a lance in her service. 'Elizabeth,' they say, 'at her accession was indifferent to both forms of religion; she threw herself into the arms of the protestants, and, under the influence of protestant advisers, re-establisfed that church, commenced a series of unprovoked, and therefore unjustifiable intrigues in neighbouring states, in Scotland, France, and the Low Countries; went on enacting unnecessary laws against the unoffending Roman catholics, and executing them with equally unnecessary severity. Her ministers, to preserve their own influence, invented plots against her life, fomented insurrections, the guilt of which they falsely laid upon the catholics; until the merited vengeance of the Roman catholic princes burst upon her in the memorable invasion by the Armada. After the defeat of the Armada, she went on in her course of unrelenting and sanguinary judicial murder, without end or object, especially against the missionary priests, who visited England for the sole purpose of exercising their functions peaceably.'

All this is moulded up with insinuations against her private character, not always the most delicate, nor to be received without the mistrust with which such scandal is always to be heard in public as well as in private. With this, however, we have at present no concern; as to the former point, we fearlessly assert our conviction, that Elizabeth, from education, from the hard usage of her sister Mary, and from the strength of her own character, deliberately adopted the protestant faith; that she was forced by necessity as well as by policy to place herself at the head of the protestant interest; that she chose her ministers with wisdom and retained them from well-grounded confidence in their measures; that after the deposing bull of the Pope, plot followed upon plot, insurrection upon insurrection; in all of which the agency of the Romanists was conclusively detected; that the statutes against Roman catholics were enacted on this account, but only put in force against men who were sworn and devoted to her ruin, namely the priests educated in the foreign seminaries, and those who entertained them; that her alarm at assassination was kept naturally alive by the successive murders of the Prince of Orange and Henry III.; that self-expatriated Englishmen excited and vindicated the invasion by the Armada; that the Roman catholic intrigues were continued till her death, in hopes, if not of wresting the

the crown from off her head, at least of securing the succession in the Roman catholic line.

The facts on which we build this conviction, we shall state as much as possible on Roman catholic authority. Elizabeth succeeded to the throne in 1558; all parties acquiesced in her accession with seeming unanimity; but the Roman catholic prelates, who had acknowledged her right to the crown, having discovered her leaning to the Reformation, with ill-judged inconsistency refused, one only excepted, to crown her. They were deprived of their sees; but all, even the bloody Bonner, (we cannot justify ourselves in any other epithet,) remained prisoners at large, except Watson, who, at a somewhat later period, was confined in Wisbech Castle. The greater part of the clergy acquiesced in the change of religion. On the part of Elizabeth, it is admitted that moderate and conciliatory measures were at first adopted. She rejected the clause in the Litany denouncing 'the Pope and his detestable enormities.'—

'They (the catholics), writes Dodd in his History, were entertained by her in the army, and now and then in the cabinet, till such times as the misbehaviour of some persons drew a persecution upon the whole body, and occasioned those penal and sanguinary laws to which their substance and lives have ever since been exposed.'—vol. ii. 18. 'And what the parsimony of her disposition makes remarkable, she ordered the arrears due to the ecclesiastics ejected from the abbeys to be paid to a farthing.'*

How was this spirit met? Elizabeth's title was dubious. 'The Pope's ear had been pre-occupied by the diligence of the French ambassador.' (Lingard.) Paul accordingly denied her legitimacy and right to the crown, and asserted that of Mary Queen of Scots. Francis, upon this, quartered the arms of England, and returned an evasive and contemptuous answer to Elizabeth's remonstrance. To disable Mary from asserting this dangerous claim, she leagued with the Reformers in Scotland; and this was unquestionably the primary cause which led to Elizabeth's crime and Mary's fate. This hostile measure on the part of Francis necessarily produced also her support of his domestic enemies; and hence her connexion with the French Reformers. In 1563 occurred the conspiracy of the Poles, who, on the event of Elizabeth's expected death, intended to proclaim Mary Queen of Scots. They were convicted but pardoned. In 1565, the memorable meeting of Catherine of Medicis and the Duke of Alva took place at Bayonne, in which the universal testimony of history asserts designs to have been formed for the entire extinction of

* Camden's Elizabeth, quoted by Rapin.

Pro-

Protestantism. Dr. Lingard denies the existence of any treaty, because no formal record remains of the *secret articles* agreed on by two of the most crafty politicians of that or any other age. In 1569, the rebellion of Northumberland took place; the re-establishment of the Romish religion (religious liberty! says Dr. Lingard) was among the avowed objects. The standard of the rebels displayed the Popish symbol of the five wounds of Christ; and the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer were burnt in the cathedral of Durham. Sanders, (as quoted in a pamphlet called 'Important Considerations,' hereafter to be noticed,) in his book de Visibili Monarchiâ, owns the rising in the north to have been raised by the Pope; and a letter is quoted in a contemporary pamphlet, in which the Pontiff ascribes to the Lord! their attempt 'to free the country from the shameful slavery of female lewdness.' Northumberland, Norton, and the other rebels, are almost invariably reckoned among the Roman Catholic martyrs of Elizabeth's reign. In 1570 was issued the celebrated bull, 'ever to be condemned and ever to be lamented,' says Mr. Butler, in which Elizabeth was formally deposed, her subjects absolved from their allegiance, and herself styled flagitiorum serva. Of this bull, (which Dr. Lingard does not appear to reprobate with equal vehemence,) copies were sent to the Duke of Alva, and by the Duke some of these were forwarded to the Spanish ambassador in England. 'Early in the morning of the 15th of May, one was seen affixed to the gates of the Bishop of London's residence in the capital.'—*Lingard.* In January, 1572, the conspiracy of Norfolk was detected, who was unquestionably in correspondence with the Duke of Alva, through Ridolfi. In the same year the massacre of St. Bartholomew took place. In 1577, Elizabeth 'received from the Prince of Orange the important information, that the real object of Don John was not so much the subjugation of the Netherlands as of England; that he intended to transport his army from the Belgian ports; to marry, at least by proxy, the Queen of Scots; and in her name, and with the aid of her friends, to contend on English ground for the English crown. This intelligence was not entirely devoid of foundation. Gregory XIII., the successor of Pius V., had solicited the King of Spain to unite with him in an attempt to liberate the Scottish Queen, and to *restore* the Catholic worship in England.'—*Lingard.*

Up to this time no blood had been shed; though it was notorious that the seminary priests had been poured into the country, not one had perished. From this period Elizabeth began to execute such of these persons as persisted in remaining in it in defiance of repeated acts of parliament. Her ministers asserted that they suffered for treason, and assuredly this deference to public opinion, whether their assertion was true or false, implied that

that the doctrine of religious toleration had already made some progress. But

'To remain in, or return to England, was the duty of the Catholic priesthood; and for some act of this religious duty—but for no act of any other kind—were they executed. Thus, if you say they were hanged and embowelled, not for being priests, but for being traitors, then, as their being priests was the sole cause of their being traitors, they were, in truth, hanged and embowelled for being priests.'—*Butler*, p. 260.

Now their being priests was not the sole cause of their being traitors, but their being priests educated in certain seminaries, professing certain doctrines dangerous to the safety of the state, which, when offered pardon, they refused to disclaim; their being priests sent into this country by foreign powers, hostile to the government and plotting its ruin; their being priests under the direction and influence of men in the pay and allegiance of the Pope and the King of Spain; their being priests whose avowed object it was to further the execution of the Pope's bull of deposition, which, according to their leader, Persons, it was the duty of every faithful Romanist to do to the utmost of his ability; their being priests, of whom the increase in numbers was regularly attended by more frequent plots and insurrections, and whose leaders, rulers and advocates, namely, Cardinal Allen, Stapleton, Bristow, and Persons, vindicated, furthered, assisted, by all the means in their power, the subjugation of this country to a foreign yoke. Now for our proofs, without the evidence of a single Protestant writer: for were we to extract from Camden, Speed, Strype, or the State Trials, the mass of testimony to the traitorous practices of the seminary priests, we must write volumes, not an article. The seminaries at Rheims, Douay, and Rome, were established by Cardinal Allen and Robert Persons. Let us ask what were the principles of these men relative to the deposing power of the Pope, and the consequent duty of the Romish priests? In Cardinal Allen's True and Modest Reply to Lord Burleigh's 'Libel of English Justice,' it is asserted, 'that all conversations on subjects of state or policy were strictly prohibited to the students in the foreign seminaries.' What then, were they prohibited from reading this very book?—in which we find the following sentiments:—

'There is no warre in the world so just and honourable, be it *civil* or forraine, as that which is waged for religion; we say for the true, ancient, catholique, Roman religion; which by the laws of Holie Church and all Christianity, is adjudged to be the true worship of God. . . . For this it is godlike and honourable to fight in such order and time, as we be warranted in conscience and law by our supreme pastors and priests—for that no crime in the world deserveth more sharp and zealous pursuit

of

of extreme revenge, whether it be in *superior* or subjects, than revolting from the faith to strange religions. Whoever seeketh not after the God of Israel, let him be slaine, (said King Asa, admonished by Azaria the prophet,) from *the highest to the lowest*, without exception.... And they prospered and deposed Queen Malcha, *mother of Asa*, for *apostacy*, and for worshipping the God Priapus.'

After profuse quotations from the Old Testament, he adds, 'Therefore let no man marvel, that in case of heresy, the sovereign loseth his superioritie and right over his people and kingdom.' This same Cardinal Allen, though he did not, as sometimes has been stated, accompany the Armada, affixed his name to a pamphlet in which the title of Elizabeth was disputed, her subjects excited to rebellion, and every argument employed which could ensure the success of the Spanish invader. Of this tract Dr. Lingard gives a summary, among the particulars of which we find the following, that 'Elizabeth was an incestuous bastard, begotten and born in sin; she has abused her body by unspeakable and incredible variety of lust; she does not marry because she cannot confine herself to one man.'*

But compared with his coadjutor Persons, Allen was all meekness and moderation. One extract from the Responsio ad Edictum Reginæ, which this person published under the assumed name of Andreas Philopater, shall suffice for his doctrines. The motto of this pamphlet was, 'Et vidi Mulierem ebriam de sanguine Martyrum *Jesu*.' Apoc. 17. 6.

'Hinc etiam infert universa Theologorum ac jurisconsultorum Ecclesiasticorum schola (et est certum et de fide) quemcunque principem Christianum, si a religione Catholicâ manifesto deflexerit, et alios avocare voluerit, excidere statim ex omni potestate ac dignitate, ex ipsâ vi juris tum humani, tum divini, hocque ante omnem sententiam supremi Pastoris ac Judicis contra ipsum prolatam, et subditos quoscunque liberos esse ab omni juramenti obligatione quod ei, de obedientiâ, tamquam principi legitimo præstitissent, et debere, si vias habeant, istius modi hominem, tamquam apostatam, hæreticum ac Christi Domini desertorem et reipsa inimicum hostemque ex hominum Christianorum dominatu ejicere, ne alios inficiat, vel suo exemplo aut imperio a fide avertat.'

Such was the tenor of all Persons's controversial writings, of Bristow's and of Sanders's; of the men who were entertained at Rome as the most trustworthy representatives of the English Roman Catholics; whose writings were sanctioned by the highest

* Here is a remarkable instance of Dr. Lingard's impartiality. He analyses the tract as far as the abuse of the Queen, which, however extravagant, may influence the reader in his estimate of her character. But the fourth part, which is to show by what laws of God and man her punishment is to be pursued, he passes lightly over; the last, the treasonable division, which would display his own party in the darkest and truest colours, and which fully confirms their designs against the queen's life and the nation's independence, he omits entirely, with a reference to Fuller and Mr. Butler.

authorities,

authorities, and disseminated with unwearied activity. We are called upon then to believe, in defiance of the general voice of history, and of the mass of testimony adduced by Elizabeth's ministers, that the men who held, avowed and published these opinions to the whole Roman Catholic world, carefully concealed them as esoteric doctrines from their own seminaries. It is indeed having confidence in the credulity of their readers, to assert that at Rheims and Douay alone these were sealed volumes. While the duty of extirpating heretics, high or low,* was inculcated on all Roman Catholics without exception, the priests in those colleges alone were commanded to abstain from all political designs, and confine themselves strictly to their spiritual duties. That the whole secret was not confided to all, from our knowledge of the policy with which the Jesuit institutions were conducted, we can easily believe. Whether the more frightful doctrine of assassination was taught to the initiated, we know only from the evidence of their enemies; and upon that evidence, however weighty in the particular instance, we will here affirm nothing; but it is impossible to doubt, that the pupils in these colleges were nurtured in principles dangerous to every government; principles which Mr. Butler himself marks with the strongest reprehension.

But we have still more important contemporary testimony. Had these priests arrived in England for the mere purpose of exercising their functions peaceably, assuredly the Roman Catholics, both clergy and laity,* would have welcomed these new labourers in the almost destitute vineyard, have co-operated with them cordially, and have expressed the warmest gratitude for their assistance, proffered with such entire devotion, and at such tremendous hazard. What was the case? They deprecated their interference, accused them of being the authors of all their calamities, deplored their fatal zeal, and disowned all participation in their designs. Among many pamphlets published by the resident Roman Catholic clergy, in opposition to the Jesuits, none is more full on this point, than one already alluded to, and called 'Important Considerations by the Secular Priests.'

'We are fully persuaded in our consciences, if the Jesuits had never

* Mr. Butler himself implies that their presence was not necessary. 'So far from offending government, it was, throughout the reigns of Elizabeth and James, the wish of all their friends in power, that they should obtain from Rome the appointment of regular bishops in ordinary.' The reason for their objection to this scheme is not a little curious; 'so generally was it understood that the appointment of bishops would be acceptable to Elizabeth and her ministers, that the Catholic opposers of the measure used this very circumstance as an objection to it.'—*Butler's Memoirs*, ii. 232. Had bishops been appointed, they might have ordained a constant succession of loyal secular priests, so that these foreign seminarists might have been dispensed with.

come

come into England; if Persons and the rest of the Jesuits, with other our countrymen beyond the seas, had never been agents in those traitorous and bloody designments of Throckmorton, Parry, Williams, Squires, and such like; if they had not sought, by false persuasions and ungodly arguments, to have allured the hearts of all Catholics from their allegiance; if the Pope had never been urged by them to have thrust the King of Spain into that barbarous action against the realm; if they themselves, with all the rest of that generation, had not laboured greatly with the said king, for the conquest and invasion of this land by the Spaniards, there had been no speeches amongst us of racks and tortures, nor any cause to have used them; *for none were ever vexed that way simply, for that he was either priest or Catholic*, but because they were suspected to have had their hands in some of the same most traitorous designments."—*Important Considerations.*

This is the precise assertion of Lord Burleigh, who appeals to the resident Roman Catholics and to the old clergy to confirm his assertion, that none but the seminary priests were molested. We had intended to cite more at length from this pamphlet, when the Memoirs of Panzani, by Mr. Berington, fell in our way. We were pleased to find ourselves anticipated by an intelligent Roman Catholic of the present day, on this point.

'This then I infer, and I have ample grounds for the inference, that as none of the old clergy suffered, and none of the new who roundly renounced the assumed prerogative of papal despotism, it was not for any tenet of the Catholic faith that they were exposed to persecution. But their foreign education connecting them with Rome and other hostile courts, itself raised suspicions: and the tenets which all of them held, many most innocently, formed another link, which, in the apprehension of a government justly jealous, again connected them with the great events of the times. These were the insurrections of the earls in the north, in 1569; the publication of the Bull of Pius in the same year, its renewal by Gregory XIII. in 1580, and again, with expressions of stronger acerbation, in 1588, by Sextus V.; the attempts to release the unfortunate Mary, during her many years of imprisonment, but principally in 1586; and finally the Spanish Armada in 1588. To which add, the various plots of imaginary existence, supposed to be formed in all English houses on the continent. Persons, in the meanwhile, and Bristow and Stapleton, and Dr. Allen, (with all his virtues, too much attached to the interests and prerogatives of Rome,) had been the instructors of these men; and with commissions from them and from his holiness, they had returned, under the positive inhibition of the law, to disturb the established faith of the country, and to bring it again under the controuling jurisdiction of the Roman bishop.'—*Berington, Introduction to Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani.*

We are aware that there is a long counter-statement in Butler's Memoirs, by the Reverend Charles Plowden, (himself, we believe, a Jesuit,) the partial admissions of which convince us that our reliance

reliance on Mr. Berington is not misplaced. Now it is obvious that no government can possibly exist without a right of prohibiting the entrance of hostile emissaries into its dominions. The statutes against the admission of bulls, &c. from Rome, and the entrance of priests educated abroad, were but the exercise of that undoubted right. The missionary priests, as self-expatriated aliens, knew these laws, violated these laws, suffered under these laws. There may, indeed, have been some instances of severity in their execution; but in themselves they were necessary, and in their general application not untempered with mercy. After the failure of the Armada, new plots excited new prosecutions; everywhere Jesuitical agency was detected, and it cannot be matter of surprise if the laws were administered with gradually increasing severity. As the demise of the Crown became more probable, the writers of the Roman Catholic party became more alert, and the work which Persons had published under the name of Doleman was in particular disseminated with great activity. The irritated queen and her vigilant government continued their severities; and the perverse intrigues of the factious prevented that reconciliation of parties, which the loyalty of the Catholic nobility at the trying moment of the Spanish invasion might have brought about.*

On the whole we assure Mr. Butler, that we can admire equally with himself the devotion, the fortitude, the resignation, with which these missionary priests encountered tortures and death. We can mourn over the accomplished Campion and the amiable poet, Southwell. But we must be excused if our indignation is not so vehement against those who, by the strong and cogent law of self-preservation, put an end to their sworn and mortal enemies, as against those who, by inflaming the minds of their pupils with dangerous principles, could drive them thus upon certain death; against those who, like Persons, fled himself from the scene of danger, and left the advocates of his doctrines and the accomplices of his treasons, to certain, inevitable, and horrible execution. These men we hold responsible, not merely for the blood which was then shed, but for the dreadful entail of hatred and jealousy, which oppressed and afflicted their own communion for

* The party-spirit of Dr. Lingard is in no part more offensive, than in the rancorous hatred which he exhibits towards Burleigh and Walsingham. He speaks of this latter as 'thirsting for blood;' and without assigning any rational motive charges on two men, whom he himself represents as most cautious and far-sighted politicians, the fabrication of the numerous Roman Catholic plots detected in the course of Elizabeth's reign. Now Walsingham died a beggar, having expended his fortune in the detection of these plots; and no indifferent person can discover how their *interest* at this period of Elizabeth's reign, when they had long been firmly seated in their ministry, could be secured (or indeed require security) by rendering the Roman Catholics odious.

centuries with penal enactments and legal incapacitations, the most severe and invidious. They bequeathed their own misplaced activity, their own spirit of intrigue to their descendants, and as long as there was a possibility of their success the protestant faith was never secure from their dark and subtle policy. They bequeathed their execrable doctrines, not merely of the deposing power of the Pope; but of that more dangerous usurpation, the right of absolving men from their oaths, and the principle that faith is not to be kept with heretics; to a large and zealous and daring part of their communion. Such men as these prevented the ashes of the martyrs in the Marian persecution from becoming cold; it was their avowed object, it was their paramount duty, on their own principles, to re-kindle them; the power only was wanting; and if that power was wrested from them with a stern, relentless, and implacable hand, who shall deny to the Protestants the unexceptionable plea of self-preservation? For it was obviously impossible to discriminate between them and those peaceful and loyal Roman Catholics who disclaimed their monstrous positions; there was no test by which those who held the Cisalpine and Transalpine opinions could be separated and set apart; the unsparing vengeance of the law therefore necessarily fell on all with equal and indiscriminate rigour. Not merely did the name of Jesuit, on this account, and the laxity of principle avowed in their moral writings, become proverbial for dishonesty and treachery; but the jealousy of protestants was kept constantly alive, breaking out occasionally in follies and cruelties, which disgraced the religion they professed; exposing them to be deceived and misled by such infamous liars as Oates, and such contemptible madmen as Lord George Gordon. Justly does Mr. Berington style Persons 'the calamity of his religion;' for to him and his coadjutors may be distinctly traced the principle of that long and acrimonious contest which divided and distracted England, but has convulsed Ireland with more fatal disorder. To them, to the want of decision and unanimity in the leaders of the more moderate Romanists in not distinctly and authoritatively renouncing their dangerous doctrines, and, above all, to the favourable reception which they and their writings met with at Rome; to their being the admitted, if not avowed, organs of papal decisions and decrees of councils, may be justly attributed all that system of exclusive legislation, which has been repealed by degrees, and as soon as protestants could reasonably feel secure from similar aggressions.

Having thus distinctly proved the deaths of these misguided men to bear no analogy whatever to the savage executions of Mary for difference of religion; and that alone; we by no means assert the doctrine of religious toleration to have been fully known

or

or acknowledged in the reign of Elizabeth. Though men were not persecuted to death, (so much had been already gained on the old inveterate error,) they suffered most severely in other ways. Toleration was the growth, but the tardy growth of Protestantism. The Bible, examined, discussed and sifted by those conflicting sects with the existence of which the Reformation is reproached, at last made itself distinctly heard, and its authority was recognized by all. The knowledge of the Scriptures and the progress of intellect were undoubtedly simultaneous, but the fires of persecution did not wane merely before the daylight of human reason—they were rather quenched by the dews of divine grace, shed abroad through the Holy Scriptures.

That intolerance is a *necessary* and universal consequence of the Romish doctrines, we are not now called upon to assert; that it is and will be the ordinary inference from them, we cannot disguise our conviction. Allow the Romanists to disclaim all their Popes and councils which have enforced it as the first of duties; allow them to recant the notes of their authorized version of the Scriptures, where the very passage, in which the Son of God authoritatively rebukes his own apostles for intolerance, is explained with a reservation of the duty of putting heretics to death:—*Rheimish Bible*, Luke ix. 55; still the voice of history remonstrates with our charity, and almost precludes that better hope, which we are most unfeignedly desirous of entertaining. We cannot forget, that even in the Gallican church, the same reign, which was distinguished by those most acute and eloquent theologians, Bossuet, Massillon, Pascal, Bourdaloue, and Fenelon, was rendered infamous by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and the atrocious Dragonnades. Was one voice from all these able men earnestly and vigorously raised against those deeds?—unfeignedly shall we rejoice if Mr. Butler can cite one glorious instance. The Romanists reproach us with the persecutions of the Covenanters; but the latter were in actual rebellion, (goaded to it no doubt by the oppression of the government,) and the whole affair was as much a political re-action, as a war of religion. In France the soldiers were let loose on a peaceful and unoffending people, against whom no disorders could be charged, from whom no danger was anticipated; even the revengeful recollection of former injuries could not be alleged as an excuse; for sufficient time had elapsed to wear out all ancient animosity. Unhappily, where the doctrine is rigidly enforced, which precludes the possibility of salvation out of the pale of a particular church, persecution imposes itself on the mind as a sacred duty, as an act of merciful severity to the individual, of necessary protection to the many. This was the principle of the Bulls which deposed

Protestant princes; this was the reasoning which filled the prisons of the Inquisition; the fatal argument which caused moral and conscientious men to lay whole regions waste with fire and sword. For the final expulsion of this doctrine from the bosom of our church, we are indebted to the immortal Hooker; and to its renunciation the Christian world may ascribe all its present liberality of action, and its diminished acrimony of dispute: Roman Catholics themselves, nurtured, like Mr. Butler, in the lap of Protestantism, have practically dismissed from the creed of their hearts, what they may not perhaps have explicitly disavowed in the written articles of their faith.

During the whole of this inquiry we have expressed no opinion directly on the great question which has recently agitated the country; not because we have no opinion, or are slow to declare ourselves respecting it; but because this inquiry, which has been devoted to a single branch of the subject, does not furnish all the premises from which a general conclusion can be drawn. Something, however, may be collaterally inferred from the examination we have thus far made. From the accession of Elizabeth to the present moment, the Roman Catholics have been divided into two parties; the one who, with some sacrifice of their religious consistency, have held the tenets of their church in moderation and candour, who have possessed so much of English loyalty and patriotism as divested their divided allegiance of half its danger, and too much real Christian spirit to push the principles of intolerance to extremity: the other, who have adhered to the old Popish doctrines in all their uncompromising bigotry. To these doctrines no concession can safely be made, with these men no hearty or profitable union can be effected. If then the Roman Catholics hope to obtain further concessions, either from the wisdom of parliament, or, what is of more importance, from the feelings of the people, they must effectually put down the bigots among themselves. Every attempt to delude, either by exaggerating their grievances or disguising their opinions; every endeavour to intimidate by the display of their strength, will be inevitably connected in the public mind with the insincerity and restless ambition of the ultra Romanists. The loyal, therefore, and the wise, must set themselves apart, and make themselves heard above the clamour of the intemperate and the ignorant; they must discountenance and endeavour to suppress the wretched ribaldry now circulated, insulting to the Protestants and disgraceful to themselves; they must disclaim the hollow and unworthy league formed with the radical and atheistical part of the public press; they must prevent their bishops from appearing one day in the character of virulent pamphleteers, the next as dignified prelates; they must dis-

discountenance, above all, the rancorous abuse of their adversaries. On the other hand, we most earnestly deprecate in their opponents any thing like a tone of triumph, the encouragement of uncharitable feelings, or the excitation of popular clamour. Acting, as they do, upon a defined principle, and appealing to history, to reason, and the human heart in justification of their apprehensions, they may repel the charge of bigotry with silent contempt. But they should be the last not to allow the difficulty of the question, the last to deny that the legislative disqualification, however narrow, of any class of British subjects, is, though a necessary, not the less a serious evil. For ourselves, we fully comprehend the reasons upon which they mistrust any security which has yet been offered in lieu of those provided for us by our forefathers; but we do not comprehend how any considerate Christian, any one who duly prizes civil and religious freedom, can find matter for exultation in that issue of the contest, which only proves that, in the opinion of our legislature, a large portion of our fellow-subjects are still too much enslaved to the dangerous doctrines of their faith to be admitted to a full participation of every political privilege with ourselves. We may be thankful that there is enough of firmness and wisdom to withhold the boon till the moment arrives when it may be safely granted; but surely we must regret the very conviction which is forced upon us, that the happy moment is not arrived; and still more deeply must we lament that the Romish church does not as yet manifest that increased moderation, or that disposition to reform gross abuses, and disavow dangerous pretensions, which can alone accelerate its arrival.

ART. II.—*An Account of the American Baptist Mission to the Burman Empire; in a Series of Letters addressed to a Gentleman in London.* By Ann H. Judson. London. 8vo. 1825.

THE little volume we are about to notice is the joint production of an intelligent, well-educated, and apparently right-minded couple, who left their native country, America, from having, as they say, 'felt deeply impressed with the importance of making some attempt to rescue the perishing millions of the east.' The narrative is drawn up from their journals and letters by Mrs. Judson, who, after several years' residence in Rangoon, came back to America in an ill state of health. Though it chiefly relates to the proceedings of the mission, there are interspersed through its pages many incidental descriptions of the country and traits of the character of the Burmans; and, on the whole, it is an entertaining and even impressive book.

But, before we enter on the work itself, we wish to say a few

words on the Baptist missions to the east; it is impossible that there should be any difference of opinion as to their object; and we think there should be none as to the single-hearted zeal with which it has been pursued; but we confess that we do entertain very serious doubts whether those engaged in them are following the right path to effect that object; if we were to judge from the result of their labours, the conclusion would necessarily be that they are not; and we will briefly state what we conceive to be at least sufficient causes for their failure.

We consider it, then, in the first place, a great want of discretion, or something worse, to send forth hasty and imperfect translations of the scriptures, and of their own religious tracts, before they have acquired a competent knowledge of the languages in which they write; so that their labours are simply useless, if not pernicious, to those for whom they are intended.

The Oriental languages are so totally different in their style and structure from those of Europe, that long and unremitting application is required before the student can arrive at a familiar acquaintance with any of them. Yet, in the course of a very few years' application the missionaries of Serampore, whose labours and sacrifices we have before noticed as extraordinary and most meritorious, announced to the world that they had translated and circulated certain portions of the Scriptures, in no less than twenty-seven different languages! The consequences of this haste were such as might have been expected; the versions abounded with glaring mistakes, which rendered them absurd or ridiculous in the eyes of the natives; and either by mispelling, misplacing, or misemploying words and phrases, the sense of the original was sometimes totally changed. Of this kind several instances are pointed out by the Abbé Dubois; and Dr. Carey has candidly admitted that, while he imagined his writings, preachings, and conversations were all working well, he had discovered with sorrow that the persons to whom they had been addressed had either wholly mistaken their meaning, or retained no recollection of their substance. Mr. Judson also soon experienced this difficulty; 'it was not till after two years' of intense study that he began to see his way, and he then entertained no hope that in less than three years the language would become at all familiar. Its difficulties are thus described:—

'When we take up a language spoken by a people on the other side of the earth, whose very thoughts run in channels diverse from ours, and whose modes of expression are consequently all new and uncouth; when we find the letters and words all totally destitute of the least resemblance to any language we have ever met with, and these words not fairly divided, and distinguished, as in western writing, by breaks, and points, and capitals, but run together in one continuous line, a sentence

or

or paragraph seeming to the eye but one long word; when, instead of clear characters on paper, we find only obscure scratches on dried palm leaves strung together, and called a book; when we have no dictionary, and no interpreter to explain a single word, and must get something of the language, before we can avail ourselves of the assistance of a native teacher,—

"Hoc opus, hic labor est."—p. 55.

We apprehend that the great difficulty of the Burman language in particular arises mainly from its blending together several languages essentially different—the ancient Pali, now a dead language—the Sanscrit—the Tartar—the Chinese. It is written in the Nagari character, (generally cut into Palmira leaves or slips of bamboo,) but having the square letters rounded into circles and their segments. The part taken from the Chinese being monosyllabic increases the difficulty not a little: for it is next to impossible, by any marks or variation in the manner of spelling these monosyllables, to render the Chinese language intelligible when written in the letters of an alphabet. Yet, with all these discouragements staring him in the face, Mr. Judson ventured on translating portions of the Scriptures; when, by his own avowal, he was unqualified for the undertaking. Had he and his worthy helpmate confined themselves to the study of the Burman language, while at the same time they were instructing the natives in English, their labours would probably have been more successful, certainly more judiciously directed.

In the next place, we would advert to a practice which is decidedly injudicious in the eastern missions among a people exceedingly influenced by pomp and splendour—we allude to the humble character which these teachers of the gospel assume, and to their system of principally attempting to convert, and connecting themselves almost exclusively with, the very dregs of the people. The impolicy of this is so evident, and the want of success among the higher classes in consequence thereof, so notorious, that we are surprized they do not see the impropriety of it; for, setting aside the gross ignorance of an uneducated rabble, brought up in every kind of superstition which unfits them altogether for comprehending the divine mysteries of the gospel, this practice throws an additional impediment in the way of their introduction and access to the society of the higher orders. What sort of converts are made in India may be gathered from the Abbé Dubois, nearly the whole of whose life was spent in that country. 'During the long period I have lived in India,' says this honest catholic, 'in the capacity of a missionary, I have made, with the assistance of a native missionary, in all, about three hundred converts of both sexes. Of this number two-thirds were *Pariahs* or beggars,

and the rest were composed of *Sudras*, vagrants, and outcasts of several tribes, who, being without resource, turned Christians, in order to form new connexions, chiefly for the purpose of marriage, or with some other interested views;' and, he adds, 'I am verily ashamed, that the resolution I have taken to declare the whole truth on this subject, forces me to make the humiliating avowal, that those who continued Christians are the very worst among my flock.'

The Baptist missionaries will quote the example of our Saviour and his Apostles, and appeal to the successful agency of humble instruments, among the lower orders, in the first amazing spread of Christianity through the Roman empire. Comparisons of this sort are often fallacious—the missionaries forget the miraculous powers, and the extraordinary divine assistances, which can alone account for the first progress of our religion; but which it has pleased God to deny to the preachers of the Gospel in these days. Yet we might urge that it was not until the conversion of Constantine, that polytheism received its death-blow in Europe; that in the more eastern countries very little progress was ever made by Christianity; and in Persia none.* 'The religious system of the Persians,' says Gibbon, (and the same may be said of the Burmans,) 'by the labours of a well-disciplined order of priests, had been constructed with much more art and solidity than the uncertain mythology of Greece and Rome.' Yet this powerful priesthood, on which the Christian missionaries failed to make any impression, was unable, a few centuries afterwards, to resist the Koran and the sword. Not so, however, the disciples of Brahma, in Hindostan, and of Boudh, in the ultra-Gangetic countries to the farthest east; for Mahometanism never became the established religion of Hindostan; and, although among the various castes and their ramifications, Christianity appears to have made some progress at one period on the western coast of India, scarcely a trace can be found among the Boudhists of Ava, Siam, Cochin-China, China, and Japan, of a Christian teacher having ever been among them; notwithstanding the boasted conversions of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits. We should except, perhaps, some of the western provinces of China, where the embers of Christianity are just kept alive by a few Chinese missionaries educated at the college of the Propaganda in Naples. This failure is the more extraordinary as, in all the above-mentioned countries, the ceremonials of religion bear a most striking resemblance to those of the church of Rome; so like, indeed, are their devotional exercises, their processions, their

* See Vol. XXXII. p. 12.

counting

counting of beads, their chauntings, their burning of tapers and incense, their shaven heads and vows of celibacy, that one of the Catholic missionaries (Le Compte, we believe), says, the devil must have got the start of the Jesuits and suggested these things for the purpose of mortifying them. The Jesuits, however, so far from being mortified, turned this resemblance to their advantage in endeavouring to propagate their religion; while the more rigid orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic denounced as abominations, in China, those very things which, at home, they practised as sacred duties. The Jesuits, by being more accommodating, had somewhat better success; but their labours too seem to have perished with the existence of their order in the East.

We have better hope from the church establishment in India, tardy as its appointment has been, and inadequate as is its present scale, than from all the missions that have hitherto been sent to that quarter; its solemnity, solidity, and consistency cannot fail to work a powerful effect on the minds of the higher class of natives, and it is to them that we must look for the beginning of any permanent advance. The institution of schools on a liberal plan, for the benefit of the rising generation in the upper ranks of life, has been too long neglected, and it is now high time to repair that neglect. To convey instruction, through the medium of the English language, in every branch of useful knowledge, and in the principles of religion and moral rectitude, will do more to open their minds to a conviction of the truth and moral excellence of the Christian religion, and of the monstrous absurdity of their own polytheism, than all the translations of the Scriptures and religious tracts which have hitherto been circulated among them. A general knowledge of history and geography will at once disperse that cloud of more than Egyptian darkness, which for so many ages has confined their view, and will open to their eyes a more extensive prospect; as an intelligent writer, speaking on this subject, has well observed, 'when they cease to consider Mount Meru as 20,000 miles high, and the world as a flower, of which India is the cup, and other countries the leaves, their minds may become more open to rational views on the subject of religion.' The well known character of the present Bishop of Calcutta for zeal in every good cause, unaffected piety, benevolence, and singleness of heart, holds out, indeed, well-founded hopes, that a large portion of our Indian subjects in the next generation will not want the means of instruction in the various branches of useful knowledge, combined with the principles of true religion and sound morality.

In the Burman empire, every thing connected with the religion

of

of Boudh is calculated to impress on the minds of the multitude ideas of wealth and grandeur. The palace and the temple divide between them all the gold and treasures of the country; to the temples are attached a numerous, powerful, and a firmly established priesthood; and all the ceremonies are conducted with an imposing degree of pomp and splendour seldom met with in other countries. Yet it appears from the little volume before us that Mr. Judson, as if anxious to provoke the anger of the priesthood, (in which he unhappily succeeded,) used to perch himself close to the road-side leading to the grand pagoda of Rangoon, in a little hut of bamboo and thatch, built for the purpose, without doors, windows, or partition; and here, his amiable wife tells us, 'he sits all the day long, and says to the passers by, "Ho! every one that thirsteth come to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without price!"' Now this, we confess, does appear to us to be silly enough; and we would seriously ask Mr. Judson whether he really expected that these 'passers by' could, by any human possibility, have the least comprehension of this beautiful metaphor, and whether, taking it literally, (the only way in which they could take it,) he could blame the poor Burmans for laughing in his face, and looking upon him either as one who had taken leave of his senses, or one who was playing the fool with themselves? We know that the missionaries have an answer ready to this objection also—our Saviour, say they, spoke in parables;—undoubtedly he did; but he spoke intelligibly, in the vernacular tongue, using national images, referring to national customs; and explaining, whenever it might seem necessary and proper, the meaning and drift of his parables in the most easy and familiar manner. This, we apprehend, was very far from being the case in the present instance; we doubt even if the whole vocabulary of the Burmans furnishes a word for *wine*.

We would tread gently over what we conceive to be the errors of the Baptists' creed; we quarrel with no sect for 'modes of faith,' but we are quite satisfied that the followers of Calvin, who allow themselves to pronounce without scruple on the state and future doom of their fellow mortals, are little calculated any where, but least of all in the east, to make converts to Christianity. We find a great deal too much of this kind of presumptuous dealing, in the letters and journals of the otherwise humble and benevolent missionaries, whose labours we are about to notice. The most innocent amusements of the natives are looked upon as offerings to the devil. 'Mrs. Judson evidently considers the whole 19,000,000 Burmans, of whom she makes the population to consist, as destined to eternal punishment; excepting of course

course so many as it may please Providence, through the instrumentality of herself and her husband, to rescue from this state of future misery. The number so saved amounted, in the course of six years, to a single convert of the humblest class; but there was a sort of half convert, who still retained his doubts, in the person of a learned teacher; the former believed every thing, professed every thing, hoped every thing; the latter reasoned and was wavering. 'Thus,' says Mrs. Judson, 'the poor fisherman, Moung Ing, *is taken*, while the learned teacher, Moung-Shwayguong, *is left*.' Again—one of Mrs. Judson's female scholars told her one day that she could not think of giving up a religion which her parents and grand-parents had embraced, and accepting a new one of which they had never heard. 'I asked her,' says Mrs. Judson, 'if she wished to go to hell because her progenitors had gone there.' There is something so unchristianly, and, we may add, so repulsive to the feelings of those whom they are striving to gain, in the use of such language, that we can scarcely imagine how a woman of Mrs. Judson's good sense and feeling can reconcile herself to it—but it is less her fault than that of the sect, which presumes to set limits to the mercies of that God who has said that 'he will abundantly pardon.' It would be well, ungracious as the faith of a Roman Catholic is to a calvinist, that the latter, before he thus consigns whole nations to hell, would recollect the Roman Catholic's prayer:—

> 'Let not this weak, unknowing hand,
> Presume thy bolts to throw,
> And deal damnation round the land
> On each I judge thy foe.'

We have noticed these blemishes in order to account for the very little success which this first American Baptist mission has met with in the Burman empire; to any want of zeal it certainly has not been owing: it is quite evident that neither difficulties, nor dangers, nor ill health, nor the pangs of domestic affliction, could prevail on this worthy couple to relax, for one moment, in their earnest endeavours to discharge all the duties which, as missionaries, they had imposed upon themselves.

Mr. Judson, it seems, had graduated at one of the American universities, where, we are told, he adopted 'deistical sentiments.' A doubting and disturbed mind, happily for him, ended in a deep impression that the Scriptures *might be* of divine authority; and to ease those doubts, he became extremely desirous of gaining admittance to a 'theological seminary at Andover, in Massachusets,' which he eventually succeeded in effecting; though 'the rules of the institution required evidence of evangelical piety in all who were admitted;' and though he candidly assured the professors

sors 'of his having no hope that he had been a subject of regenerating grace.' To his credit, however, be it said, he soon became a sincere Christian; and having met with Dr. Buchanan's 'Star in the East,' his thoughts were at once turned to an eastern mission. He embarked for England on the invitation of the London Missionary Society, was taken by a French privateer, lodged in the dungeon of a French prison, procured with difficulty his release, came to England, 'that highly favoured land,' as we are glad to find this American lady considers it, and, on his return, as we presume, though it is not stated, married Mrs. Judson; in the winter of 1812 the husband and wife embarked for Calcutta, where they arrived in the month of May following.

Missionaries at that time were in no great favour in India, from a supposition, wholly unfounded, as we have shown,* that they had some concern in bringing about the affair at Vellore. The two in question had scarcely landed when a peremptory order was issued that they should return immediately to America in the same ship which had brought them out. They petitioned, however, and were permitted to go to the Isle of France, but they could get no passage. Afterwards, when a ship offered, they met with a refusal; but the captain gave them leave to embark if they thought fit to venture, and they stole on board at midnight.

On their arrival at the Isle of France, they found that the Governor, Sir Robert Farquhar, had received orders from the supreme government of Bengal, 'to have an eye on those American missionaries.' He received them, however, with the greatest kindness, told them they were at liberty to go wherever they wished, and they accordingly embarked for Madras, where they fortunately met with a ship bound for Rangoon, and proceeded in her before information could reach Bengal of their return to India. The vessel was old and crazy, the passage tedious, Mrs. Judson dangerously ill, and on their arrival every thing looked so cheerless, and unpromising, that they noted it down 'as the most gloomy and distressing day that they ever passed.' But the reflection that it was an 'unoccupied station' cheered their spirits, and 'we soon,' says Mrs. Judson, 'began to find that *it was in our hearts* to live and die with the Burmans.' Neither of them could speak a word of the language; none of the inhabitants could speak theirs; and though, as Mrs. Judson says, they felt themselves, in every sense of the word, on heathen ground, surrounded by despotism, avarice and cruelty; yet they determined, at all hazards, and in spite of all difficulties, to persevere. This

* Vol. I. p. 204.

appears

appears strongly in the letter in which this amiable woman takes leave of the happiness and comforts of social life.

'Farewell to the privileges and conveniences of civilized life! Farewell to refined Christian society! We shall enjoy these comforts no more; but Burmah will be a good place to grow in grace, to live near to God, and be prepared to die. O, my dear parents and sisters, how little you know how to estimate your enjoyments, in your quiet homes, with all the comforts of life! How little you know how to prize dear Christian society, as you have never been deprived of it! How little you can realize the toils and perplexities of traversing the ocean; and how little you can know of the solid comfort of trusting in God, when dangers stand threatening to devour! But these privations, these dangers and toils, and these comforts, are ours, and we rejoice in them, and think it an inestimable privilege that our heavenly Father has given us, in allowing us to suffer for his cause.'—pp. 16, 17.

Though the climate of the Burman country is temperate and regular, the extremes of heat and cold rarely experienced; though the seasons seldom vary, and the soil is capable of producing wheat and all the grains that are grown in India; yet, in the ardour of conquest, such had recently been the calls made on the agriculturist for military service, and so little the inducement, perhaps from the insecurity of property, to labour for more than what was absolutely necessary, that when our missionaries arrived, 'there was a famine in the land.' Many were dragging on a miserable existence on leaves and other vegetables; many were dying of hunger; and robberies and murders were almost nightly committed; yet the conviction of this solitary pair that they were entering on the line of duty which God had assigned to them was so powerful and encouraging, that they gave to their friends the strongest assurances of their being cheerful and happy.

'Though we find ourselves almost destitute of all those sources of enjoyment to which we have been accustomed, and are in the midst of a people, who, at present, are almost desperate, on account of the scarcity of provisions; though we are exposed to robbers by night, and invaders by day; yet we both unite in saying we never were happier, never more contented in any situation, than the present. We feel that this is the post to which God hath appointed us; that we are in the path of duty; and in a situation, which, of all others, presents the most extensive field for usefulness. And, though we are surrounded with danger and death, we feel that God can, with infinite ease, preserve and support us under the most heavy sufferings.'—p. 26.

They do not complain of the general character of the Burmans, which they represent as open, frank and friendly; all accounts, indeed, agree that, though derived from the same stock, the natives have none of that fawning dissimulation which distinguishes the

the Chinese. The officers of justice, however, are said to execute the laws in a much more barbarous manner than is practised among any of that numerous race which has been denominated Indo-Chinese; and the government is, beyond comparison, more despotic. The usual punishment for robbery or theft is to tie up the culprit, rip up his belly, and leave him to die a lingering death with his bowels hanging out; and as famine is sure to be prolific of these crimes, our missionaries were sometimes witnesses of this dreadful punishment. Mrs. Judson's taste indeed for these exhibitions seems a little extraordinary. One morning they saw seven robbers thus executed. Another set of victims, for attempting to rob a pagoda, were executed in the following manner:—

'Four Burmans were fastened to a high fence, first by the hair of the head and neck, their arms were then extended horizontally, as far as they could be stretched without dislocation, and a cord tied tight around them; their thighs and legs were then tied in their natural position; they were ripped open from the lowest to the highest extremity of the stomach, and their vitals and part of their bowels were hanging out; large gashes were cut in a downward direction on their sides and thighs, so as to bare the ribs and thigh bones: one, who I suppose was more guilty than the rest, had an iron instrument thrust side-long through the breast, and part of his vitals pushed out in the opposite direction. Thus, with the under jaw fallen, their eyes open and fixed, naked, excepting a small cloth round the middle, they hung dead.'—p. 85.

The following passage exhibits a different mode of execution.

'This afternoon we heard that seven men were carried to the place of execution. *We went to witness* the affecting scene. On our arrival there, we heard the report of a gun, and looking about, we saw a man tied to a tree, and six others sitting on the ground with their hands tied behind them. Observing the man at the tree, we saw a circular figure painted upon his stomach, about three inches in diameter, for a mark to shoot at, for he was to die in this way. At that moment there was another discharge of a musket, but the shot again missed; a third and fourth time he was fired at, but without effect. At every shot there was a loud peal of laughter from the surrounding spectators. He was then loosed from the tree, and a messenger sent to the governor, who returned with a reprieve. His younger brother, who was one of the seven, was then tied to the tree. The first shot slightly touched his arm; the second struck him in the heart, and he instantly expired; at the same moment the remaining five, each at one blow, were beheaded. *We went close to them*, and saw their trunks, and their heads, and their blood. We saw a man put his foot on one of the trunks, and press it with as little feeling as one would tread upon a beast. Their bodies were then dragged along on the ground a short distance, and their heads taken up by the hair and removed. The two brothers, when condemned to die, requested to be shot, asking, at the same time, to be pardoned if the fourth shot should miss. The elder brother was therefore spared, while the

the fate of the other was more lamentable. The superstitious Burmans suppose, from the circumstance of the request of the two brothers, and the escape of the elder one, that some charm prevented his death. The crimes of these poor creatures were various. One had been digging under a pagoda; another had stabbed a woman, but had not killed her; the others, as nearly as we can learn, were robbers.'—pp. 85—87.

It is stated that he who escaped had been shot at six times for a former offence without being hit; he was therefore considered as a wonderful man—invulnerable even by the 'seventh bullet'; and it seems he was in consequence raised to a *high* rank among the governor's attendants. Delinquents of a superior class are dispatched in a more genteel and less inhuman way, having the head severed from the body by a single stroke, at which, from constant experience, the executioner is said to be very expert. We have heard of a viceroy of Pegu being degraded, and dragged in chains to Amrapoora, because he had suffered too long a time to elapse without sending up a head, with the property belonging to it when on its body. In fact, it is here as in Turkey—when the emperor wants money, there is no lack of truncated heads at court. These despotic governments are never at a loss for some barbarous or dishonest expedient to raise funds. The religion of Boudh proscribes the use of spirits, opium, and all intoxicating drugs; but the mandates of religion are set at nought when money is scarce, and then these articles are permitted to be sold for the sake of the high duties. The Chinese do worse; they forbid the introduction of opium, at the same time that the officers of government not only connive at it, but encourage the importation, in order to levy the penalties. The Derma Sastra of the Hindoos is supposed to be the Burman statute book; but, like the Chinese, they have a particular punishment measured out according to the magnitude of each individual crime; their laws, however, are a dead letter when the will of the sovereign is proclaimed, who, according to Mrs. Judson, 'is regarded as the sole lord and proprietor of life and property in his dominions.'

Though the general character of the Burmans is favourably spoken of by Mrs. Judson, it is less flatteringly given than by Colonel Symes, who did not remain among them a sufficient length of time to enable him duly to appreciate their good and bad qualities. That they are more lively, more industrious, more energetic, and better informed also than most of the eastern nations, our intercourse with them for the last thirty years has afforded sufficient proof. They have neither the pusillanimity of the Hindoos and Chinese, nor that dark and revengeful malignity which characterizes the Malays. The education of the women is generally neglected, but, contrary to the practice of all other orientals,

orientals, they are not debarred from seeing and holding converse with the other sex. Almost every male person can read and write; and their books are very numerous, mostly however on religious subjects, romantic stories, astrology, music, medicine—all of them mixed with childish superstitions and accounts of supernatural events. Mr. Judson, however, tells us that 'some of the Burmans are powerful logicians, and take delight in investigating new subjects.' As a specimen, we extract the following dialogue from his journal:—

'"*September 30th.*—Had the following conversation with my teacher. This man has been with me about three months, and is the most sensible, learned, and candid man, that I have ever found among the Burmans. He is forty-seven years of age, and his name is Oo Oungmeng. I began by saying, Mr. J—— is dead. Oo.—I have heard so. J.—*His soul is lost, I think.* Oo.—Why so? J.—He was not a disciple of Christ. Oo.—How do you know that? You could not see his soul. J.—How do you know that the root of the mango tree is good? You cannot see it; but you can judge by the fruit on its branches. Thus I know that Mr. J—— was not a disciple of Christ, because his words and actions were not such as indicate the disciple. Oo.—And so all who are not disciples of Christ are lost! J.—Yes, all, whether Burmans or foreigners. Oo.—This is hard. J.—Yes, it is hard, indeed; otherwise I should not have come all this way, and left parents and all, to tell you of Christ. [He seemed to feel the force of this, and after stopping a little, he said,] How is it that the disciples of Christ are so fortunate above all men? J.—Are not all men sinners, and deserving of punishment in a future state? Oo.—Yes; all must suffer, in some future state, for the sins they commit. The punishment follows the crime, as surely as the wheel of the cart follows the footsteps of the ox. J.—Now, according to the Burman system, there is no escape. According to the Christian system there is. Jesus Christ has died in the place of sinners, has borne their sins; and now those who believe on him, and become his disciples, are released from the punishment they deserve. At death they are received into heaven, and are happy for ever. Oo.—That I will never believe. My mind is very stiff on this one point, namely, that all existence involves in itself principles of misery and destruction. J.—Teacher, there are two evil futurities, and one good. A miserable future existence is evil, and annihilation or nigban is an evil, a fearful evil. A happy future existence is alone good. Oo.—I admit that it is best, if it could be perpetual; but it cannot be. Whatever is, is liable to change, and misery and destruction. Nigban is the only permanent good, and that good has been attained by Gaudama, the last deity. J.—If there be no eternal Being, you cannot account for any thing. Whence this world, and all that we see? Oo.—Fate. J.—Fate! the cause must always be equal to the effect. See, I raise this table; see, also, that ant under it: suppose I were invisible; would a wise man say the ant raised it? Now fate is not even an ant. Fate is a word, that is all. It is not an agent, not a thing. What is fate? Oo.—The fate of creatures,

creatures, is the influence which their good or bad deeds have on their future existence. J.—If influence be exerted, there must be an exerter. If there be a determination, there must be a determiner. Oo.—No; there is no determiner. There cannot be an eternal Being. J.—Consider this point. It is a main point of true wisdom. Whenever there is an execution of a purpose, there must be an agent. Oo.—[After a little thought] I must say that my mind is very decided and hard, and, unless you tell me something more to the purpose, I shall never believe. J.—Well, teacher, I wish you to believe, not for my profit, but for yours. I daily pray the true God to give you light, that you may believe. Whether you will ever believe in this world I don't know, but when you die I know you will believe what I now say. You will then appear before the God you now deny. Oo.—I don't know that.'—pp. 49—52.

Mrs. Judson gives an account of the great feast of Gaudama, which continues for three days, at which all the country round attends, with the viceroy and his officers in state; these days are spent in amusements, such as boxing, dancing, singing; theatrical shows are exhibited, and innumerable fireworks discharged. After describing the splendid pagoda, she says—

'The ground on which this pagoda is situated, commands a view of the surrounding country, which presents one of the most beautiful landscapes in nature. The polished spires of the pagodas, glistening among the trees at a distance, appear like the *steeples of meeting-houses* in our American sea-ports. The verdant appearance of the country, the hills and valleys, ponds and rivers, the banks of which are covered with cattle and fields of rice; each in their turn attract the eye, and cause the beholder to exclaim, "Was this delightful country made to be the residence of idolaters?" '—p. 102.

Our worthy missionaries, however, mistake the tenets of the Boudhists with regard to a future existence; the *nigban* is not, as they say, *annihilation*, or a state in which existence ceases; it is merely a state of *rest*—of perfect tranquillity—free from pain and undisturbed by the passions: such as is meant to be represented in the images which we see of Boudh or of Gaudama, sitting with legs and arms crossed and with closed eyes. In this respect there is a great difference between the gods of the Brahmins and of the Boudhists, the former being always represented in a state of activity, either for good or for evil; whereas the latter are always quiescent. To arrive at this blissful state, the soul must undergo a vast number of migrations, and suffer various torments, until, after a long series of ages, it becomes purified from all its defilements, and is then received on the Mountain Meru, the Elysium of the Boudhists, 'where the mind reposes on an unruffled sea of bliss.' The name, which the Burmans have given to their capital, contradicts the idea of annihilation—*Amaapoora, the city of the immortals;* and the sovereign

begins his decrees with 'I, the King, immortal,' &c. Their belief is, that the soul must pass through a long purification, in a place very like the purgatory of the Catholics, or, which is nearly the same thing, the Tartarus of the Romans.

> —— exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum
> Supplicia expendunt. Aliæ panduntur inanes
> Suspensæ ad ventos: aliis sub gurgite vasto
> Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni.
> Quisque suos patimur Manis; exinde per amplum
> Mittimur Elysium, et pauci læta arva tenemus:
> Donec longa dies, perfecto temporis orbe,
> Concretam exemit labem, purumque reliquit
> Æthereum sensum, atque aurai simplicis ignem.

A French lady, resident at Rangoon, introduced Mrs. Judson to the wife of the Viceroy, who received her with great kindness, told her how pleased she was to see her, and desired her to repeat her visit every day. This excellent pagan seems to have had all that kind feeling for the unfortunate which is the distinguishing character of the sex in every part of the world, and she had soon an opportunity of proving that her attention was not the mere effect of idle curiosity. The solitary pair were bereaved of their first and only child; it may well be conceived to how forlorn and pitiable a state such a visitation under such circumstances would reduce them. This good woman did not then forsake the mourners.

'A few days after the death of our little boy, her highness, the viceroy's wife, visited us, with a numerous retinue. She really appeared to sympathize with us in our affliction, and requested Mr. Judson not to let it too much affect his health, which was already very feeble. Some time after her visit, she invited us to go out into the country with her, for the benefit of our health, and that our minds, as she expressed it, might become cool. We consented; and she sent us an elephant, with a howdah upon it, for our conveyance. We went three or four miles through the woods. Sometimes the small trees were so near together, that our way was impassable, but by the elephant's breaking them down, which he did with the greatest ease, at the word of the driver. The scene was truly interesting. Picture to yourselves, my dear parents, thirty men with spears and guns, and red caps on their heads, which partly covered their shoulders, then a huge elephant caparisoned with a gilt howdah, which contained a tall, genteel female, richly dressed in red and white silk. We had the honour of riding next to her ladyship; after us, three or four elephants, with her son and some of the members of government. Two or three hundred followers, male and female, concluded the procession. Our ride terminated in the centre of a beautiful garden of the viceroy's. I say beautiful, because it was entirely the work of nature—art had no hand in it. It was full of a variety of fruit trees, growing wild and luxuriant. The noble banyan formed a delightful shade,

shade, under which our mats were spread, and we seated ourselves to enjoy the scenery around us. Nothing could exceed the endeavours of the vicereine to make our excursion agreeable. She gathered fruit, and pared it; culled flowers, and knotted them, and presented them with her own hands; which was a mark of her condescension. At dinner she had her cloth spread by ours, nor did she refuse to partake of whatever we presented her. We returned in the evening, fatigued with riding on the elephant, delighted with the country and the hospitality of the Burmans, and dejected and depressed with their superstition and idolatry —their darkness, and ignorance of the true God.'—pp. 63—65.

The death of this child was a dreadful blow to the solitary couple. 'Deprived as we were,' says Mrs. Judson, 'of every source of enjoyment of a temporal nature, our every affection was entangled by this darling object. When our heavenly father saw we had converted the precious gift into an idol, he removed it from us, and thereby taught us the necessity of placing our supreme affections on Him.' The poor, disconsolate mother thus writes to her friends:—

'Since worship, I have stolen away to a much-loved spot, where I love to sit and pay the tribute of affection to my lost, darling child. It is a little inclosure of mango trees, in the centre of which is erected a small bamboo house, on a rising spot of ground, which looks down on the new made grave of our infant boy. Here I now sit; and, though all nature around wears a most romantic, delightful appearance, yet my heart is sad, and my tears frequently stop my pen. You, my dear Mrs. L., who are a mother, may imagine my sensations; but, if you have never lost a first-born, an only son, you cannot know my pain. Had you even buried your little boy, you are in a Christian country, surrounded by friends and relatives, who could sooth your anguish, and direct your attention to other objects. But, behold us, solitary and alone, with this one source of recreation! Yet this is denied us—this must be removed, to show us that we need no other source of enjoyment but God himself. Do not think, though I write thus, that I repine at the dealings of Providence, or would wish them to be otherwise than they are. No: "though he slay me, I will trust in him," is the language I would adopt. Though I say with the prophet, "Behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow," yet I would also say with him, "It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed, because his compassions fail not." God is the same when he afflicts, as when he is merciful: just as worthy of our entire trust and confidence now, as when he entrusted us with the precious little gift. There is a bright side, even in this heavy affliction.' —pp. 58, 59.

We give these extracts, less with for the sake of their intrinsic value, than to show how superior in style and sentiment are these Baptist missionaries to those fanatics who but too frequently, imagining themselves inspired, jump from the stall or the shop-

board, to instruct others in matters of awful importance, of which they are themselves utterly ignorant.

The loss of his child, and the intense study of a most difficult language, had at length so much injured the head and nerves of Mr. Judson, his eyes had become so bad, and his digestive powers so weak, as to oblige him to give up all study; and they were seriously contemplating a voyage to Bengal, in the hope that sea air and medical assistance might prove of benefit to him. But even this did not shake their constancy. Mrs. Judson thus writes to her parents:—

'We had fondly hoped that, by the time the language was acquired, a wide and effectual door would be opened for the preaching of the gospel. But our hopes are blasted, and our brightest prospects darkened. And now, my dear parents, I think I hear you say, "Are you not discouraged yet? Is it not best entirely to abandon your object, and come home to America, and settle down in peace and quiet!" No! by no means. We will still intercede with our heavenly Father, not only to return us to this mission, but to make this affliction tend greatly to its advancement. Or, if we may not be permitted to return, we will beg and plead with others to come, and go on with the mission. We will tell them that it is possible for missionary families to live in Burmah without molestation. We will tell them what our eyes have seen, and what our ears have heard, of the dreadful delusions of this people, and how much they need the commiseration of the Christian world. We will do more. We will return to Burmah with them, and spend the remainder of our days, though deprived of health and strength, in assisting them to acquire the language, and encouraging them in their arduous work. No, my dear parents, our hearts are fixed on this mission; and, with grace assisting us, we shall relinquish it only with our lives.'—pp. 62, 63.

Mr. Judson however recovered his health, and resumed his studies, in which he was so successful that, on the arrival of Mr. Hough with a printing press, he says, 'the first tract ever written in Burman, relative to the true God, was ready for printing.' Mrs. Judson also was able to employ the greater portion of her time in the school, which she had opened for instructing female children, of whom from thirty to forty attended with tolerable regularity. They complain, however, that, with all their exertions and after a course of four years, 'no Burman has renounced idolatry and embraced the religion of Christ.' The Burmans, Mrs. Judson says, 'are mad on their idols, and their whole souls seem engaged in idolatry.' In two years more however they had 'the joyful intelligence to communicate, that one Burman has embraced the Christian religion, and given good evidence of being a true disciple of the *dear* Redeemer.' He was baptized. 'We proceeded,' they say, 'to a large pond in the vicinity,

vicinity, the bank of which is graced with an enormous image of Gaudama, and there administered baptism to the first Burman convert. This man, of the humblest class, shortly afterwards brought another, a poor fisherman, who, with a third, became, in the course of a year, a candidate for baptism. But, urged by fear of the ruling powers, they requested that the ceremony might take place in private and in the evening; as it appeared that some intimation had been given to the government of the first performance of this rite, and in consequence of it an order been issued for inquiring further into the case. To this request the missionary saw no objection, as, on searching the scriptures, *it did not appear that John administered baptism at any particular time, or day, or hour.* But the fear of the government, and the desertion of those crowds which had hitherto occasionally attended the preaching in the Zayat (chapel), appear to have cast a gloom over the ceremony.

'We proceeded to the spot, where Moung Nau was formerly baptized. The sun was not allowed to look upon the humble, timid profession. No wondering crowd crowned the overshadowing hill. No hymn of praise expressed the exultant feelings of joyous hearts. Stillness and solemnity pervaded the scene. We felt, on the banks of the water, as a little, feeble, solitary band. But perhaps some hovering angels took note of the event, with more interest than they witnessed the late coronation; perhaps Jesus looked down on us, pitied and forgave our weaknesses, and marked us for his own; perhaps, if we deny him not, he will acknowledge us another day, more publicly than we venture at present to acknowledge him.'—p. 204.

These three were all their conversions in seven or eight years; and yet it seems that conversion or regeneration is sometimes the work of a very few days: for, in speaking of a fourth and the last convert whom they baptized in the course of ten years, they say, 'this is the man, who, from not knowing that there was such a being in the universe as a God, became a speculative believer, a penitent, a hopeful recipient of grace, and a candidate for baptism, all in the space of *three days*.'

It was now but too evident that a persecuting spirit, instigated by the Rahaans or priests of Boudh, was beginning to exert itself against the missionaries; they had lost the viceroy and his lady, whom they considered as their protectors, the former having been appointed to a situation at the seat of government; and his successor had been prevailed on to issue an order, 'that no person wearing a hat, shoes, or umbrella, or mounted on a horse, should approach within the sacred ground belonging to the great pagoda.' Now as this ground embraced every road leading to their little establishment, the order was evidently directed against them,

them, and the immediate effect was, that none of the natives came near them. In this state of their affairs, a longer stay at Rangoon was evidently useless; it was therefore decided that Mr. Judson and brother Colman (who had joined the mission) should proceed to Aya without delay, and lay their business before the Emperor. The viceroy made no difficulty in 'granting them a pass' to go up to the golden feet, and lift up their eyes to the golden face.' *Golden*, it seems, is the universal epithet of the Burman Emperor; and with some reason, as he and the pagodas exclusively engross this precious metal; the use of it is prohibited to his subjects, who are to be satisfied with silver and lead; these latter metals are used in bulk as the medium of exchange. The Emperor of the Burmans, like him of China, has been taught to consider himself the greatest potentate on earth. He told Captain Canning, who was sent as envoy to Ava in 1810, with great gravity, that if the King of Great Britain had only sent to ask his assistance in the revolutionary war, he would very soon have placed all France at his disposal.

As soon as our missionaries had completed their preparations, they took places in a passage-boat of six feet in width and forty in length, with a temporary deck thatched over with mats, and divided into two low rooms, in which they could just sit and lie down. It had ten rowers, and the passengers amounted to twenty-four. There was some difficulty in determining what kind of present they should carry to the Emperor—for the Golden Face, like all his brother monarchs of the East, is quite unapproachable without a present. After some time, however, they agreed that it ought to be 'something congruous with their character,' and they therefore fixed upon the very thing that was wholly incongruous with the character of the intended receiver—a BIBLE!—'the Bible in six volumes, covered with gold leaf, in Burman style, and each volume inclosed in a rich wrapper.'

Thus furnished, our missionaries pushed off from the shores of Rangoon: on the twelfth day they reached Pyee (vulgarly called Prome) one hundred and twenty miles from Rangoon, the seat of an ancient dynasty of kings—but now in a state of complete dilapidation: in fifteen days more they came to Pahgan, a place celebrated in Burman history, about two hundred and sixty miles from Rangoon. Its present state is thus described:

'Took a survey of the splendid [illegible] and extensive ruins, in the environs of this once famous city. Ascended, as far as possible, some of the highest edifices, and, at the height of one hundred feet perhaps, beheld all the country round, covered with temples and monuments of every sort and size—some in utter ruin—some fast decaying—and some exhibiting marks of recent attention and repair. The remains of the ancient

ancient wall of the city stretched beneath us. The pillars of the gates, and many a grotesque decapitated relic of antiquity, chequered the motley scene. All conspired to suggest those elevated and mournful ideas, which are attendant on a view of the decaying remains of ancient grandeur; and though not comparable to such ruins as those of Palmyra and Balbec (as they are represented), still deeply interesting to the antiquary, and more deeply interesting to the Christian missionary.'—p. 223.

The multitude of temples in ruins may be accounted for by the prevalent notion, that, however meritorious it may be to repair an old temple, it is much more so to build a new one.

In seven days more they approached New Ava, or Amrapoora, about three hundred and fifty miles from Rangoon. When within four miles of this place, 'we can hardly,' say they, 'distinguish the golden steeple of the palace, amid the glittering pagodas, whose summits just suffice to mark the spot of our ultimate destination.' The former viceroy of Rangoon and his wife received them with great kindness, and appeared to interest themselves in their success. They communicated to them the object of their journey, and that they had come up desiring to behold the Golden Face. The viceroy, now a minister of state, handed them over to Moung Zah, the proper minister for arranging the ceremony of the introduction. They explained to this personage the nature of their business, told him they were missionaries, or, 'propagators of religion;' that their object was to appear before the emperor, and to present to him their sacred books, accompanied with a petition. Just at this moment it was announced, that the golden foot was about to advance. They were conducted with great haste into a magnificent hall. Moung Yo, who finally had them in charge, directed them where to sit, taking his place on one side of them, and depositing their present on the other.

'The scene to which we were now introduced really surpassed our expectation. The spacious extent of the hall, the number and magnitude of the pillars, the height of the dome, the whole completely covered with gold, presented a most grand and imposing spectacle. Very few were present, and those evidently great officers of state. Our situation prevented us from seeing the further avenue of the hall; but the end where we sat opened into the parade, which the emperor was about to inspect. We remained above five minutes, when every one put himself into the most respectful attitude, and Moung Yo whispered that his majesty had entered. We looked through the hall, as far as the pillars would allow, and presently caught sight of this modern Ahasuerus. He came forward, unattended—in solitary grandeur—exhibiting the proud gait and majesty of an eastern monarch. His dress was rich, but not distinctive; and he carried in his hand the golden sheathed sword, which

seems to have taken the place of the sceptre of ancient times. But it was his high aspect and commanding eye, that chiefly riveted our attention. He strided on. Every head, excepting ours, was now in the dust. We remained kneeling, our hands folded, our eyes fixed on the monarch. When he drew near, we caught his attention. He stopped, partly turned towards us—"Who are these?" "The teachers, great king," I replied. "What, you speak Burman—the priests that I heard of last night?" "When did you arrive?" "Are you teachers of religion?" "Are you like the Portugueze priest?" "Are you married?" "Why do you dress so?" These, and some other similar questions, we answered; when he appeared to be pleased with us, and sat down on an elevated seat—his hand resting on the hilt of his sword, and his eyes intently fixed on us. Moung Zah now began to read the petition, and it ran thus:'—(pp. 228—230.)

'The petition merely stated that, as American teachers, they had come up to behold the golden face, and had reached the bottom of the golden feet, to ask permission to preach their religion in the Burman empire, and that those who were pleased with it, whether foreigners or Burmans, might not be molested by the officers of government, which was the only favour they had to ask of 'the excellent king, the sovereign of land and sea.'

'The emperor heard this petition, and stretched out his hand. Moung Zah crawled forward and presented it. His majesty began at the top, and deliberately read it through. In the mean time I gave Moung Zah an abridged copy of the tract, in which every offensive sentence was corrected, and the whole put into the handsomest style and dress possible. After the emperor had perused the petition, he handed it back, without saying a word, and took the tract. Our hearts now rose to God for a display of his grace. "O, have mercy on Burmah! Have mercy on her king!" But, alas! the time was not yet come. He held the tract long enough to read the two first sentences, which assert that there is one eternal God, who is independent of the incidents of mortality, and that, beside him, there is no God; and then, with an air of indifference, perhaps disdain, he dashed it down to the ground! Moung Zah stooped forward, picked it up, and handed it to us. Moung Yo made a slight attempt to save us, by unfolding one of the volumes which composed our present, and displaying its beauty; but his majesty took no notice. Our fate was decided. After a few moments, Moung Zah interpreted his royal master's will in the following terms:—"In regard to the objects of your petition, his majesty gives no order. In regard to your sacred books, his majesty has no use for them—take them away."

'Something was now said about brother Colman's skill in medicine; upon which the emperor once more opened his mouth, and said, "Let them proceed to the residence of my physician, the Portugueze priest; let him examine whether they can be useful to me in that line, and report accordingly." He then rose from his seat, strided on to the end of the hall, and there, after having dashed to the ground the first intelligence that he had ever received of the eternal God, his Maker, his Preserver, his Judge,

Judge, he threw himself down on a cushion, and lay listening to the music, and gazing at the parade spread out before him.

'As for us and our present, we were hurried away without much ceremony. We passed out of the palace gates with much more facility than we entered, and were conducted first to the house of Mya-day-men. There his officer reported our reception, but in as favourable terms as possible; and as his highness was not apprized of our precise object, our repulse appeared, probably, to him, not so decisive as we knew it to be. We were next conducted two miles, through the sun and dust of the streets of Ava, to the residence of the Portugueze priest. He very speedily ascertained that we were in possession of no wonderful secret, which would secure the emperor from all disease, and make him live for ever; and we were accordingly allowed to take leave of the reverend Inquisitor, and retreat to our boat.'—pp. 231—233.

Thus were all their hopes of protection from the sovereign of the Burman empire dashed to the ground, as he had dashed their religious tract; and they were advised, for their own safety, after such an inauspicious reception, to make the best of their way back again to Rangoon, lest Amrapoora should prove too warm for them. They give us but few observations of what they saw along the Irrawaddey, but those few are favourable to the general appearance of the country and its inhabitants; it was now a time of peace, and the beginning of a new reign. The banks were crowded with villages, with a numerous population, apparently healthy, happy and vigorous, by no means wanting in curiosity, which they indulged without being troublesome or uncivil. Mrs. Judson says that the united kingdoms of Arracan, Ava and Pegu, which constitute the Burman empire, are estimated to contain about nineteen millions; Colonel Symes says seventeen; his successor, Colonel Cox, eight; and Captain Canning, about four; so little dependence is to be placed on the information of travellers on subjects of this kind.

On the return of the missionaries to Rangoon, they found that a conspiracy had been formed in their absence, by the priests and officers of a neighbouring village, to destroy one of the small number of their neophytes. The man had fled for safety, but one of the conspirators complained to the new viceroy, that the teacher, who had forsaken his religion, 'was making every endeavour to turn the priests' rice-pot bottom upwards.' 'What consequence,' said the viceroy; 'let the priests turn it back again.' The priests of Boudh are, however, too powerful in the Burman empire, to suffer their 'rice-pots' to be easily or safely turned up; and the viceroy appeared to know it. In fact their 'rice-pots' are filled voluntarily by the people, on whose charity they entirely subsist; they do not even take the trouble of having their victuals cooked, or any of the domestic functions performed, within

within the precincts of the temple or the convent; but those of the inferior orders, or noviciates, sally out every morning to collect food ready dressed, walking at a quick pace along the streets, with a blue lackered box or a covered porcelain jar in their hands, never stopping for a moment, nor deigning to look to the right or left, but keeping their eyes fixed on the ground. These gentry of the yellow vest are much more respected here than their brethren are in China.

'When a priest dies he has peculiar honours paid him. Several months since, a neighbouring priest died, or *returned*, for the Burmans think it undignified to say that *a priest dies;* his body was immediately wrapped up in tar and wax; holes were perforated through the feet, and some distance up the legs, into which one end of a hollow bamboo was inserted, and the other fixed in the ground; the body was then pressed and squeezed, so that its fluids were forced down through the legs, and conveyed off by means of the bamboos; in this state of preservation the body has been kept. For some days past preparations have been making to burn this *sacred relic*, and to-day it has passed off in fumigation! We all went to see it, and returned sorry that we had spent our time to so little profit. On four wheels was erected a kind of stage, or tower, about twelve or fifteen feet high, ornamented with paintings of different colours and figures, and small mirrors. On the top of this was constructed a kind of balcony, in which was situated the coffin, decorated with small pieces of glass, of different hues, and the corpse, half of which was visible above the edge of the coffin, entirely covered with gold leaf. Around the tower and balcony were fixed several bamboo poles, covered with red cloth, displaying red flags at their ends, and small umbrellas, glittering with spangles; among which was one larger than the others, covered with gold leaf, shading the corpse from the sun. Around the upper part of the balcony was suspended a curtain of white gauze, about a cubit in width, the lower edge of which was hung round with small pieces of isinglass; above the whole was raised a lofty quadrangular pyramid, graduating into a spire, constructed in a light manner of split bamboo, covered with small figures cut out of white cloth, and waving to and fro, for some distance, in the air. The whole, from the ground to the top of the spire, might measure fifty feet. This curious structure, with some *living* priests upon it, was drawn half a mile by *women* and *boys*, delighted with the sport, and in the midst of a large concourse of shouting and joyous spectators. On their arrival at the place of burning, ropes were attached to the hind end of the car, and a whimsical sham contest, by adverse pulling, was for some time maintained, one party seemingly indicating a reluctance to have the precious corpse burned. At length the foremost party prevailed, and the body must be reduced to ashes! Amidst this there were loud shoutings, clapping of hands, the sound of drums, of tinkling and wind instruments, and a most disgusting exhibition of female dancing, but no weeping or wailing. The vehicle was then taken to pieces, the most valuable parts of which were preserved, and the body consumed.'—pp. 82, 83.

Great

Great and most potent, however, as the priests of Boudh are, there is a kind of sacred personage still greater than the highest of them, and next in rank to the sovereign: this is no other than that diseased animal the White Elephant, far more highly venerated here than in Siam; the only two countries where the superstitious notions concerning it prevail, which form no part of the Boudhists' creed. This creature is supposed, by the Burmans, to have lodged within its carcase a blessed soul of some human being, which has arrived at the last stage of the many millions of transmigrations it was doomed to undergo, and which, when it escapes, will be absorbed into the essence of the Deity. We are told that this sacred personage 'has a regular cabinet, composed of a *woonghee*, or prime minister; a *woondock*, or secretary of state; a *songhee*, or inferior secretary; a *nakeen*, or transmitter of intelligence, besides other subordinate ministers and functionaries, some of whom manage the estates which he possesses in various parts of the country'; and that 'presents of muslins, chintzes and silks are regularly made by all foreign ambassadors.' All this may very well be a contrivance to put money in the pockets of those who have the good fortune to get upon the establishment of the 'White Elephant,' but his habitation and treatment can only be accounted for by the grossest superstition, unless indeed they are fraudulently kept up as necessary to blind the eyes of the populace.

'The residence of the White Elephant is contiguous to the royal palace, with which it is connected by a long open gallery, supported by numerous wooden pillars, at the further end of which a curtain of black velvet, embossed with gold, conceals the august animal from the eyes of the vulgar; and before this curtain the offerings intended for him are displayed. His dwelling is a lofty hall, covered with splendid gilding both inside and out, and supported by sixty-four pillars, half of which are elegantly gilt. To two of these his fore feet are fixed by silver chains, while his hind ones are secured by links of a baser material. His bed consists of a thick mattress, covered with blue cloth, over which another of softer composition is spread, covered with crimson silk. His trappings are very magnificent, being gold, studded with large diamonds, pearls, sapphires, rubies, and other precious stones. His betel-box, spitting-pot, ancle-rings, and the vessel out of which he feeds, are likewise all of gold, inlaid with precious stones; and his attendants and guard amount to one thousand persons.'*

In the year 1821, Mrs. Judson's health had suffered so much, that it became absolutely necessary for her to return to America; and in 1822 the path of duty, we are told, led Mr. Judson to Ava; that is to say, such was the indifference of the multitude on the

* Hamilton's Description of Hindostan, &c.

one

one hand, and the fears of their few converts on the other, of being molested by the government, that there remained no longer any hopes of success in Rangoon. In 1823, Mrs. Judson returned to Rangoon, where she rejoined her husband, who had come down to receive her, and both proceeded, without delay, to Ava; 'the king's own brother requesting Mr. Judson's speedy return, and to bring with him all the sacred books.' In a letter dated February, 1824, Mrs. Judson expresses herself delighted with the reception they had met with from all ranks, and particularly from some of the higher orders; her old friend, the lady of the former Viceroy of Rangoon, who was now dead, was among the first to welcome her arrival.

We can scarcely hope that these brightening prospects should not have been clouded by the unfortunate war which was just then beginning; although we trust that the lives of this interesting couple may have been spared. Even this, however, is by no means certain; we regret to find that the newspaper statement of their having been sent down to Prome to negociate for peace is entirely without foundation; and by the latest accounts from Calcutta, it appears that no tidings had been received from them for eighteen months, and the greatest fears were entertained for their safety.* * This war is exceedingly to be lamented; ample provocation may have been given, and we may hope to extend the benefits of civilization to the Burmans in the event of our complete success; but these are distant and contingent prospects, while the loss and danger are heavy, certain and immediate. The destruction of human life has been enormous; we *might* have lost every thing that we possess in Hindostan, and misery *must* be entailed on the Burmans for years to come. To say nothing of the expense which it has already involved, or the destruction of an important branch of trade between Rangoon, Calcutta and Madras, this war brought into jeopardy the peace and property of sixty or seventy millions of our Hindostanee subjects, by the temptation which it held out to the native chieftains, to burst forth with their bands of marauders, and spread such terror and desolation over the land, as have not been witnessed since the

* Our fears for the safety of Mr. and Mrs. Judson are increased by a very interesting but distressing account in the Missionary Register of June, 1825, of the sufferings of the American Missionaries at Rangoon, from January to May in 1824, from which they were providentially delivered on its capture by the English forces. Some allowance must, perhaps, be made for the highly excited feelings under which the account is written; but after every fair deduction, it must be confessed that it leaves upon our minds an impression of that mixture of cowardice, cruelty and impetuosity in the character of the Burmese, which makes the situation of this poor couple peculiarly perilous as they seem to be rather exposed to tigers, than living among their fellow-creatures.

irruption

irruption of Hyder Aly. This is no idle boding. It is but too certain that a combination was forming in the north-west. These men were only waiting for a favourable moment to unite themselves with the deposed Rajahs and Rajpoots, who, 'shorn of their beams,' are naturally enough disaffected to the present order of things. We scarcely need observe, what is well known to those who have been long in India, that we hold it mainly by the belief in our military superiority; for though in a narrow circle round the Presidencies, where our system of government, and the strict administration of justice, are practically understood, there is no wish to revert to the old dynasties; yet this is very far from being the case in the more remote parts of the peninsula, where the prejudices of caste, and love of ancient customs, make the natives cling with something like veneration to their former rulers, stripped as they are of all their pomp and power. The Catholic priests possess not a greater influence over the peasantry of Ireland, than the brahmins over the people of Hindostan; and what have not the brahmins to dread from the progress of our language, laws, and religion?

It is hardly fair to suppose that these circumstances were not taken into consideration by Lord Amherst and his advisers; but they certainly made a false estimate of the power and resources of the Burmans, when they so hastily determined on the invasion of their country. They believed perhaps that the military establishment was the same now as thirty years ago; that the regular army did not exceed in all probability two thousand cavalry, armed with spears; and from four to five thousand infantry, ill-disciplined, and irregularly armed; to which might be added a few field-pieces, managed by a mongrel breed from India, on whom the wearing of a hat and a pair of breeches confers the name of Portugueze, and two or three renegade French officers. They could not have anticipated that one city alone, that of Prome, would be found to contain more than one hundred pieces of ordnance, and to have been capable, had not the Burmese leader been killed or deserted his men, of resisting ten times the force that was brought against it. But whatever was the belief as to the actual state of their fortified towns, and the extent of their regular forces, Lord Amherst might fairly consider that neither the one nor the other could long resist his well-disciplined sepoys, led on by the gallantry of British officers. This, however, is not a war merely against the regular army of Burmah; it appears pretty certain, that the Bengal government either did not know or left out of their calculation, that the whole Burman population, capable of bearing arms, could at once be brought against the invading army; that all the lands in the empire are held on a tenure resembling

sembling that of the feud; that a levy of a hundred thousand men could at the shortest notice be brought down to any specified point on the frontier by means of the numerous navigable rivers which intersect the country; and that, in addition to these levies, might be brought into operation, along the whole course of the Irrawaddey, from five hundred to a thousand war-boats, carrying each from forty to eighty rowers, with a piece of ordnance, a nine or ten pounder, in the prow, and having on board, besides the rowers, twenty or thirty men armed with muskets and pikes; the towns on the banks of the rivers being compelled to furnish men for these boats.

We had very soon proofs of the efficacy of these war-boats. When we had taken Rangoon, several hundred of them were brought down to arrest our advance up the river, which, with the aid of immense fire-rafts, completely succeeded for the first year of the campaign in stopping our progress. Severe conflicts were constantly had between our gunboats and those of the Burmans, but the latter invariably beat ours in speed, and generally effected their escape. On one occasion a squadron of about forty, thinking themselves safe, by the protection of an extensive raft stretching across the river, maintained their ground for some time; but there was fortunately attached to our squadron a steam-boat, which a private individual had fitted up in India. The lieutenant who commanded her, seeing an opening on the right, got up the steam to the highest pitch, dashed forward, and in a moment was in the midst of the Burman boats; a desperate conflict ensued, which ended in our capturing thirty out of the forty so assembled. The splashing of the wheels, turning round without the appearance of human aid, the hissing noise from the safety-valve, and the dense column of smoke, must have astonished the Burmans, who, in fact, were seen in great numbers to plunge into the stream, in which many no doubt perished. These numerous boats and the fire-rafts seem to have kept our gallant little squadron constantly on the alert.

If the Governor-general did duly appreciate the power and resources of the Burmans, and came to the conclusion, probably the just one, that their forces could make no stand against disciplined troops, it seems at least to have escaped him, as it did a greater general in another hemisphere, that, though his soldiers were sure to conquer those of the enemy, they were by no means so sure of conquering the elements; that the Burmans had only to retreat to their strong holds in the mountains, and lay waste their towns and villages, which they could rebuild in a month, drive the cattle from the plains, and leave disease and famine to do the rest, which, with the assistance of swamps, jungles, forests,

forests, and the rainy season, they would speedily and surely accomplish.

The Burmans, however, did not act thus; they met us bravely and resolutely, disputed every foot of their territory, and checked effectually the progress of the invading army, which in twelve months was unable to push forward twelve miles. They are, indeed, not only a brave, they are also an intelligent race, and in a higher degree of civilization than the people of any of the surrounding nations; in disposition they are the very reverse of the quiet and tranquil Hindoo; impatient of insult, yet by no means disinclined to listen to reason and argument. The Indian government had a memorable instance of this in the year 1795, when three notorious robbers fled for refuge to the province of Chittagong. The emperor ordered an officer, with three or four thousand men, to march into the province, and not to leave it, on any account, without bringing back the delinquents, dead or alive. A force was immediately dispatched from Calcutta to prevent this, under the command of General Erskine. The Burman chief, on crossing the river, had informed the magistrate of Chittagong, that he had no intention of commencing hostilities against the English, but that he was determined not to depart until the fugitives were given up, and, to confirm this menace, he surrounded his camp with a stockade.

On the approach of General Erskine, the Burman chief sent in a flag of truce, stipulating for the surrender of the robbers. The general replied, that he could enter into no terms so long as the Burmans continued on British ground, but that as soon as they had retired within their own position he would listen to their complaints, and that if they did not retreat within a limited time, recourse must be had to force. On this the Burman chief, with a manly confidence, came in person to the general, and the whole business was at once amicably arranged; it was observed that the retreat of their troops was conducted in the most orderly manner, nor was a single act of violence committed in the course of it, or during their continuance on the British territories. It is greatly to be lamented that, previously to the present hostilities, the commander of the British forces had not been instructed, as General Erskine was, to try what negociation might effect, instead of rushing into a war which, splendid as have been the achievements of our troops, and to whatever termination they may lead, can confer no advantage on either party, and has inflicted a deplorable loss on both.

ART.

ART. III.—1. *A Vindication of* 1 *John v. 7. from the Objections of M. Griesbach. The Second Edition, to which are added, a Preface in Reply to the Quarterly Review, and a Postscript in Answer to a recent Publication entitled Palæoromaica.* By Thomas Burgess, D.D. F.R.S. F.A.S. and F.R.S.L. Bishop of St. David's.

2. *A Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. David's, on a Passage of the Second Symbolum Antiochenum of the Fourth Century, as an Evidence of the Authenticity of John v. 7.* By the Bishop of St. David's.* 1825.

3. *Three Letters addressed to the Editor of the Quarterly Review, in which is demonstrated the Genuineness of the Three Heavenly Witnesses,* 1 *John v. 7.* By Ben David. 1825.

WE wish to inform our readers, in the outset of this Article, that the greater part of it was written a considerable time ago; and has lain by us unpublished, from a reluctance to persevere in controversy with a prelate of our own church. The 'Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. David's,' and the 'Three Letters to the Editor of the Quarterly Review,' having very recently fallen into our hands, the subject on which they treat has again engaged our serious attention. We have, in consequence, once more determined to avow our sentiments on the matter in debate, and this we shall do *fully and finally*. Our hope is, that what we have now stated, as well as the great importance of the subject, will be accepted as an apology for the extent of our observations.

'There cannot be better service done to the truth, than to purge it of things spurious; and therefore, knowing your prudence and calmness of temper, I am confident I shall not offend you by telling you my mind plainly: especially since it is no article of faith, no point of discipline, nothing but a criticism concerning a text of Scripture, which I am going to write about.'—Such was the dignified language in which Sir Isaac Newton addressed his friend, when sending him a treatise, 'On the Testimony of the Three in Heaven.' We earnestly request that the Bishop of St. David's will do us the honour to accept this sentence, from the pen of our great philosopher, as an indication of the disposition of mind in which we would endeavour to state the result of our inquiries into the same subject. Something, we fear, like

* We have to congratulate Bishop Burgess, and the public, on his lordship's translation to the see of Salisbury. These works, however, having been published, and almost the whole of this article written, previous to his translation, we have retained the title of the Bishop of St. David's, in preference to that of the Bishop of Salisbury.

a feeling

a feeling of displeasure may be traced in the manner in which he has replied to our remarks upon his 'Vindication of 1 John v. 7.' The respect, however, which we have long entertained for his character has not, on that account, undergone the slightest diminution; and in the observations which we are now about to offer the world we should be sorry to let fall a single expression, which might be justly thought offensive. We shall certainly, we trust, write temperately and respectfully, though we must write firmly, in what we believe to be the cause of truth.

Since the publication of our first remarks on the 'Vindication,' his lordship has collected into one volume various dissertations on the disputed verse, by Mill, Wetstein, Bengelius, Sabatier, Selden, and other eminent writers. These dissertations are, for the most part, in favour of its authenticity. The volume contains also a few remarks from the pen of the right reverend editor. We mention it principally for the purpose of introducing some observations on the sentiments of Dr. Bentley with regard to the subject under discussion. The bishop is anxious—and very naturally—to strike out the name of that great critic from the list of those against whom he must contend in support of the authenticity of the verse.

In a letter which is reprinted in the volume just mentioned, Dr. Bentley, after giving a short account of his projected edition of the New Testament, proceeds in the following manner:—

'Now in this work I indulge nothing to any conjecture, not even in a letter; but proceed solely upon authority of copies, and fathers of that age (the age of Jerome). And what will be the event about the said verse of John, I myself know not yet; having not used all the old copies that I have information of.

'But by this you will see that, in my proposed work, the fate of that verse will be a mere *question of fact*. You endeavour to prove (and that is all you aspire to) that it *may* have been writ by the Apostle, being consonant to his other doctrine. This I concede to you; and *if the fourth century knew the text, let it come in, in God's name.*'—(*Adnotationes ad 1 Joan.* v. 7. p. 203.)

To this part of Dr. Bentley's letter, Bishop Burgess subjoins the following note:—

'Dr. Bentley's judgment here, and his preference (in a letter to Wetstein) of the most ancient Latin copies even to the Greek, (*hujusmodi Latinos veterrimos vel Græcis ipsis prætulerim*), are much more in favour of the verse than against it; for the verse *was certainly known to the Latin Fathers of the fourth century*. Yet Mr. Porson says that "Dr. Bentley read a lecture to prove this verse spurious."—(*Preface to Letters*, p. viii.) If Dr. Bentley expressed himself in his lecture so decidedly as Mr. Porson supposes, the lecture and letters must have been very much at variance. Whether the lecture be still extant or not; and, if extant,

what were its contents, we shall soon be informed by Professor Monk, in his life of Dr. Bentley, from which we may expect a large and interesting addition to the literary history of our country.'

From Dr. Bentley's 'preference of the most ancient Latin copies to the Greek,' nothing, we apprehend, can be justly inferred in favour of the verse. In some of the very old MSS. which give both the Greek text and a Latin version (such as the Beza MS. at Cambridge), the Greek and the Latin correspond almost word for word in the ordo verborum. Bentley, relying upon this, believed that, if he could completely ascertain the old Latin version, he should be enabled to settle the Greek text with the utmost accuracy. The general opinion among the learned, we believe, is, that the great critic expected more advantage from the Latin version than he would have obtained. Be that however as it may, the disputed verse is not contained in any of 'the ancient Latin copies' to which he alluded; and, as we shall soon perceive, his own declared principles forbid us to suppose that he would have introduced it, on the authority of the more recent Latin manuscripts.

It is moreover to be observed, that Bentley's letter, above cited, bears the date of Jan. 1, 1717; and that his election to the Regius Professorship of Divinity, on which occasion his lecture was delivered, took place on the 2d day of May, in the same year. Now whatever was ultimately the decision of Dr. Bentley on the subject, it is not easy to imagine how 'the Lecture and the Letters can have been very much at variance.' In his letter, he mentions the reception or rejection of the verse as a question of fact, the grounds of which he had not then completely ascertained. After further inquiry, for which the interval afforded ample time to a critic of his learning and acuteness, he determines that the verse is spurious. There is surely no inconsistency in this.

The sentiments of Dr. Bentley, on the disputed verse, excited great attention at the time. In an 'Address to the Bishops and Clergy, by a Layman,'* is the following declaration—'We have of late been alarmed with reports that a very learned critic, a member of the lower house, Dr. Bentley, Master of Trinity College, being an Archdeacon, is upon an edition of the Greek Testament, and intends to omit that text.' And that his *Prælection* was altogether opposed to its genuineness, is a fact as well attested as any in literary history. Mr. Whiston—a man well acquainted with the proceedings at Cambridge, and, however eccentric in his opinions, of great integrity—has on several occasions alluded to the subject.

* See the quotation by Emlyn, at the close of his 'Inquiry into the Authority of 1 John v. 7.'

In

In his 'Memoirs of Dr. Clarke,' (p. 61. ed. 1730.) he mentions Dr. Bentley's 'famous Lecture'—'wherein he entirely gave up the text, and publicly proved it to be spurious.'—'I have been also informed,' continues Whiston, 'that when Dr. Waterland was asked, whether Dr. Bentley's arguments did not convince him;—he replied, no, for he was convinced before. Nor does the doctor, I think, ever quote that text as genuine in any of his writings. Which in so zealous and warm a Trinitarian deserves to be taken notice of, as a singular instance of honesty and impartiality.' On this anecdote the learned and excellent Bishop of Llandaff makes the following observations, in his valuable 'Review of the Life and Writings of Dr. Waterland.'

'The correctness of this anecdote, to which much importance has been attached by those who relate it, appears to be somewhat questionable. It is asserted with great confidence, and with some degree of triumph, by Whiston, in his Memoirs of Dr. Clarke; and probably has been repeated after him by others, without further inquiry. Few authorities, however, on a matter like this, are less to be depended upon than that of Whiston; who readily caught up any current story which might furnish a ground of sarcasm on those who opposed his own opinions. Waterland has not, in any of his writings, disputed the genuineness of this text. On the contrary, in his Sermon on the Doctrine of the Trinity, published many years afterwards, he says, "that though a disputed text, it is yet not without very many and very considerable appearances of being truly genuine." And in one of his letters to Mr. Loveday, he takes notice of this anecdote related by Whiston, and treats it as a weak device or misrepresentation, for the purpose of charging him with inconsistency. But even if the statement were correct, it can be of little weight, unless the occasion and circumstances were distinctly known. It might be, that the arguments used by Bentley were such as Waterland was already well acquainted with, and brought no more conviction to his mind than what he had received before: and it might also be, that Bentley himself went no farther than to state the considerations which rendered the matter *questionable*, without inferring a positive conclusion that the text was spurious; to all which Waterland might accede, and yet deem the evidence insufficient to warrant its omission. And this is the more probable, since it appears that Bentley himself, in his proposal for a new edition of the Greek Testament, about four years afterwards, considered the point as still open to discussion.'—(pp. 25, 26.)

We have not, in this instance, the good fortune to agree with the Bishop of Llandaff; Whiston, as it appears to us, tells the story relating to Dr. Waterland, as he had heard it; he says nothing of any change of sentiment in him; and he praises him *sincerely* for not having quoted the text as genuine. At all events, from the statement, given in his own words, our readers will be enabled to judge whether the anecdote be related either 'with

great confidence,' or with 'some degree of triumph.' Beyond all doubt, Whiston was sufficiently credulous, but he was also very honest, and one of the last persons to be suspected of seeking for 'grounds of sarcasm on those who opposed his opinions.' We cannot perceive that Dr. Waterland, in his letter to Mr. Loveday, denies the truth of the story. He attempts rather to remove any impressions which it might have produced to his disadvantage. That he changed his opinion respecting the verse, we do not affirm; but we maintain that, if he changed it on sufficient grounds, there would be great injustice in charging him with inconsistency on that account. Whenever the verse shall be found in good old Greek MSS. and express quotations of it produced from the early fathers, we shall ourselves avow very different sentiments, with regard to it, from those which we now entertain. As to Dr. Bentley, it is well known that he was exceedingly annoyed by the outcry which assailed him; and we think it probable that he learned to express his notions on the verse, with somewhat of reserve and ambiguity. Indeed it was owing to this outcry, that the world was deprived of the benefit of his critical labours on the New Testament. It appears, according to the Bishop of Llandaff, 'that Bentley himself, in his proposal for a new edition of the Greek Testament, considered the point as still open to discussion.' We feel great perplexity in reading this statement; for in no copy of Bentley's proposals that we have seen, can we discover the most distant allusion to 1 John v. 7. There must, therefore, be some mistake, either on our own part or that of the learned prelate. But we now return to the Bishop of St. David's.

The evidence about to be adduced will, we believe, entirely destroy the notion that Dr. Bentley, in his celebrated lecture, was not opposed to the authenticity of the disputed passage. While, however, we withdraw that profound scholar from the advocates of the cause which Bishop Burgess is maintaining, it may be some satisfaction that we are able to substitute, in his place, a person of high consideration in the republic of letters. In exchange for the name of Richard Bentley, we tender to his lordship that of Conyers Middleton, who in the second series of his remarks on Bentley's proposals, writes thus:—

'He (Bentley) has already, we know, determined against the genuineness of the famous passage, 1 John v. 7; a reading by far the most important of all the thirty thousand (of Dr. Mill's edition); supported by good authority; and consonant and agreeable to the doctrine of the apostle. For what reason, then, has he condemned it as spurious? Why, because some manuscripts and some fathers have omitted it. And this sure is carrying the rule of omissions much farther than Dr. Mill himself; though it was, he tells us, his peculiar foible. For the doctor (Mill)

(Mill) happens here to be on the other side of the question; and in this instance has declared, even against his favourite rule, for the common reading of our printed copies.'—*Middleton's Works*, vol. iii. p. 362. 8vo.

Now it must be observed that this account was published at Cambridge, at a time when the purport of Bentley's lecture must have been a matter of universal notoriety. Here, then, we have the statement of a fact, and of an opinion. The *fact* is, that 'Dr. Bentley had determined against the genuineness of the verse:*—the *opinion* is, that the verse is 'supported by good authorities.' Perfectly contented with the fact, we will resign the opinion to the learned prelate. His lordship writes thus:—'If Dr. Bentley expressed himself in his lecture so decidedly as Mr. Porson *supposes*'—which might lead the reader to infer that Mr. Porson spoke merely from conjecture. But there is good reason to think that he had read the lecture; although he does not say so, in the place alluded to. That Mr. Porson 'had perused' the lecture we are informed in the preface to a collection of his tracts published by Mr. Kidd (p. xlvi); and when that eminent scholar was lately consulted on this point, he stated that he had derived his knowledge of the circumstance from Mr. Porson himself. On the whole, therefore, it seems impossible to entertain a doubt of the decided character of Bentley's lecture. Whether the work itself be still extant or not, is uncertain. We understand that, many years ago, the manuscript was lent to Dr. Vincent, the late Dean of Westminster; by whom it was perhaps mislaid and forgotten. This is mentioned for the purpose of directing attention to the subject; and we are not without hopes that the lecture may be again brought to light.

We now proceed to notice the second edition of the Vindication. The work opens with an advertisement containing 'remarks upon the sixth part of Bishop Marsh's Theological Lectures;' then comes 'a preface, in reply to the Quarterly Review;' at the close of the Vindication is 'a postscript, in answer to a recent publication entitled Palæo-romaica;' and the whole is terminated by a very useful index. Our principal concern is with 'the preface in reply to the Quarterly Review;' but before we advert to it, we may be allowed to mention a few of the alterations which have been made in the original tract.

When we reviewed the first edition of the Vindication, the highest expectation which we could entertain was—that our remarks might possibly obtain a passing notice from its right reverend

* The word *determined* is probably here used in its academical meaning. A thesis or prælection read in the schools, by a doctor in any faculty, is called a Determination; and the Reader is said to *determine*.

author. We certainly did not anticipate a distinct reply; and least of all could we be so vain as to imagine that any suggestions of ours would induce him to make alterations in the work itself. If we mistake not, however, his lordship has honoured us with this flattering mark of his attention. In the review, we stated our dissent from the opinion that 'it is not at all necessary that the defenders of the verse should account for its absence from the Greek MSS.' On inspecting the second edition, we find that sentence omitted; and several reasons given to account for its absence. The conclusion, to which his lordship inclines, is, that 'it was omitted by accident.' Our opinion is, that it is wanting in all the MSS. now extant, because it did not exist in the first MSS. But as these are, and can be, nothing but opinions, we leave it to our readers to decide which of them is the more probable. The bishop also mentions the *disciplina arcani* (to which we had objected) as a reason 'for the silence of many of the early fathers respecting the verse, although it be not admitted as a cause of its exclusion from the text of St. John.' On this we will now only observe that, had those early fathers omitted all mention of the doctrine of the Trinity, as a matter too high for vulgar apprehension, the notion of the *disciplina arcani* would have had some weight; but as they by no means avoided the doctrine, it is natural to suppose that they would, at some time or other, have availed themselves of so remarkable a text, either in illustration or in proof of it.

In the course of his Vindication, the bishop had, at least on three occasions, referred to Mr. Nolan's theory, that the verse was suppressed by Eusebius, in his edition of the Greek Testament. From the manner in which this was done, we fancied that it was a theory which his lordship 'seemed to approve.' We are now informed (*Preface to Second Edition*, p. 64.) that 'if the reviewer had read the tract he was reviewing a little more carefully, he must have seen that Mr. Nolan's theory is not the theory of the Bishop of St. David's.' Nor did we say that it was. But when we found his lordship stating (p. 33. *First Edition*) that 'very probable reasons had been given by Mr. Nolan, both for the absence of the verse from the latter MSS., and the silence of the fathers,' we thought the subject not unworthy of attention. We, therefore, examined the grounds of the charge brought against Eusebius—that of deliberately mutilating the Sacred Books; and we happen to know that, in the judgment of many learned persons, we completely vindicated the character of that great man. It is gratifying to us to be enabled to indulge a hope that the Bishop of St. David's is of the same opinion; for in the second edition of his Vindication (p. 123.) his lordship has restricted

structed his 'seeming approbation' to Mr. Nolan's reasons for the silence of the Greek fathers.

Again, we ventured to intimate our dislike of a paragraph in which the bishop had stated his opinion that 'without the 7th verse, instead of *three* there might be *thirty* witnesses in the 8th verse.' This opinion his lordship has very properly omitted in his second edition. But still he is greatly dissatisfied with us. Finding this sentence—'With the three witnesses of the seventh verse, the limitation to three witnesses in the eighth followed by a natural and obvious parallelism'—we were so unfortunate as to ask, 'What, then, are the water and the blood adduced as witnesses, not because the train of the apostle's reasoning required the mention of their testimony, but merely for the sake of parallelism? Can it be supposed that St. John was less attentive to the meaning than to the structure of his sentences?' It certainly did strike us that if, without the seventh verse, the number of witnesses in the eighth might have been thirty or any other number; and if, in accommodation to the *three* mentioned in the seventh verse, the number was limited to *three* in the eighth; the limitation must have been merely for the sake of parallelism. In the preface to the second edition, (p. 21.) his lordship denies that we have put the proper construction on the passage, a matter which we will rather leave to our readers to determine, than discuss with him; but we are exceedingly glad to find that the paragraph is now completely changed.

Having thus noticed a few of the principal alterations in the Vindication, we now proceed to consider the preface which the Bishop of St. David's has done us the honour to publish 'in reply to the Quarterly Review.'

In the Vindication, his lordship wished to show, after Mr. Travis, that 'the verse was extant in Greek, in the copies of Walafrid Strabo.'* To prove this it was alleged that, in the Glossa Ordinaria, Walafrid comments upon the Prologue to the Canonical Epistles by the Pseudo-Jerome, in which the verse is mentioned,—that he also comments upon the verse itself—and moreover, that, in the prefatory matter to the Glossa Ordinaria, he directs the errors of the Latin to be corrected by the Greek. This latter part of the evidence was adduced to meet an objection of Mr. Porson. Aware that few persons of that age were acquainted with the Greek language, he very justly said: 'First show that Walafrid understood Greek.' On the whole of the reasoning in favour of Walafrid's testimony to the readings of the Greek MSS. we remarked: First, that the title of Walafrid

* In compliance with modern custom we thus write the name; but in the Glossa Ordinaria, and other early works, it is written *Strabus*.

Strabo, to be considered as the author of the Glossa Ordinaria, was exceedingly questionable; Secondly, that still more questionable was his right to the Commentary on the Prologue to the Canonical Epistles; and, thirdly, that he *certainly was not* the author of the *preface* to the Glossa Ordinaria. We contented ourselves with barely stating the two first of these points, and detailed with some minuteness our proof of the last; under the impression that when the evidence for Walafrid's knowledge of Greek was destroyed, the whole argument would fall to the ground. Accordingly, we ascertained a curious fact in literary history; and the bishop himself is so obliging as to declare that we 'fully executed our purpose.' We proved, indeed, that the preface, instead of having been written by Walafrid in the ninth century, was *certainly* written later than the twelfth, and most probably by Bernardinus Gadolus, in the fifteenth century. Our diligence, the learned prelate allows, 'has added one to the list of Mr. Travis's inaccuracies;' but he still thinks that 'it detracts nothing from the importance of Walafrid's testimony to the existence of the seventh verse in the Greek copies of his time.' The following is a sketch of the controversy on this subject. The seventh verse, as Mr. Travis asserts, is acknowledged by Walafrid Strabo; who, in compiling his commentary, consulted Greek MSS.. First show, says Porson, that he understood Greek. He understood Greek, continues Travis, for he directs that Latin MSS. should be corrected by the Greek. No such thing, observe the Reviewers; for that direction which was thought to be Walafrid's, was written some centuries after the man was dead. The man, undoubtedly, was dead, replies the bishop; but Walafrid may have collated Greek MSS. notwithstanding. There is no evidence that Walafrid understood Greek, and Porson's objection is as firm as a rock, rejoin the Reviewers. And so the matter rests at the present moment.

As the bishop still lays great stress upon the authority of Walafrid's Commentaries on the Prologue to the Canonical Epistles and on the seventh verse, we will now proceed to state our reasons for believing the claim of Walafrid, to both those Commentaries, to be very questionable. In a short tract, entitled *De intentione Auctoris et modo procedendi*, which is prefixed by Nicholas de Lyra to his edition of the Biblia cum Glossis, he assigns the following, among other reasons, why he did not himself comment upon *all* Jerome's Prologues: (he says, that he had written comments upon *some* of them.) 'Tum quod dicti Prologi parum faciunt ad intellectum librorum sequentium, ut mihi videtur; *tum quod unus alius frater, videlicet Brito, de Ordine Nostro, Prologos Bibliæ valde sufficienter exposuit. Quod opus habetur communiter,*

et

et ideo intendere iterum expositioni dictorum prologorum nec mihi necessarium videbatur.' The editors of the Glossated Bible, published at Antwerp, in 1634, tell us in their preface that Erasmus had ridiculed Brito's Comments on Jerome's Prologues, and that they had deemed it expedient to omit them. It can scarcely, therefore, be doubted that the comment on this prologue was written by *Frater Brito*, who lived in the fourteenth century.—After this plain account of the source from which the Comments on the Prologues of Jerome were derived, we trust that we shall not again be told of the support afforded, either to the disputed verse or to the Prologue to the Canonical Epistles, by the Comment of Walafrid Strabo on that prologue.

With respect to the Glossa Ordinaria itself, which is a running comment upon the Scriptures compiled from the writings of the Fathers, our reason for thinking that Walafrid was not the compiler, is simply this. Nicholas de Lyra and the other editors, in assigning to the different authors, Augustine, Jerome, &c. from whose works the Comment was formed, their respective portions, assign certain parts to Strabo (Strabus); who thus appears not as the compiler, but as one of those more ancient writers, from whom the Comment was taken. But granting that he was the first, or one of the first, who engaged in compiling the Glossa Marginalis—(this must be distinguished from the Glossa Interlinearis, collected by Anselmus Laudunensis, who lived about the year 1100)—it has obviously grown, by very large subsequent additions, to its present bulk. The name of Strabus occurs very frequently in the first volume, and very seldom in the last. The Comment on the Fifth Chapter of St. John's Epistle is taken for the most part from Bede; whose name the Antwerp editors have regularly prefixed to the portions that belong to him. To the Comment on the seventh verse they have prefixed no name: obviously because they knew not what name to prefix. We maintain, therefore, that those critics who assert that the Comment on the seventh verse was written by Walafrid Strabo, assert that for which they cannot produce the slightest evidence.

There can be no end of controversy, if arguments are compelled to vouch for more than they prove. The bishop conceives that Walafrid Strabo, being a learned man, commented upon the seventh verse, because he found it in his Greek MSS. Let us adopt this reasoning and carry it a little farther. 'Walafrid Strabo was a man of learning, and of a learned school.—He was a scholar of Rabanus Maurus, as Rabanus was of Alcuin, and Alcuin of Bede.'—*Preface to Second Edition*, p. 45. Bede, according to Semler, as quoted by his lordship, was 'eruditus homo, et qui *Græcos Codices* ipse diligenter versavit.' Now,

Bede

Bede wrote a regular commentary on the First Epistle of St. John; in which he takes no notice of the seventh verse of the fifth chapter. And thus Bede did *not* comment upon the verse, because it was not in his Greek MSS. Here, then, we have the authority of Walafrid Strabo, in the ninth century, as to the Greek MSS., rebutted by that of Bede, in the eighth. The argument is not amiss, as an argumentum ad hominem; and in that light only we here avail ourselves of it. Great, indeed, is the authority of VENERABLE BEDE, whenever it can be fairly adduced. We look to him as the land-mark of the age in which he lived—'a column in the melancholy waste.' He was a man of unwearied ardour in the pursuit of knowledge, and careful to transmit it to posterity. Whatever may be thought of his evidence in relation to the Greek MSS. his silence respecting the seventh verse, in a minute commentary, must ever remain an invincible proof that it was not the received reading of the Latin MSS. in the eighth century.

There seems to be some misunderstanding between the learned prelate and ourselves respecting the Prologue to the Canonical Epistles. We will extract, from the preface to the second edition, the passage to which we allude.

'The author of the Prologue answers for the absence of the verse from some Latin copies, that is, from such as were in his possession, or were known to him. He asserts also, that it was extant in the Greek—in some Greek copies at the least. If his authority be valid for the Latin copies, is it not equally so for the Greek? "No," says the reviewer, "we think not. Little could in general be known of Greek manuscripts compared with what *we know* [read *was known*, Rev.] of Latin manuscripts." But the *question of fact* here does not depend on the comparative *number* of Greek and Latin MSS., but on the *competency* of the voucher.'—p. 47.

We maintained, what we still believe, that the Prologue is good evidence as to the Latin MSS., although inadmissible with regard to the Greek, and for this reason:—As the readers of the Latin MSS. at that time knew little or nothing of the Greek MSS., the Prologue-writer might state what he pleased, on the subject of the latter, without fear of detection. On the other hand, except the verse was then really wanting in a great many of the former, every other quality of the Prologue is lost in its folly. For this fact, therefore, the Prologue is good evidence, and for nothing more, unless it be to show that the writer was imposing upon the credulity of an illiterate age. We believe this work to have been a forgery of the eighth century. For many ages, indeed, it was considered, what it pretended to be, the production of Jerome. Simon, towards the close of the seventeenth century, assigned

assigned strong reasons for doubting its genuineness; and even the Benedictine editors of Jerome, with all their anxiety to destroy the credit of Simon, and support that of the disputed verse, are compelled to acknowledge the spuriousness of the Prologue to the Canonical Epistles.

The bishop is at a loss to understand in what way the mode of argument adopted in defence of the verse, may, as we expressed it, 'have a tendency to excite in many minds something like a feeling of uncertainty with regard to the sacred text in general.' Let us, therefore, endeavour to explain our meaning on this subject. We shall do so the more gladly, because the nature of our observations will bring into consideration the *principles* upon which the point at issue must be finally determined. Few of those who take an interest in the controversy have accurately defined to their own minds, and steadily kept in view, the grounds upon which the respective parties take their stand; and thus it has come to pass that, while evidence has been accumulated, its bearing upon the question has not been distinctly perceived. In this, as in many other instances, the inquiry has been overlaid by the multiplicity of its details; and they, who wish to find the truth, are bewildered amidst the perplexity in which it is involved.

We say, then, that the original sources of all our knowledge of the New Testament, are Greek MSS., MSS. of ancient versions, and MSS. of the Greek and Latin fathers. Critical editions, indeed, exhibiting the variations of these MSS., have been published, and they are sufficient for ordinary purposes; but the final appeal must always be to the MSS. themselves. Such are the materials of information with which we have been furnished; and the ability to make the right use of them must be derived from the union of honesty, good sense, sound learning, and some portion of critical tact—a quality which Bentley and Porson possessed in a degree peculiar to themselves.

Moreover, we hold that the writings which form the New Testament were originally published in the Greek language; and that, for the purpose of disseminating the Christian faith, manuscript copies were taken, and also copies of those copies, and so on for many generations, through the greater part of the civilized world. Some of these of extreme antiquity, and obtained from various regions of the globe, are now in our hands. They are perfectly legible, and manifestly written with such care and ability as to exclude all suspicion of omissions or interpolations from design, and any great errors from inadvertency or ignorance. In addition to this, the different MSS. are checks upon each other. A word wrong in one may be corrected by the right word in another.

One

One copy may supply an expression which another copy may omit. And thus a text may be formed, which may be securely relied upon as exhibiting a transcript, essentially accurate, of the original writings of the inspired Penmen.

Let us now consider the MSS. of ancient versions of the New Testament. The copy of a MS. is the statement of a fact; the translation the delivery of an opinion. The transcriber has nothing to do but to set down faithfully what is before his eyes; the translator is exposed to the action of many causes of error: he may mistake the original either from the want of understanding or from religious prejudice: he may be insufficiently acquainted with one language, or have an imperfect command of the other. When his translation is effected, it is liable to all the mischances of transcription, through a succession of copies, and it will, in all probability, come down to us in a much more corrupted state than a MS. of the original Greek; because, as it does not bear the same sacred character, it will be less scrupulously treated.

With respect to the fathers, it may be presumed that, in their professed commentaries on Scripture, they quoted passages accurately; and, due regard being had to the errors of transcription, MSS. of ancient commentaries are good evidence for the readings of the text. Quotations in their controversial works and popular writings must, however, be received with great caution. In controversy, texts will occasionally be adjusted to opinions; and in popular writings they will be cited from memory. Greek fathers are more to be relied upon than Latin, because they are free from the mistakes of translation. Perhaps also, generally speaking, MSS. of the former have come down to us in a purer state than those of the latter.

Now, under all the circumstances of the case, there surely cannot be a plainer dictate of common sense than this—that, to ascertain the reading of any particular passage, we must in the first place examine and compare our Greek MSS. To ascertain such reading is to decide a question of fact on evidence. When the Greek MSS. agree on any point, the evidence is complete and decisive. In inquiries of this kind we must, to use Bentley's phrase, 'indulge nothing to any conjecture.' We must not behold, in imagination, readings which may have appeared, in MSS. which may have existed, it is impossible to say when or where. When, in any instance, the variations of the Greek MSS. are such that, after mature deliberation, the mind remains doubtful, recourse must be had to ancient versions and fathers. Indeed we do not mean to exclude them absolutely from any part of these inquiries, for we are satisfied that, in judicious hands, they will always render

render very important assistance in settling the sacred text. But we think that the Greek MSS. contain 'the faith once delivered' to mankind; in our estimation they are paramount. All other sources of information are inferior in kind; they may illustrate and confirm the original Greek, but they can never supersede it. These are our principles of sacred criticism, which no dread of consequences shall ever induce us to relinquish.

What, on the other hand, are the positions maintained by the defenders of the verse? To prevent the possibility of misrepresentation, we will collect a few statements which have been presented to the world by the Bishop of St. David's, and then endeavour to develope the principle which they involve.

'If the verse is wanting in the most ancient Greek manuscripts now extant, it is found in the Latin version, which is more ancient than the oldest Greek manuscript. It is quoted by Tertullian and Cyprian, before the age of any manuscript that has descended to us; who, says Mill, would not have quoted it if they had not read it in their copies.'—(*Advert. to 2d edit.* p. ix) 'The Latin fathers of the three first centuries could not have been ignorant of Greek; and their quotations from the New Testament must be considered as quotations from the original.'—(p. 96.) 'The verse depends on almost the whole Western Church; and on the Latin version, which they used from the end of the first century; and not on that only, but on the original Epistle of St. John, of which the Latin version is an evidence.'—(p. 98.) 'Cyprian would not have quoted the verse as Scripture if he had not found it there.'—p. 107.

The principle involved in these and similar passages appears to be this—that the Latin version and the early Latin fathers are the best authority for determining the text of the New Testament; and thus we are once more required to engage in the controversies which distinguished the times of the Reformation. The friends of the verse occupy the ground then taken by the Romanists; while the advocates of the Greek MSS. maintain that defended by the Protestants.

Let it ever be recollected, to the honour of Erasmus, that he was the first to publish a printed edition of the Greek Testament. Of course the Greek copy could not contain what was not in the manuscript original; and accordingly, in 1516, appeared the *Editio Princeps* of the New Testament, wanting the text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses. No sooner was the omission discovered than a storm arose. Erasmus had divulged a secret which was not intended for the world at large,* and he was in consequence assailed, from almost all quarters, with implacable fury. Erasmus, however, was firm, for he knew that he was right. In the midst of

* 'Denique, si verum esset, tamen dissimulandum,' said Lee to Erasmus, on one occasion.

much

much obloquy he published (1519) a second edition, still without the verse. 'Mine,' said he, 'is an edition of the Greek Testament. I cannot print the passage, because the Greek copies have it not. Examine your manuscripts; produce but one that has the verse, and I will insert it.' The friends of the verse were thus reduced to the last extremity, when the joyful news was announced that the desired treasure had been found in England. From the manuscript (such as it was) a transcript of the verse was forwarded to Erasmus; who, in compliance with his engagement, inserted it in his third edition, in 1522—but with an honest declaration that he suspected the manuscript to have been interpolated from the Latin. In the same year was published the Complutensian edition of the Greek Testament, exhibiting the verse in a much better state than that in which it appeared in the British manuscript. Amidst mutual accusations the language of Erasmus to Stunica (one of the Complutensian editors) was—Produce your manuscripts containing the verse. But alas! the Complutensian editors could produce nothing in its favour but the Latin Vulgate and the tradition of the Church.

Let it also be recollected, to the honour of Luther, Bugenhagius, and other leaders of the Reformation, that in this contest they magnanimously stood by the decision of Erasmus. Luther, in his translation of the New Testament, omitted the passage; and, in the preface to the last edition (in 1546) revised by himself, he solemnly requested that his translation should on no account be altered. The Romanists, on the other hand, very consistently, support the verse by the authority of the church. 'Il n'y a,' says Simon, 'que l'autorité de l'Eglise qui nous fasse aujourd'hui recevoir ce passage comme authentique.'—(Hist. Crit. du N. T. p. 217.) The binding force of church tradition, indeed, is the great principle maintained by the Romanists, in opposition to the Protestants; and so long as they are persuaded of its validity, we do not condemn them for adhering to it. But if the Romanists wished to establish as Scripture, on exactly the same evidence as that adduced for 1 John v. 7. a passage strongly favouring the doctrine of transubstantiation—there is not a single protestant advocate of the verse in St. John, who would not strenuously resist the attempt. He would perceive, in an instant, that the proceeding was calculated to 'excite a feeling of uncertainty with regard to the sacred text in general.' On the whole, whether the Greek manuscripts and the Latin tradition shall be of co-ordinate authority—or rather, whether the Greek manuscripts shall succumb to the Latin tradition, when they disagree—these are the previous questions to be resolved, before the verse can be justly admitted into the text of Scripture. For our own parts, we are firmly convinced that

that those persons are the best defenders of the pure and orthodox faith of the church of England—the real champions of divine truth—who maintain that the Greek manuscripts have no equal in authority, far less a superior.

Let us consider, however, the reasons which are given for investing the Latin Fathers and the Latin version with an authority from which there is scarcely any appeal. We shall find them, we believe, in the following passage of the Vindication:—

'The first period (A. D. 101—300,) contains no evidence against the verse, but much for it. There is no Greek manuscript of the New Testament of this period. The oldest Greek copy extant is of a much later date than the ancient Latin version of the western church, and the writings of Tertullian and Cyprian, who made use of it.'—(2d edition, p. 118.)

From this passage may be collected a canon of sacred criticism, upon the validity of which the justice of the bishop's preference entirely depends—it is this:—Tertullian, Cyprian, and the old Latin version, being of higher antiquity than the oldest existing Greek MSS. of the New Testament, afford the best means of ascertaining the genuine readings of that volume. We have, it is true, and as his lordship acknowledges, Greek MSS. thirteen or fourteen hundred years old; but they are by no means sufficient for our satisfaction. Our final appeal must be to witnesses of a different order; to witnesses of the second and third centuries—to Tertullian, Cyprian, and the Latin version. What, then, we ask, have the *original manuscripts* of Tertullian, Cyprian, and the Latin version come down to us? Have we, indeed, a single manuscript of any of them at all approaching in antiquity to our manuscripts of the Greek Testament? The truth is, that the manuscripts of Tertullian, Cyprian, and the Latin version have suffered incomparably more, both from accident and design, than our Greek MSS. It must, therefore, be recollected that we have not to decide between the evidence of the Latin fathers and the Latin version on the one hand, and the evidence of the Greek MSS. on the other; but between the *manuscripts* of the Latin fathers and Latin version, and the Greek manuscripts. And, under these circumstances, we will venture to affirm that a more unwarrantable principle of criticism cannot be laid down, than that of preferring the Latin MSS. to the Greek.

In the passage just cited, the learned prelate contends, that 'in the first period (to A.D. 300.) there is no evidence *against* the verse, because there are no Greek MSS. of that period.' If this be a good argument, it cannot be a bad one to say, that there is no evidence *for* the verse during that period, because there are no Latin MSS. of so early a date.

The

The Scripture criticism of modern times has given a weight to the early Latin fathers, for which, as we deem it of pernicious tendency, we are glad to feel assured that no good reason can be assigned. It is the fashion to extol Griesbach's labours in that department. In matters of this moment, it would be wrong to disguise our sentiments; and therefore, so far from expressing any admiration of his system, we avow our opinion that an edition of the Greek Testament which should adopt all his notions of the best readings, would vary much more from the original standard, than the editions in common use.* Let us consider one of his positions as we find it stated by the Bishop of St. David's. 'That Tertullian and Cyprian made use of Greek copies, Griesbach argues from the difference there frequently is, between their citations and the received text.' We are really not aware that we have ever before met with so preposterous an argument. Tertullian's quotations differ from the received text—*therefore* he made use of Greek copies! To account for the alleged variations from the received text, men of ordinary minds would suppose that Tertullian and Cyprian might have used a Latin version; or have quoted from memory; or that their citations might have become incorrect through the accidents of transcription, or have been garbled by design. But no—none of these suppositions can be admitted by Griesbach. The fault is entirely in the Greek MSS. Tertullian and Cyprian, he fancies, were gifted with perpetual watchfulness; under whatever circumstances they were writing, they had their Greek MSS. before them. When they wanted a quotation they invariably sought it out, and critically examined every word of it. Their translations were absolutely immaculate; and they copied them into their works without a flaw. But this is not all. The unconquerable spirit of vigilance and integrity which distinguished Tertullian and Cyprian animated the individuals who transcribed their writings in after-times; and if we may be allowed, by a suggestion of our own, to establish at once the point aimed at, the manuscripts of those fathers were, for many ages, under the especial superintendence of an infallible church. And thus, while the MSS. of the Greek Testament were exposed to the depravations of mischance and the mutilations of the heretics, their genuine readings were preserved in the pages of Tertullian and Cyprian! So much for the reasoning of Griesbach. As to ourselves, we have great veneration for those old fathers, but we believe that they were in general satisfied with giving the *sense* of Scripture in their own language; and we predict that any one who

* In a review of Belsham's Translation of St. Paul's Epistles, which appeared in the Monthly Censor, a short-lived publication in 1823, our readers may find some very learned and able observations on Griesbach's principles of Scripture criticism.

shall

shall examine their writings with a view to this subject will be convinced that such is the fact. We know that Tertullian and Cyprian have quoted the same passage differently; they cannot, therefore, both of them be right, and they may both be wrong. Tertullian, in particular, has, in different parts of his works, quoted the same passage in different words—extremely different. In such instances, his quotations cannot all be right; and, they may be all wrong. And yet, in spite of these notorious truths, we are required to make the works of Tertullian and Cyprian the criteria of what was, or was not, in the original MSS. of the Greek Testament.

It is remarkable that the Bishop of St. David's and Griesbach should agree in preferring the Latin authorities to the Greek, and yet oppose each other in their decisions respecting the disputed verse. The truth is, that the Bishop receives the verse under the impression that the Latin authorities are in its favour; and Griesbach rejects it because he deems them adverse to it. It will be convenient therefore to consider a little more fully the nature and value of these authorities.

In the second and third centuries—not to mention writers of less moment whose works have descended to us—lived Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Origen, and Cyprian:—voluminous authors, discussing a great variety of subjects. They often dwell upon doctrines immediately connected with that of the Trinity, and it might naturally have been expected that a verse so applicable as that under discussion would frequently occur in their compositions. No express quotation of it however has yet been produced from their works. But, instead of express quotation, two or three passages have been alleged, as having something like a reference to something like the verse. These faint semblances are found in Tertullian and Cyprian, two fathers of the African church; the former about the end of the second century, the latter about the middle of the third. The verse, as it stands in the Latin Vulgate, is as follows:—'Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in cœlo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus: et hi tres unum sunt.' The passages adduced from Tertullian and Cyprian are these:—'Ita connexus Patris in Filio, et Filii in Paracleto, tres efficit cohærentes, alterum ex altero: qui tres unum sunt, non unus: quomodo dictum est, Ego et Pater unum sumus, ad substantiæ unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem.'—*Tertullian.* 'Dixit Dominus, Ego et Pater unum sumus; et iterum, de Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto, scriptum est, et hi tres unum sunt.'—*Cyprian.* Now, before we make a single remark upon these passages, we would ask, whether we

treat the sacred volume with due respect, when we introduce into it a verse which, at the close of the third century, has only evidence of this kind in its favour? Tertullian does *not* quote the verse. He uses Filii instead of Verbi, and Paracleto instead of Spiritu Sancto. Besides he draws his conclusion from a passage in St. John's Gospel (x. 30,) which furnishes a strong presumption that he was unacquainted with the verse in the Epistle; for this last would have proved his point directly and at once, which could be only indirectly inferred from the former. Again, Cyprian does *not* quote 1 John v. 7. Filio is used, and not Verbo; which is by no means a trifling difference, for in Cyprian's time many discussions had taken place respecting the Logos. Moreover, the doctrine of a Trinity in Unity was a received doctrine of the church; and Tertullian, for whom Cyprian's veneration was boundless, had applied the words in the close of the 8th verse, 'et hi tres unum sunt,' to that doctrine:—under these circumstances, Cyprian may well have used the expression, 'de Patre, et Filio et Spiritu Sancto, scriptum est, et hi tres unum sunt,' in complete ignorance of the seventh verse. In confirmation of this it should be recollected, that Facundus, an African bishop about the middle of the sixth century, expressly refers to this passage of Cyprian, and considers it to be a deduction from the eighth verse. Let it, however, be granted that this reasoning is not conclusive; if it had been quoted at the end of the third century, we may certainly expect to find it quoted by writers of the fourth century; and if there are no traces of it in any of them, we may then at least safely infer that it was not quoted by Tertullian and Cyprian.

The fourth century was a splendid æra in ecclesiastical history. It abounded in men eminent for their talents and learning; and the controversies by which it was distinguished were calculated to keep the reasoning powers in full exercise. In this century flourished Arnobius, Lactantius, Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Hilary, Epiphanius, Gregory Nyssen, and Ambrose; but above all must be mentioned Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and Athanasius, the great triumvirate of the Greek church, the champions of orthodoxy in the Arian controversy; and Jerome and Augustine, the luminaries of the west. When we consider the subjects which occupied the attention of these writers, it is utterly incredible that, if the verse had existed, they should not have availed themselves of it, as a most effective weapon against their heretical opponents. Now we affirm that no person has yet produced a single passage, from the genuine remains of these fathers, which either contains the verse, or probably refers to it. We conclude,

clude, therefore, that it was, at that time, unknown. Vain is the pretence that it may have been quoted in works which have not come down to us. Bentley's maxim still holds good—'We must indulge nothing to any conjecture.' Our business is to decide a question of fact on actual evidence. The verse, as we contend, is not quoted by the writers of the fourth century; but, with regard to one of them, Augustine, there are circumstances which require distinct notice.

Augustine, who, as well as Tertullian and Cyprian, was of the African church, distinctly taught that the doctrine, which the seventh verse is supposed to contain, might be deduced from the eighth verse. But the verse itself he did not know; and we assert this, because (1) he interprets the Spirit, the Blood, and the water, mentioned in the eighth verse, as significant of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and (2) to show that the persons of the Trinity *are* witnesses—instead of quoting the seventh verse, which he undoubtedly would have done if he had known it—he proceeds thus:—'*Testes* vero esse Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum quis Evangelio credit et dubitat, Dicente Filio, Ego sum qui testimonium perhibeo de me, et testimonium perhibet de me qui misit me Pater. Ubi etsi non est commemoratus Spiritus Sanctus, non tamen intelligitur separatus. Sed nec de Ipso alibi tacuit, eumque *testem* satis aperteque monstravit. Nam cum Illum promitteret, ait, Ipse testimonium perhibebit de me. *Ili sunt tres testes;* et tres unum sunt, qui unius substantiæ sunt.' And thus we see in what manner the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit were first proved to be *witnesses;* along with the affirmation that 'the three are one.' From this single passage of Augustine, we believe it to be impossible fairly to avoid the conclusion that, at the beginning of the fifth century, the verse containing the Three Heavenly witnesses was unknown as a part of Holy Writ.*

In the year 429 the seat of the African church was invaded by the Vandal Genseric and his followers. These barbarians had received Christianity, and an alphabet, from Ulphilas, towards the close of the preceding century. They were unrelenting asserters of the Arian creed, regarding the orthodox believers with feelings very similar to those which, in after-times, the adherents of Mahomet entertained towards Christians in general. Like those infuriated adventurers, the Vandals went forth, intent on exterminating all who should resist their power or reject their opinions. They eventually established themselves at Carthage, and in the adjacent

* The passage of Augustine may be found in the tract Contra Maximinum Arianum, lib. ii. cap. 22. vol. viii. p. 514. Ed. Benedict. In some editions it is in the *third* book against Maximin.

region; and maintained their sway by violence and persecution. In the year 484, Hunneric, who, on the death of Genseric, became King of the Vandals in Africa, convened a council of the Arian and orthodox bishops, for the alleged purpose of discussion, but, as it appears, with the secret intention of taking cogent measures with the Homoüsians whenever he should find them in his power. He seems to have been well aware that, without some management, they were not likely to obey the summons; he exhorted them accordingly, in his edict, not to be alarmed, but to attend the council 'amissa omni excusatione formidinis.' Accordingly above four hundred orthodox bishops, from the African provinces and the islands of the Mediterranean, assembled at Carthage. At the time appointed they were admitted into the presence of the patriarch Cyrila and his Arian hierarchy, who made short work of the argument. 'Et exiude,' says Victor Vitensis, the historian of the whole affair, 'strepitum concitantes, calumniari adversarii cæperunt. Et quia hoc nostri petierant, ut saltem si examinare non licebat, prudenti multitudini vel expectare liceret, jubentur universi filii Catholicæ Ecclesiæ qui aderant *centenis fustibus tundi.*' The orthodox bishops presented a very long Confession of Faith, which had been prepared to meet any emergency that might arise; and then made their escape as well as they could. Now, it is natural to look for the plant in the spot where the seed was sown. Augustine, who died about the year 430, had taught the African church, with an authority only inferior to that of the Apostles, that the Homoüsian doctrine of the Trinity was contained in the words of St. John—'Tres sunt qui testimonium dant, spiritus et aqua et sanguis; et hi tres unum sunt.' It is not improbable that, as a security for the faith, this dogma of the great teacher was recorded in the margins of the Latin MSS. of the New Testament; and thus it *may* have glided into the text. At all events these African bishops, or at least the compiler of the Confession, discovered what had escaped all the acuteness and all the researches of preceding times. To silence their opponents at once—to render their opinions clearer than the day, as they expressed it—they adduced, as the words of St. John, *the disputed verse!* Perhaps this was not so bold a measure as it may at first sight appear; the judges of the correctness of the quotation were a set of fierce and intolerant barbarians, so ignorant that in all probability not an individual among them understood a word of Greek; and few perhaps could read a Latin manuscript. 'Nescio Latine,' said the Patriarch Cyrila himself; an assertion which, although not literally true, is a sufficient indication that neither he nor his assessors were great clerks.

'Et

'Et ut adhuc luce clarius unius Divinitatis esse cum Patre et Filio, Spiritum Sanctum doceamus, Joannis Evangelistæ testimonio comprobatur; ait namque—Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus; et hi tres unum sunt.' Such is the passage, in the African Confession, as it appears in the printed editions of Victor Vitensis. It is easy to conceive the mode in which these words may have been derived into the text from Augustine's interpretation of the eighth verse: it is *not* easy to conceive that they could have existed as Scripture, *unquoted*, till the close of the fifth century, and then be, all at once, advanced as an argument to make every thing 'luce clarius.' Perhaps it may be objected, that Augustine enumerates Pater, *Filius* et Spiritus Sanctus as the witnesses; while the Confession mentions Pater, *Verbum* et Spiritus Sanctus. This apparent discrepancy may be removed. There are, in the Colbertine library, at Paris, three MSS. of Victor Vitensis, which Mr. Butler, whose attention has been drawn to the controversy, caused to be examined. A MS. of the thirteenth century reads *Verbum* in this place, and a MS. of the fifteenth reads *Filius*. The oldest of the three (a MS. of the tenth century) reads Filius; with this note in the margin, *In Epistola beati Joannis ita legendum*. It is probable, therefore, that *Filius* is the true reading in the Confession, that is, the original reading, and that *Verbum* was an after-thought. That word would appear to render the passage peculiarly St. John's; he being the only apostle who has written distinctly of the *Logos*. Moreover, there is an expression in Augustine, which might suggest the substitution of *Verbum* for *Filius*. To show that by *the Blood* we are to understand *the Son*, he observes—'Nomine autem sanguinis, Filium significatum accipiamus; quia *Verbum* caro factum est.' On the whole, therefore, it is probable that the verse originated in the interpretation of Augustine. It seems to have existed for some time, on the margins of the Latin copies, in a kind of intermediate state; as something better than a mere dictum of Augustine and yet not absolutely Scripture itself. By degrees it was received into the text, where it appears in by far the greater number of Latin MSS. now in our hands. When, to use Newton's expression, 'the ignorant ages came on,' all further inquiry was at an end; and when the verse was fairly established in the text, it gained the protection of the Romish church; and thus, at the period of the Reformation, few doubts were entertained on the subject. Such, in brief, is its history from the Council of Hunneric to the time of Erasmus.

An attempt, however, has been made to produce, in behalf of

it, a witness who was independent of the African church, and even prior to the Council of Hunneric. It was quoted, we are told, by Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, about the year 434. Griesbach, in his Diatribe on 1 John v. 7., has very ably discussed this supposed evidence, and we deem it almost impossible for any one to persist in asserting that Eucherius quoted the verse, who has read his observations on the subject. In confirmation of his opinion, we shall add the following remarks. Sixtus Senensis threw out a suspicion that Eucherius was not the author of the Formulæ Spirituales; and that they were composed subsequently to the time of the Venerable Bede, because many passages of the Formulæ occur also in Bede's writings.* The editor of the works of Eucherius in the Bibliotheca Patrum, who follows the edition of Brassicanus, is of opinion that this reasoning is not conclusive. Why, he asks, might not Bede be acquainted with the works of Eucherius; and copy from him, as he has done from many other writers? Be it so: we wish not for a more convincing proof that the introduction of the disputed verse into the Formulæ is an interpolation. If any one fact may be assumed as certainly established in this controversy, it is, that Bede was unacquainted with the seventh verse. On the supposition, therefore, that he had read and had borrowed from the Formulæ, the verse could not have been extant in that work. We believe the truth to be, that Eucherius composed the work as it appears in the MSS. from which the Paris edition of 1520, and the Basle of 1530, were printed; and that additions were afterwards made, by persons who thought that they did good service by augmenting the number of instances in which each formula occurs. Oudin particularly specifies instances from the writings of Gregory I.; and, we believe, that 1 John v. 7. was added from the Latin Vulgate. Brassicanus, happening to light upon one of these interpolated MSS., and judging, in the true spirit of the trade, that the bulkier MS. must be the more valuable, printed it; and then, with great self-complacency, boasted that he had restored the genuine work of Eucherius.

In our former review, we stated the difficulty which we felt with regard to Fulgentius, an African bishop, of the sixth century; but admitted, that he had quoted the seventh verse. His testimony is of little consequence. There are, however, very sus-

* The words of Sixtus Senensis are not unworthy of observation. 'Hos libros, tametsi eruditos fatear et lectu dignissimos, non ausim tamen affirmare eos esse Eucherii, sed incerti potius et recentioris cujuspiam collectoris, qui more centonum hinc inde collegerit, ex dictis Latinorum Patrum, præsertim ex integris sententiis Isidori, Bedæ, et aliorum autorum, quos ducentis fere annis præcessit Eucherius.' (*Biblioth. lib. 4. Tit. Eucherius.*) How *can we*, then, place any reliance on the evidence of Eucherius?

picious

picious circumstances attending it. On this subject we shall content ourselves with referring our readers to some Letters, on the disputed verse, addressed to the editor of the Christian Remembrancer, by Mr. Oxlee; a clergyman of talent and learning, which he has successfully exerted in defending the doctrine of the church against the Socinians. In the course of these letters he has suggested very strong reasons for suspecting that the passage in Fulgentius has been tampered with.—'Beatus enim Joannes Apostolus testatur, dicens: Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus; et tres sunt unum. Quod etiam beatissimus Martyr Cyprianus confitetur, dicens: &c.' Surely this is very strange. What is Cyprian brought to confess?—that St. John *did* so testify, or the truth of what he testified? According to the Bishop of St. David's, 'Fulgentius quotes St. John as his *authority* for the doctrine, and Cyprian as *holding the same faith.*' Did Fulgentius, then, think that the authority of the apostle was insufficient; and that it was requisite also to prove that the doctrine was maintained by Cyprian? He certainly appears to set the martyr above the apostle; applying to the former the epithet *beatissimus*, and to the latter *beatus*. In truth, however, the whole passage leads us to infer that he meant to support both his quotation of the verse and his application of it, by the authority of Cyprian.

The arguments from the Greek fathers, in defence of the verse, are really so feeble, that they are not worth the trouble of transcription. We will, however, give a few specimens. In the first edition of the 'Vindication,' the learned prelate produced 'two new Greek authorities' for the verse; and in the preface to the second edition, his lordship complains that we 'mistook the application of one of them and wholly overlooked the other.' We hope he will believe that we did not intend to do so. The first authority, together with its attendant argument, appears to be this. Certain heretics, called Alogi, are said, by Epiphanius, to have rejected the writings of St. John, because those writings asserted the divinity of the Logos; therefore, they rejected the Epistle of St. John; and, therefore, it contained the disputed verse. To this we replied—and we think it sufficient to have replied—that the account of *the Word* at the beginning of the Epistle affords of itself an adequate reason for the alleged rejection. The second authority seems to be this. Epiphanius says that the Epistles of St. John 'agree with the Apocalypse'—meaning, in the doctrine of the Logos; therefore, the first Epistle contains the verse in question. The inference might just as well have been, that the second and third Epistles contain the verse. We surely may be forgiven for having overlooked this authority. In the preface to the second

edition, pp. 29, 30. his lordship has favoured us with 'two other new authorities.' We will mention the first of them. According to Suidas, Theodorus Anagnosta says, that Diodorus, the preceptor of Chrysostom, wrote commentaries on the Old Testament, the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of St. John, concerning the Unity in Trinity (περὶ τοῦ εἷς Θεὸς ἐν Τριάδι). Dorhout calls this authority 'omni exceptione majus;' and the learned prelate thinks that a discourse of this kind 'has every appearance of being founded on the seventh verse of the fifth chapter.' The remaining new authority is of equal weight.

Unsatisfactory as the external evidence for the verse undoubtedly is, we are not surprized that its advocates should make much of the internal evidence. This argument is strenuously enforced by the Bishop of St. David's, and his lordship has taken great pains to develope the theological meaning of the entire passage. Whether it arises from our own want of discernment we know not; but the fact is, that he only involves us in perplexity. It is, however, but justice to him to declare, that he is by no means the only traveller with whom, amidst those mazes, we have had the misfortune to lose our way. Whatever guides we chanced to follow—'Ibant obscuri, sola sub nocte, per umbram:'—they led us into the regions of darkness, and left us there. With the dogmatic interpretation of the passage, therefore, we will have no concern; but we have no objection to state our opinion of its logical structure.

Let us read the passage without the seventh verse. (6) 'This is He that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ; and not by water only, but by water and blood; and it is the spirit that beareth witness, because the spirit is truth. (8) For there are three that bear witness, the spirit, the water, and the blood; and these three agree in one. (9) If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater: for this is the witness of God, which he hath testified of his Son.'

When St. John says, 'He *came by* water and blood,' it is to affirm that 'water and blood' are the *witnesses* of His coming. In the sixth verse, therefore, St. John introduces *the three* of which he is about to speak. In the eighth verse he describes them as giving a joint and accordant testimony. In the ninth verse he asserts that this testimony, being the testimony of God, ought to be received; inasmuch as, in other cases, we receive man's testimony. Now, whatever signification we attach to *the spirit*, *the water*, and *the blood*, the logical structure of the passage is complete: there is a continued sense: there is a unity of design. But introduce the seventh verse, between the mention of *the three* and the account of their joint witness, and the continuity of meaning

meaning is instantly broken. A new subject, quite foreign to the writer's purpose, is brought in by main force. We are, indeed, convinced, that nothing but long familiarity could reconcile us to the seventh verse. If this verse *must* be inserted, we agree with Bengelius and many Latin manuscripts, in inverting the order of the seventh and eighth verses, and then connecting them with a *sicut*: 'sicut in cœlo, tres sunt, &c.' It then becomes a deduction (thrown in parenthetically) from the preceding verse. But even in this case, the whole passage sustains great injury; for the ninth verse is violently torn from that with which it is immediately connected. If, therefore, internal evidence is to decide the question—we say, the verse is spurious.

The introduction of *the Word*, as it appears in the seventh verse, is remarkable on two accounts: (1) In that part of his Epistle, St. John is all along discoursing of *the Son*; why then is he here called *the Word*? (2) *The word* is here connected with *the Father*. Now ὁ πατὴρ and ὁ υἱὸς, or ὁ θεὸς and ὁ λόγος, are the correlative terms. For some reason or other, Bengelius, in the margin of his Greek Testament, has given υἱὸς as a reading of equal authority with λόγος. But mark his inconsistency. In his note on the seventh verse, he maintains that whenever, in the enumeration of the persons of the Trinity, the second person is called *the Word*, there is an allusion to 1 John v. 7; and he is supported by the Bishop of St. David's in this opinion. To a plain understanding, then, it would seem to follow that, whenever the second person is called *the Son*, there is an allusion to the baptismal form in Matt. xxviii. 20. By no means; for, according to the advocates of the verse, whether we find Pater, *Verbum*, et Spiritus Sanctus, or Pater, *Filius*, et Spiritus Sanctus; in either case, there is a quotation of 1 John v. 7. Surely this is not a very accurate method of conducting a critical inquiry. In fact, whichever reading may be adopted, the advocates of the verse are placed in an awkward dilemma. Let υἱὸς, and *Filius*, take possession of the text: what then becomes of the Latin Vulgate—their sheet-anchor—which authorizes *Verbum*? Let λόγος, and Verbum be the true reading: how then comes it to pass that the passages adduced from Tertullian, Cyprian, Phœbadius, Marcus Celedensis, and Cassiodorus, as quotations of the seventh verse, involve the form, Pater, *Filius*, et Spiritus Sanctus?

Efforts have been made, by dwelling upon the grammatical difficulties of the passage, to show the necessity of the seventh verse. Whatever those difficulties may be, we have never been able to perceive that they are removed by its introduction. We will give an instance of this kind of reasoning from the Bishop of St. David's.

'If

'If we admit the reading of all Greek MSS. known to be extant, but one, we must admit the following reading, in defiance of grammar and the context. Τρεις εισιν οι μαρτυρουντες, ΤΟ πνευμα, και ΤΟ ὑδωρ, και ΤΟ αἱμα. And thus πνευμα, which in ver. 6. has, itself, a neuter participle, is, in the next verse, when accompanied with two other neuter nouns, most unexpectedly and solecistically connected with a *masculine* participle.'—(*Second Edition*, p. 113.)

Instead of submitting to our readers any observations of our own, in reply to the preceding objection, we will extract a passage from an author who understood Greek much better than ourselves—we mean Gregory Nazianzen.

'Τρία ἐν ταῖς παροιμίαις ἐστὶν, ἃ εὐόδως πορεύεται, λέων, καὶ τράγος καὶ ἀλεκτρυών Τί δαὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης, τρεῖς εἶναι τοὺς μαρτυροῦντας λέγων ἐν ταῖς καθολικαῖς, τὸ πνεῦμα, τὸ ὕδωρ, τὸ αἷμα, ἆρά σοι ληρεῖν φαίνεται; πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι τὰ μὴ ὁμοούσια συναριθμῆσαι τετόλμηκεν, ὃ τοῖς ὁμοουσίοις σὺ δίδως. τίς γὰρ ἂν εἴποι ταῦτα μιᾶς οὐσίας; δεύτερον δὲ, ὅτι μὴ καταλλήλως ἔχων ἀπήντησεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τρεῖς ἀῤῥενικῶς προθεὶς, τὰ τρία οὐδετέρως ἐπήνεγκε, παρὰ τοὺς σοὺς, καὶ τῆς γραμματικῆς ὅρους καὶ νόμους.'—(Op. vol. i. p. 603. ed. 1630.) 'In the Proverbs, (xxx. 29.) are mentioned "three things (τρία) which go well," a lion, a goat, and a cock, (three masculines)..... What, then, when John in his Catholic Epistle says, that there are three (τρεῖς) that bear witness, the Spirit, the water, and the blood (all of them neuters), do you think that he writes absurdly? in the first place, because he has ventured to connumerate things not of the same essence, which you would do only with regard to things which *are* of the same essence, for who will say that those things are of the same essence?—or, secondly, because, with some irregularity of construction, having first used τρεῖς (in the masculine), he subjoins three things (in the neuter) contrary to your canons, and the rules of grammar.'

From this extract we learn three things: (1) that the grammatical difficulty was well known to Gregory Nazianzen:—(2) that he was less disturbed by it than modern critics appear to be: (3) that the critics of the fourth century had not discovered the true remedy for the disorder; to wit, the introduction of the seventh verse.

The Advertisement to the learned prelate's second edition of his Vindication was written in answer to some observations, on the genuineness of the disputed verse, by the Bishop of Peterborough, in the sixth part of the Theological Lectures, delivered by his lordship as Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. The sentiments of this learned prelate on this subject have long been well known to the public. As early as the year 1795, we find, in the preface to his Letters to Mr. Travis, a short statement of the evidence relating to the verse, drawn up with that precision which distinguishes all his writings. The admission of it into the sacred text appears to him, as to us, to be destructive of

of the arguments for the integrity of the New Testament. The Bishop of St. David's thinks it a satisfactory explanation to say that the verse was lost through accident. That a clause may be inadvertently omitted in transcription there can be no doubt; but that the same omission should have happened in all the Greek MSS. is quite beyond the bounds of credibility. The argument—that the eye of the scribe accidentally caught the second μαρτυροῦντες instead of the first—is not valid, because the entire omission, if it was one, was from ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ to ἐν τῇ γῇ inclusive. Bishop Burgess indeed writes thus, (p. vii.): 'Some Greek copies retain an evidence of their loss, by the words ἐν τῇ γῇ, still extant in the text according to Hesselius ad loc.' He says, 'Manuscripti Græci fere omnes sic se habent; Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, &c.' There is probably some mistake in the *Græci fere omnes*. But whatever number of Greek or Latin copies have ἐν τῇ γῇ, or *in terra*, they contain an evidence of an absent verse.' The truth is, that not a single Greek MS. can be produced wanting the seventh verse, and also reading ἐν τῇ γῇ in the eighth.

We are sorry to perceive, in the observations of the Bishop of St. David's, a tendency to undervalue Mr. Porson's critical labours on the New Testament. His lordship praises the talents and learning of that extraordinary man; but would limit the range of his inquiries to the Greek drama, or perhaps to heathen Greek. In his own realms let him bear sovereign sway; but let him not send forth his tempests to disturb the great deep of sacred criticism.

'Who is there,' says his lordship, 'to oppose to the learning of Selden, Pearson, &c. &c.?' I do not except even Mr. Porson, when opposed to those great names, *on such a subject as our present*, which does not admit the exercise of that peculiar sagacity which distinguished his conjectures on the text of the ancient Greek poets, and the laws of Greek metre, and the peculiarities of Greek idiom: but requires other aids of learning human and divine, in which Pearson and Bull had no superior. Mr. Porson indeed brought nothing new to this inquiry, but what is in a great degree extraneous to it—his wit and humour and dexterity in exposing the inaccuracy of his opponent. He has brought no objection to the passage, which had not been anticipated by Sir Isaac Newton, Whiston, Emlyn, or Dr. Benson.'

We do not maintain the infallibility of Mr. Porson; but we will venture to say that there was a certain high-minded integrity about him, which would have prevented his interfering with matters concerning which he was not qualified, by the nature of his studies, to form a correct judgment. With sensible persons the keenness

keenness of his wit would have had but little effect, unless it had been backed by the weight of his argument. He did not lay himself out for new evidence; being of opinion that the old was sufficient: and his main object being to re-state and strengthen the positions of his predecessors in the controversy. 'I hereby give notice,' says he, 'once for all, that I pretend not to produce new arguments upon so beaten a topic as I have chosen.' In one point of view we admit that his work is somewhat inconvenient. The learned professor loved to diversify his lucubrations with occasional touches of solemn irony, and thus he may in some instances deceive his readers, when they are not upon their guard. 'The strongest proof,' says Porson, 'that this verse is spurious may be drawn from the Epistle of Leo the Great to Flavianus, upon the Incarnation.' He then tells a legendary tale, from the *Spiritual Meadow* of John Moschus; from which it seems that this same epistle had, with many prayers, been submitted to the revision of St. Peter himself, who at length appeared to the author, and said, I have corrected. Now, in this work, part of the fifth chapter of St. John's Epistle is quoted—namely, from the fourth to the eighth verse—with the omission of the three heavenly witnesses. It is clear, therefore, that the verse is spurious; for otherwise St. Peter would have supplied it. 'From this conclusion,' Porson observes, 'there is no escaping, but by a denial of the fact (of the revision); and that would be to introduce an universal Pyrrhonism into history.' The learned prelate really believes that Mr. Porson was serious in all this; and taxes us (p. 62.) with having omitted 'to point out, for the instruction of our readers, the most powerful of Mr. Porson's arguments—the one which he himself considered as the *strongest proof* of the spuriousness of the verse.' We have given the preceding specimen of Mr. Porson's humour, because the bishop informs us of his intention to 'notice' this very argument in a succeeding part of his Vindication.

In p. xxxv. et seq. of the Advertisement to the second edition, Bishop Burgess produces, as an instance of Mr. Porson's unfairness, an incomplete quotation from Euthymius Zigabenus. We will extract the passage in English.

'*And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth. For there are three that bear record* [*in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one. And there are three that bear record on earth*] *the Spirit, the water, and the blood; and the three agree in one. If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater.* See now again, how the preacher of truth calls the Spirit by nature God, and of God; for having said that it is the Spirit of God that witnesses,

a little

a little onward he adds, the witness of God is greater. How then is he a creature, who is declared to be God with the father of all things, and completive of the Trinity?'

Part of the last sentence Mr. Porson 'withheld from his readers,' thus: 'How then is he a creature, &c.' It never, we are convinced, occurred to him that his inference could be in the slightest degree affected by the words omitted; and after considering all that the bishop has written on the subject, we cannot perceive that either the judgment or the honesty of Mr. Porson can be justly called in question. He assigned three substantial reasons for thinking the part we have inclosed within brackets to be an interpolation: (1) It is not found in several MSS. of Euthymius; (2) It is not in Cyril from whom the whole passage is avowedly taken; (3) the argument employed requires its omission, because it receives all its vigour from the close conjunction of the sixth, eighth, and ninth verses of St. John, and is only clogged by the insertion of the seventh. The argument seems to be this: the Spirit (of God) beareth witness; but this is the witness of God; therefore the Spirit is God. How then is he a creature, &c. Mr. Porson conceived that, instead of employing this *reasoning*, Euthymius would have fairly insisted upon the authority of the seventh verse, if he had quoted it. Cyril, from whom the entire passage (wanting the seventh verse) is expressly taken, has also the concluding words—'who is declared to be God, with the Father of all things, and completive of the Trinity:' from which Bishop Burgess infers that *he* also must have had the seventh verse before him. And thus, his lordship believes, that we have a Greek authority, of the fifth century, in favour of the verse.

The Bishop of St. David's, (2d edit. p. 53,) after stating our objection to the disputed verse, arising from the different shapes and positions assigned to it in the Latin MSS., proceeds thus:—'Mr. Porson makes the same objection. But the learned Professor and the Reviewer omit to notice that the *eighth* verse, of whose authenticity they express no doubt, has a greater and more extraordinary variety of readings than the seventh.' Then ye say that Mr. Porson and the Reviewer neglected a good opportunity of strengthening their own argument. In the Greek MSS., and in those Latin MSS. which have not the seventh verse, there is no 'extraordinary variety of readings' of the eighth. To what, indeed, can the strange state of the whole passage, in many of the Latin MSS., be attributed, but to an endeavour, on the part of the scribes, to arrange the discordant materials before them so as to produce something like a consistent meaning? In criticism, as well as in the conduct of the drama—'segnius irritant animos demissa per

per aures, Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.' The arguments we had met with, and our own reflections, had sufficiently convinced us that the verse was spurious. But the satisfaction of our minds has become complete, since we have had opportunities of examining some of the oldest and the fairest manuscripts, both in our own country and in Italy. In the Greek MSS., and in the very oldest of the Latin MSS., there appears, in the part under consideration, no uncertainty of purpose. Every thing about the passage looks like truth and accuracy. No sooner, however, are there any traces of the seventh verse in the Latin, than all is embarrassment and perplexity. We feel that there is something which has no business there.

The Bishop of St. David's, as we have already hinted, displays with great satisfaction the eminent names of Selden, Hammond, Pearson, Stillingfleet, Waterland, and many others; who, either because they have quoted the verse as genuine, or formally defended it, are numbered among its friends. We are very far from intending to detract from the acknowledged merits of these learned persons. With regard to two of them, however,—Selden and Pearson—we shall venture a few remarks, which we certainly should not have offered unless their names had been particularly brought forward, for the purpose of producing effect by their authority.

Selden was undoubtedly a man of uncommon powers and still more remarkable acquirements; his decisions are always entitled to respect. Yet even those who adopt his conclusion with regard to the verse, cannot, we think, but be aware that his dissertation on the subject is a very meagre performance. Whatever importance is attached to it must be derived entirely from the character of the author; and to confess the truth, that character is so high, that we were for a long time somewhat perplexed to find him among the defenders of the verse. Our perplexity is now nearly at an end. In his Table Talk are preserved his notions of sacred criticism, and they are well worthy of attention. Under the head *Bible, Scripture,* we find the following admonitions on the subject. 'When you meet with several readings of the text, take heed you admit nothing against the tenets of your church; but do as if you was a going over a bridge; be sure you *hold fast by the rail;* and then you may dance here and there as you please. Be sure you keep to what is settled, and then you may flourish with your various lections.' Now we strongly suspect that, in discussing the text of St. John, Selden followed his own advice; and, while going over the bridge, contrived to hold fast by the rail.

It is never without a feeling of sorrow that we observe the venerable name of Bishop Pearson introduced into this controversy.

versy. He was a truly great man. He had collected the materials of thought with almost unexampled diligence, and was accustomed to think profoundly. As a critical scholar he stood pre-eminent; and his writings attest his intimate acquaintance both with the Scriptures and the fathers. The doubts concerning the text must have been perfectly familiar to him. He was one of the editors of the Critici Sacri, in which the controversy is fully stated. And yet, in his Exposition of the Creed, (p. 323, 3d edit.) he adduced the verse as Holy Writ, without the slightest intimation that its genuineness had been questioned. To render this proceeding still more extraordinary, he had discussed, at considerable length, (p. 128,) the dubious reading in 1 Tim. iii. 16. And thus, although Bishop Pearson, for some reason, declined the discussion of the passage of St. John, he left on record his principles of Scripture criticism, in a matter of no small difficulty. Let us, therefore, examine his method of reasoning on that subject. It will be recollected that the inquiry there is, whether the genuine reading be Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη, or ὃς ἐφανερώθη, or ὃ ἐφανερώθη. To the statement, that 'the name of God (Θεὸς) is expressed universally in the copies of the original language,' Bishop Pearson subjoins a note, from which we extract as much as may throw light upon the object we have in view.

'For being, the Epistle was written in the Greek language, *it is enough if all those copies do agree.* Nor need we be troubled with the observation of Grotius on the place:—Suspectam nobis hanc lectionem faciunt interpretes veteres, Latinus, Syrus, Arabs, et Ambrosius qui omnes legerunt ὃ ἐφανερώθη. I confess the Vulgar Latine reads it otherwise than the Greek, Quod manifestatum est in carne; and it cannot be denied but the Syriac agreeth with the Latine. But the joint consent of the Greek copies and interpreters are above the authority of those two translators. . . . Howsoever, Macedonius could not falsific all the Greek copies, when, as well those which were before his time as those which were written since, all acknowledge Θεός. . . . It remaineth, therefore, that the Nestorians did not falsifie the text by reading Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη, but that the antient Greek fathers read it so; and consequently being the Greek is the original, this lection must be acknowledged authenticall.'

Here then we find Bishop Pearson laying down, as the foundation of his criticism, that the agreement of the Greek MSS. is sufficient to determine the reading. This is the principle which we have maintained; and on this principle the verse 1 John v. 7. vanishes at once. We cannot, therefore, hesitate to conclude that Pearson must have known the result of a formal discussion of that text, and had not fortitude to enter upon it. This conduct undoubtedly protected him from temporary obloquy; but it does no credit to his memory.

The

The renewal of the controversy respecting the verse, in 1715, is thus noticed by the Bishop of St. David's.

'The dispute was revived by Emlyn and Mace; whose objections were triumphantly refuted by Martin, Calamy and Twells. I do not find that Mace attempted any reply to Twells; and Emlyn (as Mr. Porson confesses) "left Martin in possession of the field." Emlyn survived Martin's last tract two and twenty years, and made no reply.'

A few remarks on this 'triumphant refutation' may be forgiven. Emlyn's *Inquiry* was an unpretending work; containing an account of the evidence on both sides of the question, as it had been detailed by Dr. Mill; with the conclusion which, in the author's opinion, ought to be deduced from the whole. The tract was written with great temper, and respectfully addressed to the Clergy in Convocation. Of all the productions on the subject which we have perused, Newton's Letter, and Emlyn's Inquiry, present, to our apprehension, the strongest marks of the single intention to find the truth. At the close of his second reply to Martin, Emlyn announced his design of leaving his adversary to himself, in terms not unworthy of consideration at any period. 'When a controversy comes to consist only of tedious repetitions and personal reflections, 'tis a sign it either is near to an end, or ought to be so.' Such was 'Emlyn's defeat.' In this manner Martin had the honour to be left 'in possession of the field;' which, as we have seen it somewhat archly observed, 'has been thought by many learned men the only honour he obtained.' 'I wonder not,' says Porson, on one occasion, 'that Emlyn was sick of disputing with so wretched a sophist.'

Calamy is mentioned as another opponent of Emlyn.—He published, in 1722, twelve sermons in defence of the Trinity, with four sermons in vindication of 1 John v. 7. This volume we have not seen. Emlyn mentions the introductory discourse when first preached.

'It seems that Dr. Calamy thought it the best method to begin with men's characters rather than their arguments: and, in effect, to tell his people that very good men had been for the text, and some very bad or indifferent ones against it. And then he descended to particulars; viz. M. le Clerc, Mr. Whiston and P. Simon, as the chief of the opposite side, who, for piety and learning, were not to compare with some of the other.'

As a proof, however, of the great merit of the published work, it ought to be mentioned that the author and his book were graciously received at court, and that a gratuity of fifty pounds was ordered for his exertions. Moreover, letters of thanks and applause poured in upon him from bishops, deans, and other dignitaries of the church; all which must, no doubt, have very much astonished

the

the worthy non-conformist. Let us just remark, in passing, that the most learned of the orthodox dissenters of our own times view the matter in a different light from Dr. Calamy. In a valuable work, intitled *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*, Dr. Pye Smith has made many sensible remarks on the insufficiency of the evidence produced in behalf of the verse, and the injurious consequences of calling in allies of a doubtful character to the support of a good cause.

It is impossible to feel much interest in the contest between Mace and Twells. Mace—the editor of the Greek and English Testament in 1729—was a man of uncommon rashness and vanity, who thought himself at liberty to alter the Greek text according to his own conjectures. Twells appears to have been a pains-taking man, who never thought the worse of arguments because they had been confuted, nor felt the slightest difficulty in the objections of an opponent. We confess that we are rather surprized that the learned prelate should lay any stress on so ambiguous a criterion of victory as 'the last word.' Neither Marsh nor Porson, in the controversy with Travis, were at all solicitous on that subject. 'To be left in possession of the field,' says the former, at the conclusion of his Letters, 'is an honour of which I am not ambitious: for though, in military combats, he who gives the last blow is considered as the conqueror; yet, in literary engagements, the wreath of victory is conferred not on him who has written last, but on him who has written most to the purpose.' Porson also left his volume to its fate. The bishop confesses that Mr. Travis had the worst of the dispute with Mr. Porson; yet the third edition of his book is now upon our table, and we are not prepared to say that there was not a fourth. Mr. Butler mentions a sixth; but we suspect that to be a mistake. At all events we must infer, either that the champion of the verse maintained a popular cause; or the cause had secured a popular champion; or the cause and the champion divided the popularity between them.

Our remarks upon the Preface are now drawing to a close; but there are still two passages in it, which demand a short notice. The bishop is pleased to say with respect to Porson and to our former criticism,

'No one can be more disposed to admire Mr. Porson's pre-eminent talents than myself. But I deal thus plainly with his Letters to Mr. Travis, in justice to the passage for which I am contending; in justice to the Church of England, whose character is deeply concerned in the mistaken charges of fraud and forgery; and in justice to the piety of many sincere Christians, who may have felt their confidence in Scripture, and their respect for the church, shaken by the violent assault of Mr.

Porson's charges.' (p. 61.) Again, 'the Reviewer should have done, at least the justice to the subject of his remarks, to say that the caution (against vehement contention) was not called for by the present occasion, and should have transferred it to that period of the controversy when the attack on the defenders of the verse commenced in indignation and contempt; and ended in the most arbitrary and unbecoming insult over an inferior and vanquished opponent.' (p. 63.)

With regard to ourselves, we offered 'a few words of advice to *future* advocates of 1 John v. 7.' on the supposition that the Bishop's tract might be the occasion of a new controversy on the subject. Such admonitions, we believed, could do no harm. We had observed, in the language of many preceding advocates, a tendency to identify the rejection of the verse with heterodoxy of belief; and we thought, as we still think, that such language is ill adapted to the discovery of truth. We are extremely sorry that his Lordship should imagine that we alluded, in the slightest degree, to any supposed intemperance in his own manner of conducting the argument.

With regard to Mr. Porson, we will state the circumstances which induced him to appear in the controversy. The historian of the Roman Empire, in declaring his own sentiments on the famous passage, had 'expressed' (as Porson says) 'the general opinion, with great exactness and impartiality.' The style, indeed, in which his remarks were conveyed, was peculiarly his own; but there was nothing in his manner which ought to have given offence to any one. Yet Mr. Travis resolved to call him to account; and perhaps the history of literature does not present a more striking instance of rash and indecorous proceeding than that which he adopted. His attack was as unskilful and violent, as it was unprovoked. Throughout his work he animadverted upon what he fancied to be the errors of others, in a way which precluded all tenderness for his own. Mr. Porson had an extreme aversion to the trouble of composition, but in this instance his indignation stimulated him to exertion. Yet he walked forth to avenge the historian, not because he admired the infidelity which prevailed through the history; nor because he was insensible to the many offences against good taste which the work displayed. So far from this, he described Mr. Gibbon's hatred to Christianity, as resembling that of a man who is smarting under a personal injury; and he lamented the total absence of that chaste simplicity and severe propriety, which are so remarkable in the fathers of Grecian history. But the indefatigable industry, the accuracy, the immense reading, the profound reflection, which distinguish the historian of the Roman empire, placed his work, in the estimation of Mr. Porson, among the noblest productions of the human mind. It is, therefore,

therefore, not surprizing, that he should have employed his learning, his acuteness and his wit, in defence of the author. His 'Letters to Archdeacon Travis' form a masterpiece of literary investigation. They discover a power of discrimination to which, perhaps, a parallel can be found only in the works of Bentley. 'A few inaccuracies may be detected, and a few expressions brought together inconsistent with each other; but the decisions with which the volume abounds, are founded on principles which ensure their stability. Mr. Porson—'uni æquus virtuti atque ejus amicis'—never conceals his abhorrence of disingenuous dealing in any thing, but more especially in matters of religion: and he does not scruple to call such instances of it, as occur to him in his inquiry, by their vulgar names.

If he has stated facts of this kind somewhat broadly, he has, at the same time, furnished us with an additional motive to make truth the only object of our pursuit, and honest diligence the mean of attaining it. Mr. Porson was not an enemy to the orthodox doctrines of our church. 'When,' says he, 'for the sake of brevity, I use the word *orthodoxy* in a bad sense, I mean not that *respectable* orthodoxy which defends the doctrine of the Trinity with fair argument and genuine scripture; but that *spurious* orthodoxy, which is the overflowing of zeal without knowledge—which is not contented with our professing the common faith, but would force us to defend it by all and singular the arguments, whether weak or strong, or all the texts, whether spurious or genuine, that have ever been employed in its defence.' The tenor of these remarks brings to mind an anecdote of Porson, which, we believe, has never appeared in print. In our opinion, it deserves to be very generally known; and we recommend it more especially to those whom it may immediately concern. A friend once, in the course of conversation with him, asked him what he thought of the evidence afforded by the New Testament in favour of the Socinian doctrines. His answer was short and decisive—'If the New Testament is to determine the question, and words have any meaning, the Socinians are wrong.'

Our notice of Bishop Burgess's recent 'Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. David's' must unavoidably be slight. We can scarcely find room for a very few remarks on three subjects, among many others which it offers to our attention: viz. (1) A conjecture of his lordship's; (2) A Greek MS., said to have contained the verse; (3) The principal subject of the letter—which is an argument from the second *Symbolum Antiochenum* (A. D. 341), in proof of the genuineness of 1 John v. 7.

(1) The conjecture:

'Socrates in his Ecclesiastical History (lib. i. cap. 5.) says, that when

Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, discoursing on the doctrine of the Trinity, observed that there was an *unity in the Trinity*, Arius, thinking that Alexander meant to inculcate the doctrine of Sabellius, maintained opinions the most opposite to that doctrine; and, as Alexander says, in his Letter to the Bishops, endeavoured to subvert the divinity of *the Word*. The Emperor Constantine, hearing of this dissension, wrote to Alexander and Arius: "I am informed that the origin of the present controversy was this:—when you, O Alexander, inquired of your presbyters, what each of them thought of *a certain passage* of scripture—*ὑπὲρ τινος τῶν ἐν νόμῳ γεγραμμένων*." It will be evident that there is *only one passage* of scripture (1 John v. 7.) which corresponds with these several particulars. I conclude that the verse was in the Greek text of the fourth century.'—(pp. 86—89.)

"Let us examine all the facts here alluded to. Socrates says that Alexander 'was ostentatiously discoursing on the Trinity, showing *philosophically* that there was an unity in the Trinity (*φιλοτιμότερον περὶ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος, ἐν τριάδι μονάδα εἶναι φιλοσοφῶν, ἐθεολόγει*): when Arius, a man not unversed in *dialectics*, thus opposed him—"If the Father begot the Son, he who was begotten had a beginning of existence; and there was a time when the Son was not."' Alexander, in his Letter to the Bishops, describes the nature of the dispute in similar terms. He adduces the beginning of St. John's Gospel and many other texts, in confutation of his opponents; but Bishop Burgess, overlooking all these texts, fixes upon 1 John v. 7. to which there is not the most distant allusion. Constantine, in an admirable letter to the two disputants, condemns the rashness of both parties, in dwelling upon *subtle distinctions* in matters beyond man's intelligence. His entire charge against Alexander stands thus: 'You, Alexander, inquired of your presbyters what each of them thought of a certain topic derived from things written in scripture, or rather of a part of a certain foolish question (*ὑπὲρ τινος τόπου τῶν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γεγραμμένων, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὲρ τινος ματαίου ζητήματος μέρους*)'. Such is the real state of the case. Now, is it possible to believe that Constantine would have spoken of a text of scripture as a *foolish question?* The truth is, that the dispute arose from the refined dialectics of Alexander, and had no connection with the verse in question.

(2) Respecting the Greek MS. exhibiting the verse, Bishop Burgess thus writes:

'Having heard it reported that a Greek MS. of the New Testament, containing the verse, had been known to be extant in the library of Lincoln College, not many years since, and that the rector of Lincoln had spoken of it in St. Mary's pulpit, I wrote to the learned rector on the subject, and received the following answer: "Porson's book never shook my conviction of the authenticity of the important verse, which has so long and laudably engaged your indefatigable study. The artful and superficial

superficial way in which he treated the interesting subject, and his unmannerly behaviour to Mr. Travis, brought me some years ago into St. Mary's pulpit, with a sermon on the disputed text; which sermon I mislaid, and cannot find. What I said about the MS. that I had seen, which contained the verse, I cannot accurately state. It was a MS. in the college library; and seen in the presence of Dr. Parsons, late Bishop of Peterborough; but on looking for it when I preached the sermon, it was not found, nor can it be found at the present time."'

With great respect for the learned Rector, we say again—segnius irritant animos demissa per aures, &c. The MS. itself will, when produced, have much greater effect than this narrative. But we confess that it strikes us as very singular that the excellent prelate alluded to, than whom no one was better able to appreciate, or more alive to the value of such a document, did not make the fact known, and place the existence of the evidence beyond the reach of scepticism.

(3) We now state the Bishop's argument from the Symbolum Antiochenum.

'After the declaration of faith εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν,—εἰς ἕνα Κύριον, Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν,—and εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, the Creed adds ὡς εἶναι τῇ μὲν ὑποστάσει τρία, τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ ἕν, "so that they are three in person, and one in consent," or (without the explanatory terms by which the quotation is disguised) ὡς εἶναι τρία ἕν or τὰ τρία ἕν, *so that the three are one.*' (p. 8.) 'The whole creed is declared, in its commencement and conclusion, to be from scripture, and from *scripture only;* and that not by a *general* conformity with scripture, but *every article* of it is professed to be from scripture.'* (p. 13.) 'I conclude that the passage (ὡς εἶναι τρία ἕν or τὰ τρία ἕν) is from the final clause of 1 John v. 7. because there is no other passage of scripture in which it is said of the Father, the Son (the Word? *Rev.*) and the Holy Spirit, that the three are one.' (p. 15.)

In justice to the cause which the bishop defends, we think it right to state that his lordship having communicated the substance of his work to several of his right reverend brethren, the preceding argument appears to have had great weight with them. In letters from which we are favoured with extracts, the Bishops of Winchester, Durham and Hereford, together with other prelates, whose names are not mentioned, have expressed themselves

* The last part of the learned prelate's Appendix is designed to establish the truth of this statement; and is entitled 'A Comparison of every Article of the Symbolum Antiochenum with corresponding Passages of Scripture.' We will submit two instances to the reader's attention, in the hope that he may discern the correspondence: we must confess our own inability to do it.

τέλειον ἐκ τελείου. Heb. i. 10. σὺ κατ' ἀρχὰς, Κύριε, τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας, καὶ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου εἰσὶν οἱ οὐρανοί.

βασιλέα ἐκ βασιλέως. Apoc. xvii. 14. οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀρνίου πολεμήσουσι, καὶ τὸ ἀρνίον νικήσει αὐτοὺς, ὅτι Κύριος Κυρίων ἐστὶ καὶ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων.

either as almost, or as entirely, persuaded that the verse is genuine. With the sincerest respect for the learning and judgment of these eminent persons, we shall now venture to examine the argument. *They are three in person, and one in consent*—savours much more of an illative distinction of the fourth century, than of a simple dictum of the apostolic age. Accordingly, the bishop is obliged to omit 'the terms by which the quotation is disguised,' before he can imagine the expression to be derived from scripture. And when the sentence has gone through this process, what remains? Not as his lordship states, *the three are one;* but *they are three indeed, but also one* (ὡς εἶναι τρία μὲν, ἕν δε). Now, without being fastidious as to the gender of the numeral (τρεῖς or τρία), we affirm that this is *not* a quotation of 1 John v. 7. (οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσι)—a sentence of a totally different form. But this is not all. The words SO THAT, which introduce the expression *they are three in person and one in consent*, would lead us to suspect that the sentiment is an inference from some scriptural authority just preceding; whereas we are to suppose, from the bishop's statement, that the avowal of a belief in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, is immediately followed by the expression, *so that they are three in person and one in consent.* Let us therefore refer to the creed itself, as it appears in the translation given by his lordship.

'We believe in one God.....and in one Lord, Jesus Christ..... and in the Holy Ghost, who is given to believers, for consolation and sanctification and perfection, according to our Lord Jesus Christ's direction to his disciples, saying, *Go ye unto all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost;* the Father being truly a Father, the Son truly a Son, and the Holy Ghost truly a Holy Ghost; the names being given not vainly and unmeaningly, but accurately expressing the respective subsistence (or person, ὑπόστασιν) order and glory of each of those named (τῶν ὀνομαζομένων); SO THAT *they are three in subsistence* (or *person*, ὑποστάσει) *and one in consent.*' —(p. 104.)

And thus it is as clear as words can make it, that the expression, *They are three in subsistence* (*or person*), *and one in consent*, is *not* a quotation of 1 John v. 7; but is derived, solely and entirely, *from the baptismal commission in St. Matthew. We have seen many weak arguments in defence of the verse, but we trust his lordship will excuse us if we frankly say, that an argument less effective than this it has never been our lot to meet with.

We must now pay our respects in a very few words to the author

* A similar remark applies to an argument founded by Ben David upon a passage in Tertullian's Tract de Baptismo, c. 6; where the reference is evidently to Matt. xxviii. 19. and to Deuteron. xix. 15. We regret that the length to which our observations have been extended will not allow us to examine the passage from Tertullian's Tract against Praxeas, of which Ben David has most strangely mistaken the meaning.

thor of 'Three Letters to the Editor of the Quarterly Review.' If BEN DAVID will consider all that we have already written, he will hardly expect that we should minutely examine his work; grateful although we are for his liberal and, we trust, sincere praise of our former labours. Ben David has attempted, after a fashion of his own, to demonstrate the genuineness of 1 John v. 7. He is a Socinian; and he endeavours to persuade the world that this verse affords the best proof in support of his peculiar opinions. The world, we believe, will conclude that he has ventured far into the region of paradox. He has informed us what, in his judgment, is the scope of St. John's first epistle, as well as of the disputed verse. He also states what he conceives to have been the fate of the verse, and predicts the consequences which will result from a 'demonstration of its genuineness.'

(1) The scope of the epistle:—It was written in opposition to the heresy of the Gnostics; and its object is 'to set aside the divinity of Christ, as an artifice to undermine the gospel.' (p. 11.)

(2) The scope of the verse:

'*There are three bearing testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit; and these three are one:* that is, *οἱ τρεῖς ἓν μαρτύριον εἰσι.* The meaning then is, that the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, which are in heaven, bear testimony; and these three testimonies are one testimony. The testimony meant is that which it is the burden of the epistle to prove; namely, that JESUS IS THE CHRIST: meaning, in opposition to the Antichristian teachers, that the man Jesus, and not a God dwelling in the man Jesus, is the Christ.'—(p. 12.)

(3) The fate of the verse:

'It descended from the old Italic version from the days of the apostles to the age of Jerome. But the copies which contained it were confined to *confidential friends*, or to the more *trusty fathers* of the church; while it was carefully excluded from those which were designed for general use. This precaution was naturally suggested by the dangers which on all sides had hitherto encompassed the text. But these dangers were in a great degree surmounted by the triumphs of orthodoxy. At length Pope Damasus thought it safe to restore the verse in the public version, and engaged Jerome to revise it, partly with a view to that purpose. Before the end was accomplished, Damasus died, and Jerome found protection in Eustochium, a lady of learning, influence and reputation, who had earnestly solicited him to restore the genuine text.'—(pp. 53, 54.)

(4) The consequences of the genuineness of the text:

'The orthodox faith will receive a shock which shall shatter its very foundations, and bring it, at no distant period, completely to the ground.'—(p. .)

Of the three first of these positions we will say nothing, for indeed we can scarcely help suspecting that Ben David is indulging a grave smile at the excellent prelate with whom we have just

parted, and at many other serious defenders of the verse. The commission of the copies which contained it to *confidential friends and the more trusty fathers* of the church may indeed well range with the reasons commonly assigned as sufficient to account for its non-appearance in the early Greek MSS. Of Ben David's last position, we will only say, that it fills us with no dread—the orthodox faith does not rest upon a spurious or a disputed verse; it is built, and well built, upon the genuine word of God; and thus secured, it will endure for ever.

ART. IV.—*The Mission to Siam, and Hué, the Capital of Cochin-China, in the Years* 1821, 2, *from the Journal of the late* George Finlayson, *Esq. Surgeon and Naturalist to the Mission; with a Memoir of the Author by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, Bt. F.R.S.* London. 1825.

THE descriptions of Siam and its inhabitants given by La Loubère, Tachart, and Choisy, in the reign of Louis XIV., when that monarch sent Le Chevalier de Chaumont and others on an embassy thither, gave a temporary celebrity to this small and obscure nation; which, however, died away, as soon as it was found, in subsequent visits, that the extravagant praises and exaggerated descriptions of these Jesuits were unworthy of credit. It required not much sagacity in those whose object was gain, to discover that the elements of commerce were too ill understood by the ruling powers, and the resources of the country too insignificant, to afford any scope for European adventure in that way. Indeed it might have been known beforehand, that the Jesuits, advisedly as it would seem, were in the habit of extolling the virtues and magnifying the resources of all the Ultra-Gangetic nations, and, most of all, those of the Chinese whose paternal government, literary acquirements, mental accomplishments, and moral qualities were held up by them as examples for the rest of the world.

At the time of the French embassy abovementioned, the English, Dutch, French, and Portugueze had all of them attempted to establish a commercial intercourse with Siam and Cochin China; but the restrictions under which alone they were allowed to trade, and the exactions to which they were made liable, rendered the commerce with those countries unworthy of being followed up, and it was dropped altogether by England.

Mr. Crawford, however, appears to have thought that the commerce of the Ultra-Gangetic nations might be renewed with advantage from Bengal; and with this view he prevailed on the Marquess of Hastings, then Governor-General, to send him on a mission

mission to the kings of Siam and Cochin China. Such a proposal was perhaps the more readily acceded to, as a mean of putting to the proof those views, on the importance of a commerce with the nations of the east, which he had developed, as matter of speculation, in three portly octavo volumes. But alas! how very widely does the reality too often differ from the best concocted theory! A few tons of sugar, a little pepper, gum-benzoin, and sapan wood were found to be the principal articles the Siamese had to dispose of, with little or no demand for European produce in return:—not that the resources of the country are at all inadequate to an abundant supply of many very valuable articles of commerce, but they are suffered to remain inactive; there being but one grand merchant in the whole country, who sets his own price on every article of import and export—and that merchant is the sovereign despot.

The little volume which gives an account of Mr. Crawford's mission might perhaps, in some respects, have assumed a somewhat different character, had the life of the intelligent and active author been spared to allow him to prepare it for publication. From the knowledge which the rough copy of his journal displays in various departments of natural history, we should undoubtedly have been gratified with more ample descriptions of many of those curious and most exuberant productions of an intertropical climate, which are now only briefly touched on;—touched, however, with a masterly hand in that general but highly interesting style of which Humboldt has set so happy an example, and which conveys so lively a picture of the great features of a country to the imagination of the reader. The jealousy of eastern courts, which treats all strangers as prisoners, is not propitious to the researches of the naturalist; yet his collection of plants and animals, as we learn from the introduction, is very considerable, and is placed in the library of the East India Company, for the inspection of the public. In his estimate of the physical and moral character of the people of those parts of the Asiatic continent and islands which he visited, we think that, on the whole, he has taken a correct view; and we are satisfied of the accuracy with which he has recorded the transactions of this abortive mission; although we dare say Mr. Crawford's account of it will soften down some of the disagreeable circumstances in the proceedings at Siam and Cochin China, so humiliating to the importance and dignity of the envoy.*

The mission first touched at Pulo Penang, or Prince of Wales's

* In a letter from the author, (in an introduction by Sir Stamford Raffles, of considerable interest,) he says, 'Mr. Crawford means to write a book'—'His opinion of things differs considerably from mine, for I was in fact a mere spectator.'

Wales's Island, about the importance of which on the one hand, and utter worthlessness on the other, so much at one time was said and written; it now appears very favourably in Mr. Finlayson's animated description. That it had become a place of considerable trade was manifest from the multitude of ships of various nations and descriptions that were at anchor in the port —English, American, Chinese, Arabian, and Siamese. Its commercial character was further denoted by the crowd of foreigners from all parts of the east, who lined the beach; among whom the Malabar Chuliahs were easily recognized by their keen and prying looks into the appearance and countenance of each newly arriving stranger; looks, however, which partake as much of idleness as of expectant curiosity. Contrasted with these is the industrious and peaceable Chinaman, whose character is so justly described by our author.

'We had not proceeded far, before a more interesting and more gratifying scene was expanded to our observation. Industry, active, useful, manly, and independent, seemed here to have found a congenial soil and fostering care. The indolent air of the Asiatic was thrown aside. Every arm laboured to produce some useful object, and every countenance, teeming with animation, seemed, as it were, directed to a set task. With the air, they had lost even the slender frame of the Asiatic; and the limbs, and muscularity, and symmetry were those of another and more energetic race. These were Chinese, a people highly valuable as settlers, by reason of their industrious and very regular habits, who had established on this spot the mechanical arts, on a scale which might even vie with that of European artists, but which we should look for in vain in any other part of India. It was a pleasing and gratifying spectacle, so much are we in India accustomed to the opposite, to see a numerous, very muscular, and apparently hardy race of people, labouring with a degree of energy and acuteness, which gave to their physical character a peculiar stamp, and placed them in a highly favourable point of view, when compared with the habits of the nations around them. Their manner of using their instruments, so different from the puerile style of Indian artists, had in it much of the dexterity of Europeans; while their condition bespoke them a flourishing and wealthy tribe. All the principal shops, all important and useful employments, and almost all the commerce of the island, was in their hands. Under the patronage of the British Government, they soon acquire riches; they meet with entire protection of property and person, and are cherished by the government, which, in return, derives benefit from their industry, and from the commercial and profitable speculations in which they usually engage.'—pp. 13, 14.

A population of about 30,000 inhabitants is said to be clustered together within a small compass; but the streets of the town are clean and handsome, the houses mostly of wood, raised on pillars from four to six feet high; and thatched with the light leaves of the palm,

palm, which form an elegant roof: the dwellings of the Malabars are described as an exception to the general neatness of the town; the contrast indeed between them and the Chinese is very striking.

'Profiting by the mildness of the climate, they look not beyond shelter from the elements, and seclusion from the public eye: a mean and sordid house afford both to their satisfaction. Ornament is never dreamt of, and even comfort is but little considered. Unlike to these, the Chinaman aims at neatness and even elegance in his dwelling, after having satisfied the more important objects of comfort and utility: hence the latter is rarely to be seen idling or sauntering about the streets: more numerous wants, more energetic occupations, more generous diet, demand more constant attention, and their gratification encroaches on his leisure hours. The Indian rarely passes an European of any rank without making an obeisance to him; and is in general abundantly submissive. The Chinaman will not submit to this distinction, whether from national pride and becoming independence of mind, or from assumed insolence, unauthorized, perhaps, in his native country, does not appear. However this may be, the latter is certainly the most becoming custom.' —pp. 15, 16.

The great profusion and extraordinary luxuriance of the surrounding vegetation, and, above all, of the numerous elegant palms, among which the cocoa and areca are most conspicuous—the various species of convolvuli and parasitical plants which line the hedges, and are seen running up to the extreme branches of the loftiest trees—the more humble herbaceous plants which cover the lower grounds, and the forests which creep up the acclivities to the very summits of the mountains—the varied features of hill and dale, both abounding with vegetation of the most exuberant kind —are well calculated, as our author says, 'to delight and astonish;' but he adds truly, that though 'the poet may select such scenes for the abodes of bliss, of happiness, and mortal felicity, the philosophic inquirer will look to countries of less flattering aspect for the more favourable existence and developement, in the social state, of the mental faculties of the human race.'

Having described some of the more rare and curious objects of natural history, our author enumerates the vegetable products which may be considered as most important and useful in commerce and domestic economy; among the former, pepper is stated to be the principal article; the cultivation of which is almost exclusively in the hands of the Chinese. The nutmeg may be reckoned next; it is now twenty years since the trees were first planted, of which there are stated to be at present one hundred and fifty thousand, and of these one-third in a condition to bear fruit. Each tree is calculated to yield one thousand nuts annually, which sell for five Spanish dollars, and the mace for about the same

same sum. The clove is also cultivated with great success. As we have surrendered all the spice islands to the Dutch, the value of Penang must be much increased. These articles indeed are the only resources that can ever be relied on for reducing the enormous expense which the overgrown establishment of this settlement costs the East India Company; for its commerce must fall off in proportion as that of Singapore, an island farther down the strait, increases.

In addition to the products abovementioned the inhabitants of Penang have the enjoyment of all the tropical fruits; three varieties of pine-apple, some of them weighing from four to six pounds a-piece, and the elegant and delicious mangosteen thrive well on the island. The latter fruit, however, arrives at its greatest excellence at Malacca, where the present mission next stopped for refreshments. Here also the plantain, the durian, the champada, the jack, and various other fruits were found to be most abundant, so as to constitute a large proportion of the food of the inhabitants both native and Dutch, the latter of whom are now so naturalized, that they have acquired the tastes, and, to a certain degree, the manners of the native Malays; but these fruits, fine as they are, Mr. Finlayson observes, afford only a wretched subsistence, inferior even to the worst of the Cerealia; in addition to them, however, the inhabitants have an abundant supply of excellent fish upon the coast. On entering Malacca, the voyagers were forcibly struck with the melancholy contrast which it afforded to the interesting settlement of Prince of Wales's Island.

'Here five or six vessels at the utmost lay scattered and straggling in an extensive bay. There hundreds of ships of all descriptions, sizes, and nations, were seen crowded together, the sure indication of maritime prosperity. In Malacca, every third house was shut up, and appeared to be abandoned. The streets were solitary and deserted. A lonely inhabitant sauntering in his verandah, or idly lolling out smoking at his door, only served to render the scene more dreary, sad, and melancholy. Even the Chinese, of whom, however, but few now remain, seemed to have forsaken their habits of industry, and afforded the discordant spectacle of reluctant idleness. In Penang all was activity, and bustle, and zeal. The population of the two places will not bear a comparison. Yet Malacca possesses many advantages over the other settlement. In territorial extent it is unrestricted. The climate is mild, equable, salubrious, and agreeable. Numerous tribes of Malays surround the settlement in every direction, who, it is to be supposed, might, if encouraged by proper management, be gradually brought to enter upon commercial speculations, and to increase agricultural produce, to the mutual advantage of both parties. The Dutch, however, it is to be feared, have still to learn how to reconcile the native powers to their system of government. A

degree

degree of suspicion and distrust is but too obvious in the intercourse they entertain with each other.'—pp. 39, 40.

The once opulent inhabitants of this settlement are reduced to a state of extreme poverty; and a city so celebrated in the annals of the Dutch and Portugueze empires in the east, presents now but a gloomy picture of desolation. The residents subsist chiefly by means of their slaves, and, with the exception of fish and fruit, live on the coarsest food; indeed all articles of the most ordinary delicacy are become extremely dear; a fowl, for instance, costs half a crown, which in former times might have been had for sixpence or a shilling. Whether Malacca will ever regain its former prosperity, now that it has fallen under our dominion, a few years will probably determine.

The next halting-place of the mission was Singapore, that new and flourishing settlement which we have already mentioned, the occupation of which put the finishing stroke to the decline and misery of Malacca as a commercial depôt during the few following years in which it remained with the Dutch. That the choice of this island as a colonial establishment was judicious, will appear from the following testimony of Mr. Finlayson:

'The selection of this island, for the purpose of a commercial settlement, has been extremely happy. It is placed in the direct route from Bengal towards China, and the numerous islands in the eastern part of the Archipelago. It is from its situation calculated to become the centre of the trade carried on in the China seas and neighbouring countries, the kingdoms of Cochin China, Siam, &c. as well as of that of the Malayan peninsula, and the western parts of India. It affords a safe and convenient anchorage at all seasons of the year; while from its insular situation, and being surrounded on every hand by innumerable islands, it is alike exempted from the destructive typhoons so common in the China seas, and the scarce less furious tempests that occur on the coasts of India. Here indeed the atmosphere throughout the whole circuit of the year is serene and placid, to a degree unknown perhaps in any other part of our globe. The smooth expanse of the seas is scarcely ruffled by the wind. We seem, as it were, to be coasting along the banks of a lake.'—pp. 45, 46.

Mr. Finlayson gives no details of the extraordinary rapidity with which this settlement has advanced in population and prosperity; but we are enabled, from authentic sources, to supply this defect.

The island of Singapore has the honour of being the first colony in modern times (perhaps in ancient also) in which the principle of free trade has been declared; and if any example were wanting to prove the policy of a liberal system with regard to commerce, we should say, look at the history of Singapore; which

which is briefly this. When Java and the other principal islands of the Eastern Archipelago were surrendered to the Dutch, Sir Stamford Raffles saw with regret the great sacrifice of our interests then made, not only as regarded these islands, but also our future intercourse with China,—he observed too how rapidly the Dutch occupied in succession every inch of ground which they could grasp, and how steadily they pursued their former policy of binding down the Malay and other chiefs to grant them an exclusive monopoly, and to refuse all commerce with the rest of the world, more particularly with us, except on most ruinous terms; while by the transfer of Malacca, we had given them complete possession of the two principal straits through which our intercourse with China is maintained, and thus sealed their navigation against ourselves. Under these unhappy circumstances he was induced to turn his thoughts to our last and almost forlorn hope, the island of Singapore in the strait of Malacca. All that he knew of it was its favourable position; that it had once belonged to the dismembered empire of Johore; that whatever it might once have been, it now contained only a poor fishing village, and that it was the haunt of pirates; but he knew also that the chief or head man had applied to Bengal for our protection, and would not be sorry to see the British flag flying on his island.

Armed with the authority of the Governor-general, and furnished with a vessel belonging to the Company's Marine, Sir Stamford took possession of the island, and, under a treaty concluded with the chief, hoisted the British flag on the 26th Feb. 1819. At that time the inhabitants did not exceed one hundred and fifty, of whom about thirty were Chinese. His first act was to declare 'the port of Singapore a free port, and the trade thereof open to ships and vessels of every nation, free of duty, equally and alike to all.' Now mark the result.

In the course of the first three months' possession, the population increased from one hundred and fifty to three thousand; in the first year to about five thousand; two years afterwards to ten thousand; in 1824, by a census not very accurately taken, it had risen to thirteen thousand, besides itinerants to the amount of three thousand; and in 1825 it was computed that the population had increased to at least fifteen thousand souls, besides upwards of 3000 Chinese who, about the middle of the year, had arrived as settlers in six large junks. By the latest accounts it appears that capital was daily flowing in; that ten or twelve respectable mercantile houses had been established by Europeans, and as many by Chinese, Arabians, Indians, Armenians, &c.; but that the principal part of the trade and manufactures, as well as

of

of the agriculture of the island, was in the hands of the Chinese, who also composed a large proportion of the population; that ship-building had commenced; that the banks of the river would admit of vessels of 500 tons being launched; and that an active and valuable commerce in teak timber was springing up with Siam.

By an estimated value kept in the master-attendant's office, the trade of Singapore has increased as follows:

		Dollars.
In 1822,	value of exports and imports,	8,568,172
1823,	 ditto, ...	13,268,397
1824,	 ditto, ...	15,000,000
1825,	estimated at not less than . .	20,000,000

Large junks from different parts of China not only bring annually a multitude of settlers, but also import and export valuable cargoes; vessels of smaller sizes, from Siam and Cochin China, are yearly increasing; a considerable trade also is opening with Manilla. The number of square rigged vessels that arrived in the year 1823, from India and Europe, amounted to 216, of native oriental craft to 1550, importing nearly 80,000 tons of merchandize. And all this unprecedented increase of population, trade, and prosperity has arisen, not so much from the favourable locality of this eastern emporium, and the safety and convenience of its port, (both of which are excellent,) as from the establishment in good faith of the principle of free trade; a simple provisional administration of justice, dispensed without delay; a strict and efficient police; and a judicious system of granting and registering lands; to which may be added, as most important, a large and liberal Institution for the education of youth, of whatever country or religion. The Chinese in particular, some millions of whom are spread over the islands of the great Asiatic Archipelago, are every where ready to receive instruction. At the college of Malacca, Chinese boys were not only taught to read their own and the English language, but allowed cheerfully by their parents to be instructed in the principles of the Christian religion. The college that was established there has now been removed to Singapore, and united to the Malay college founded by Sir Stamford Raffles. Thus commerce and civilization, religion and morality, are likely to go hand in hand in this rising settlement, where the picture of ancient Tyre, so brilliantly painted by Fenelon, seems likely to be actually realized.

Hitherto the governments of India have been in the practice of taking advantage of the propensity of the Chinese for gambling, and of the Malays for cock-fighting, and have raised a revenue from

from those besetting infirmities of the two people. Sir S. Raffles, however, in his regulations for the government of Singapore, prohibited both: we trust that it cannot be truly reported that the present resident, who we believe is Mr. Crawford himself, has licensed both. We have heard also, and with more alarm, of a plan for annexing the government of Singapore to that of Prince of Wales's Island. We know the disgraceful conduct pursued by persons in authority in that island, who not only laboured to thwart the views of Sir Stamford Raffles, but even united with the Dutch at Malacca, and encouraged them to throw every possible obstacle in the way of the establishment of Singapore, because its prosperity might appear to be injurious to their own island. Every species of misrepresentation may therefore be expected from that quarter; but we cannot believe that the Court of Directors will lightly consign to ruin, by a single dash of the pen, a new settlement so important, and so unprecedentedly rapid in its prosperous growth as that of Singapore; we say *ruin*, because once disturb the system on which it was founded, and to which we are pledged in good faith—once add the clogs and fetters which beset the commerce of Prince of Wales's Island; establish duties with all the vexatious and impositions of a native custom-house, and we venture to pronounce that the ruin of Singapore will be as certain, as complete, and as rapid, as has been its extraordinary rise.

But there is another consideration of no trifling importance, which imperiously calls on our government to cherish and protect this little colony. We have seen, more than once, our intercourse with China exposed to extreme hazard, and it seems far from improbable that it may one day cease altogether; for when the company's charter shall expire, the monopoly of this trade, we presume, will expire also: numbers will then flock in to supply its place; and the greater the concourse of shipping, without any European residents to be responsible for the conduct of their crews, the greater will be the fears and jealousies of this timid government, and the more frequent the quarrels with the natives. The company's servants, by their steady conduct, and sometimes perhaps by a little bribery, through the management of the Hong merchants, have hitherto been able to silence complaints; but private merchants cannot be expected to do this, nor to keep the crews of their shipping in such peaceable order as is preserved by the few which now frequent Canton. The probable result will be, that the Chinese will put their often-repeated threats in execution, and shut the ports of their country against us. In such an event, the island of Singapore would be of invaluable

importance

importance by becoming, what it has already begun to be, the depôt of the China trade, where the supply of tea would be as great, as good, and as cheap, as at Canton; we should say cheaper; as the extortions and the heavy duties of Canton would be avoided, the company's establishment become unnecessary, and the voyage out and home shortened by six weeks or two months.

The selection of Singapore appears to have been equally fortunate with regard to climate, as judicious in respect of situation. According to Mr. Finlayson's account, few places are blessed with a greater uniformity of temperature than this island. The influence of the periodical monsoons, he says, is but little felt, the winds partaking more of the nature of sea and land breezes; and, for this reason, it is stated, there is no periodical rainy season; but few days elapse without refreshing showers, which reduce the temperature, while they cherish vegetation. The following observation regarding the heat and moisture of intertropical climates is not precisely accordant with generally received opinions, but may not be the less just on that account.

'Without the continued influence of moisture, these regions would certainly exhibit a far less cheerful picture, and the climate prove much less congenial to the human frame. Heat in the equatorial regions is thus benignly attempered to the constitution of man. It will be found to prove infinitely less pernicious to his system than it does some distance beyond the tropics, particularly in dry and arid climates. It is thus that the hot and dry winds of Upper India, to the extent of more than ten degrees beyond the tropic, exert such powerful and destructive influence on organized beings, and more particularly on the human frame. Its effects are too well known to require description. Inanimate life is not merely at a stand; it is threatened with total destruction, and with difficulty preserves a scanty gleam of future existence. Animated beings retire to the thickest shades, and even there pant for existence. The loose frame and acclimated constitution of the native inhabitant is not proof against its baneful influence. What then must be its influence on constitutions so highly susceptible of excitement as those of the inhabitants of the North of Europe, the fatality amongst European troops has given too ample testimony. The physiologist, who has not witnessed the effect of high temperature on the human system, will with difficulty believe it capable of extinguishing life, often within the period of a single hour from the commencement of excitement. Its effects are no less rapid than fearful to the spectator; the mind in such cases partaking of the general excitement in a degree amounting even to complete mania. Within the tropics, such effects are of rare occurrence.'—pp. 17, 48.

In support and illustration of these remarks, our author adduces the extreme healthiness of Singapore, which, we are told, in spite of its mangrove swamps and marshy soils, is free from the remittent and yellow fevers, diseases that, according to Humboldt,

and, indeed all the world, have hitherto been supposed to owe their origin to this kind of country.

'Without calling into question the insalubrity of marshy situations in general, there appears great reason to believe that we are still ignorant of the actual causes of this frightful disease. The settlement of Singapore is possessed in an eminent degree of the circumstances which are thought to be most conducive in producing the disease. Yet here it is as yet unknown. An intertropical climate on the margin of the sea, a continually high temperature, rapid and intense evaporation, a humid and extensive series of saline and fresh water marshes exposed to a burning sun, the vegetative impulse in a degree of activity unequalled perhaps in any other part of the globe, the occasional suspension of herbaceous vegetation by long-continued heat accompanied by drought, profusion of vegetable matter, as leaves, felled wood, fruits, &c. intermixed with animal matter, forming fomites in every stage of the putrefactive process, are amongst the more conspicuous of the causes to which the occurrence of this disease is usually attributed; and here all the causes enumerated operate with tenfold force.'—p. 60.

The only vegetable productions adapted for commercial purposes, which have hitherto been raised in this young settlement, are the pepper vine, and the *Nauclea Gambir*, known generally by the name of *Terra Japonica*, or *Catechu*, an article exported to Java and the other eastern islands, where it is chiefly used for chewing with the betel-leaf. These two plants are cultivated with great neatness and ingenuity by the Chinese; but Mr. Finlayson observed that, as yet, there was a manifest air of poverty in the dwellings of these agriculturists, and of negligence, slovenliness, and even meanness in their dress, which denoted a condition very unlike that of their countrymen, who are engaged in commercial and mechanical pursuits at Pulo Penang. The Chinaman here is said to have scarcely a stool or a bench to sit on; 'it is in his culinary operations alone,' says Mr. Finlayson, 'that we observe an air of neatness and of cleanliness; negligent of personal ornament, insensible to the advantages of comfortable lodging, he appears to entertain a just, nay, we may say, an exalted sense of the pleasure of good eating.' This is quite true of this indefatigable people, whether at home or abroad. A Chinese will always procure the richest and most nutricious, though not always the most delicate, fare; fat pork, ducks, geese, and fish are his favourite food, which he will purchase at any price in his power. The trepang, or holothuria, and various kinds of marine gelatinous animals, birds' nests, &c. are his luxuries; and in failure of more delicate food, he has no reluctance to the flesh of dogs, monkies, rats, alligators, and other reptiles.

The most prominent feature in the character of a Chinese emigrant is industry. Mechanically uniform and steady in the pursuit

pursuit of what he conceives to be his immediate and personal interest, he exerts a degree of ingenuity and of bodily labour which leaves all other Asiatics at a distance. The following character of this extraordinary people is, to our knowledge, so just, that we cannot consent to withhold it.

'Next in the catalogue of his virtues, may be reckoned general sobriety, honesty, a quiet, orderly conduct, obedience to the laws of the country in which he resides; and, as is affirmed, a strong and unalterable sense of the important duties which parental affection inculcates. To this we may add a strong attachment to his native country, and the very questionable virtue of blind, undistinguishing admiration of, and submission to, all its laws.

'Notwithstanding this fair exterior, we shall find on examination that the Chinese have but little real pretension to moral distinction amongst nations; of the sublime, soothing, and pathetic duties of religion they are as ignorant as they are regardless; a mean, senseless, and unworthy superstition, the offspring of fear alone, has usurped its place amongst the many; while the learned affect a cold-hearted and scarcely intelligible theism. In all that regards the more amiable feelings of our nature, and that tends to unite the great family of the human race in closer union, they are still more deficient. A disgusting and culpable apathy, an involved and concentrated selfishness of gratification, a total disregard of the wants, and necessities, and helplessness of their fellow-creatures, marks the Chinese in their conduct through life. They know not the pleasure of doing good for its own sake. They not only talk of, but witness the misfortunes and distresses of their fellow-men, with an apathy of feeling little short of mockery. They will stipulate for reward with the wretch who is sinking in the water, before they will extend a saving arm. They will talk of the greatest scourges to which the human race is subject, famine, pestilence, war, as catastrophes almost to be wished for,—considering the survivors as benefited by the destruction of so many of their fellow-creatures. Their industry is the result of the quick sense of gratification which they derive from the indulgence of the more grovelling passions and animal appetites, and where these can be indulged without labour, the Chinese will be found to indicate their full share of Asiatic indolence.

'It must be confessed however that the Chinese are, in a political point of view at least, by far the most useful class of people to be found in the Indian Seas or Archipelago. Their robust frames, their industrious habits, and their moderate conduct, place them beyond competition. They furnish the best artizans, the most useful labourers and the most extensive traders. Their commercial speculations are often extensive, often of the most adventurous nature; and we may remark by the way, that they are often immodevately fond of games of chance, as cards, dice, cock-fighting. Inebriety is a vice of which they are but rarely guilty. At their meals they indulge in the use of ardent spirits, undiluted, but never use them to excess.'—p. 64—66.

With features so similar as scarcely to leave a doubt of their

having sprung from one common origin, the disposition of the Malays is totally the reverse of that of the Chinese. The former are passionately attached to a sea-faring life, and their principal occupation is that of fishing, in the pursuit of which almost the whole of their life is spent upon the water, in wretched little canoes in which they can scarce stretch themselves for repose, yet in each of which a man and his wife, with one or two children, are usually found. With scarcely a rag to clothe them, and no hut to lodge them, their only furniture is a mat made of the leaves of the Pandanus to protect them from the rain, and one or two cooking pots; and in this wretched manner an inconceivable number of families live in the bays, inlets, and creeks, that surround Singapore. This class goes by the appellation of Orang Laut, or men who live on the sea. The following is a correct character of a somewhat higher order of the Orang Laut:

'Bold and enterprising in their maritime excursions they hold the peaceful arts of civilized life almost in contempt. Negligent, slothful, and listless in their moments of ease, they display in the hour of danger and of enterprise the most daring courage and intrepidity. They enjoy neither the goods nor ills of life with the calm sobriety and moderation of other men. In action fierce, cruel, and immoderate, their leisure is passed in a sleepy indifference that approaches to the apathy of brute life.'—p. 72.

Of the Malays inhabiting the land, the following sketch applies perhaps only to those of Singapore; for on Sumatra, as we learn from Mr. Marsden's high authority, their rank is far superior to that assigned to them by Mr. Finlayson.

'Others of the Malays have proceeded a step beyond this rude state; they possess houses and a fixed abode; they use garments and cultivate small spots of ground: their agricultural skill, however, has rarely extended to the cultivation of rice or other of the Cerealia. They surround their houses with a wooden paling, of sufficient extent to admit the culture of the plantain, the yam, the betel, and a few other useful plants for their own use.

'They possess but little skill in the mechanical arts, and are employed as labourers almost exclusively for the purpose of cutting down wood in the forests, and clearing ground for culture. We neither find amongst them a carpenter, a mason, a tailor, or a blacksmith.'—p. 74.

We must pass over the notices which our author gives of the geological structure of the continental mountains and islands, and his remarks upon various other objects that presented themselves on the voyage, till the arrival of the embassy in the river Meinam, at the first town in the kingdom of Siam, which is called Packnam. The morning after their arrival at this place, a mean-looking person came on board, and stated that he had been sent from Bankok,

Bankok, the residence of the king, to act as interpreter. This person, with whom alone they had any communication for some time, was one of that degraded, but self-important class of society well known in India under the general title of Portugueze, a title to which (as we have said on another occasion) an European hat, with a jacket and pair of trowsers, would seem to give every black man, every native, and every half-caste, an undisputed claim in the eastern world. With this wretched creature, however, Mr. Crawford not only commmunicated on the general business of his mission, but condescended to negociate respecting the ceremony to be performed on presenting his credentials to the monarch of Siam; a point of the first importance among the courtiers of the ultra-Gangetic nations. These discussions were afterwards carried on with a Malay of low rank, but cunning, suspicious, and artful in the highest degree.

At the end of three days they received permission to proceed up the river as far as Bankok.

'In the course of our progress this morning, the various scenes upon the river afforded considerable interest. Numerous small canoes, for the most part carrying but one individual, small covered boats, &c., were plying in every direction. The market-hour was now approaching, and all seemed life and activity. Here one or more of the priests of Buddha were guiding their little canoe on its diurnal eleemosynary excursion. There an old woman hawked betel, plantains, and pumpkins. Here you saw canoes laden with cocoa-nuts,—there, groups of natives were proceeding from house to house, on their various occupations. But the most singular feature in the busy scene was the appearance of the houses, floating on the water, in rows, about eight, ten, or more, in depth, from the bank. This novel appearance was peculiarly neat and striking. The houses were built of boards, of a neat oblong form, and towards the river provided with a covered platform, on which were displayed numerous articles of merchandize: fruit, rice, meat, &c. This was, in fact, a floating bazar, inwhich all the various products of China and of the country were exposed for sale. At either end the houses were bound to long bamboos driven into the river. They are thus enabled to move from place to place as convenience may demand. Every house is furnished with a small canoe, in which they visit and go from place to place to transact business. Almost all those collected in this quarter seem to be occupied by merchants, many of them very petty no doubt, and by trades-people, as shoe-makers, tailors, &c. The latter occupations are followed almost exclusively by the Chinese. The houses are in general very small, consisting of a principal centre room, and one or two small ones; the centre being open in front, for the display of their wares. The houses are from twenty to thirty feet in length, and about half that space in breadth. They consist of a single stage, the floor raised above the water about a foot, and the roof thatched with palm leaves. At low water, when the stream is rapid, there ap-

pears to be but little business done in these shops. Their proprietors are then to be seen lolling or sleeping in front of their warehouses, or otherwise enjoying themselves at their ease. At all hours of the day, however, many boats are passing and re-passing. They are so light and sharp in their form, that they mount rapidly against the stream. They are rowed with paddles, of which the large canoes have often eight or ten on each side. The number of Chinese appears to be very considerable; they display the same activity and industry here that they do wherever they are to be found. Their boats are generally larger and rowed by longer paddles. They have a sort of cabin, made of basket-work, in the centre, which serves to contain their effects, and answers the purposes of a house. Many of them carry pieces of fresh pork up and down the river for sale.'—p. 114—116.

An old gentleman now came on board to inquire after the number and the rank of the several persons composing the mission, bringing with him a golden cup to receive the letter of which Mr. Crawford was the bearer from the governor-general to the king, and which, somewhat too early we think, he was prevailed on to deliver up. Presently after the Malayman abovementioned made his appearance to demand the presents, the whole of which however Mr. Crawford did not give, but many valuable articles were entrusted to him and to a few common labourers, to be shared, no doubt, among the rapacious officers employed about the court. Many others now came forward, all craving for presents, which, in any shape, were eagerly snatched at; 'betraying,' says Mr. Finlayson, 'a degree of meanness and avidity in this matter at once disgusting and disgraceful; whilst they showed none of those little attentions so pleasing to strangers, and understood by every people who have made the least progress in civilization.'

Mr. Crawford was now given to understand that the time of his introduction was put off for a week, and that, until that ceremony was over, he could neither visit, nor be visited by, any of the few foreigners residing at Bankok. In the meantime he and his suite were kept as prisoners on board, and restricted from all intercourse with the people. Once, however, he was admitted to the house of one of the ministers.

'The servility which the attendants of this man observed towards him, appears to have been quite disgusting, and altogether degrading to humanity. During the whole of the visit they lay prostrate on the earth before him, and at a distance. When addressed, they did not dare to cast their eyes towards him, but raising the head a little, and touching the forehead with both hands united in the manner by which we would express the most earnest supplication, their looks still directed to the ground, they whispered an answer in the most humiliating tone. The manner in which he was approached by the servants of his household was even still more revolting to nature. When refreshments were ordered, they crawled forward on all fours, supported on the elbow and toes,

toes, the body being dragged on the ground. In this manner they pushed the dishes before them from time to time, in the best manner that their constrained and beast-like attitude would admit, until they had put them in their place, when they retreated backwards in the same grovelling manner, but without turning round.

'How abominable! how revolting this assumption of despotic power! that would vainly assimilate a weak and frail mortal to the Deity, and that could trample under its feet not only the body, degrading it to the condition of the brute beasts of the field, but even the mind of man, and render servility perpetual!

'Yet this haughty chief was himself but a minister of the fifth order in importance, doomed to take his turn of beast-like grovelling, as was subsequently exhibited on visiting Chromachit, son to the king. Every man here is doomed to crawl on the earth before his superior.—The nation must be considered as entirely the slaves of the king, of whose lives, as well as property, he can dispose at will.

> Masters' commands come with a power resistless,
> To such as owe them absolute subjection.'—p. 126.

The important day of introduction at length arrived. It was agreed as to the ceremony that they should take off their shoes at the door of the hall of audience, and their hats on entering it; that they should bow in the English fashion and, sitting down on their haunches, make three salutations with the hands united before the face, touching the forehead each time. Two miserable-looking boats, the larger one having thirteen paddles and a steersman, the smaller five or six rowers with scarcely any clothes on their backs, were the vehicles in which the Bengal ambassador and his suite were to be conveyed to the palace of the king of Siam. The procession seemed to excite but little attention on the part of the inhabitants, excepting that some of the passengers in the boats passing and repassing on the river were observed to laugh immoderately. The landing-place was dirty and inconveniently lumbered with wood. Here they were received in mean palanquins, like seamen's hammocks, each suspended from a pole and borne by two men. At the first gate of the palace they were ordered to take off their swords, leave the sepoys behind, and proceed on foot. Before the front of a mean dirty-looking building were six or eight elephants, each mounted by two men oddly dressed. Here the Moorman or Malay, who was master of the ceremonies, told them to pull off their shoes and walk the rest of the way, but after some discussion they were allowed to keep them on. Through the next court they marched between a line of about one hundred persons tottering under muskets without flints, composed of puny boys and old men, making a most ridiculous and unsoldier-like appearance.

On arriving at the next gate the order to pull off their shoes was

imperatively repeated, and they were also required to leave their followers and servants behind. Proceeding barefooted along a passage of about fifty yards they entered a large inclosure, in which were disposed several lofty and handsome buildings, some occupied by the king, and others appropriated to the several officers of state. Here a numerous body of men were drawn up, armed with stout black glazed shields and battle-axes, resting on their knees, and behind them were arranged a few elephants. A band, consisting of shrill pipes, tomtoms, horns, trumpets, chanks, &c., played as they proceeded, the music of which, though rude, was not displeasing to the ear. On reaching the hall of audience, they halted for a moment on the threshold and, having rounded a large screen, found themselves suddenly, and somewhat unexpectedly, in the presence of majesty. Mr. Finlayson must describe what here took place.

'A more curious, more extraordinary, or more impressive sight has perhaps rarely been witnessed than that on which we now gazed, with mingled feelings of regret, (I should say of indignation,) and of wonder: of wonder excited by the display of taste, elegance and richness in the decorations; of regret, or of indignation, caused by the debased condition of a whole nation. Such a scene was well calculated to take a firm hold on the imagination. I shall, however, endeavour to describe it in its true colours, and with the least possible aid from that faculty. The hall was lofty, wide, and well aired, and appeared to be about sixty or eighty feet in length, and of proportionate breadth. The ceiling and walls were painted with various colours chiefly in the form of wreaths and festoons; the roof was supported by wooden pillars, ten on each side, painted spirally red and dark green. Some small and rather paltry mirrors were disposed on the walls, glass lustres and wall shades were hung in the centre, and to the middle of each pillar was attached a lantern, not much better than our stable lanterns. The floor was covered with carpets of different colours. The doors and windows were in sufficient numbers, but small and without ornament; at the further extremity of the hall, a large handsome curtain, made of cloth covered with tinsel or gold leaf, and suspended by a cord, divided the place occupied by the throne from the rest of the apartment. On each side of this curtain there were placed five or six singular but handsome ornaments, called *chatt*, consisting of a series of small circular tables suspended over each other, diminishing gradually so as to form a cone, and having a fringe of rich cloth of gold, or tissue, suspended from each tablet.'—p. 142—144.

The hall was crowded to excess, but every person, from the highest to the lowest, had his proper place assigned to him.

'The curtain placed before the throne was drawn aside as we entered. The whole multitude present lay prostrate on the earth, their mouths almost touching the ground; not a body or limb was observed to move, not an eye was directed towards us, not a whisper agitated the solemn and

and still air. It was the attitude, the silence, the solemnity of a multitude simultaneously addressing the great God of the universe rather than the homage of even an enslaved people. Not even Rome, fertile in a race of tyrants, nor Dionysius himself, ever produced any degradation to compare with this ignominy.'—p. 144, 145.

In a niche below the curtain, something in the human shape could be discerned, but sitting immoveable as a statue, and resembling in posture the usual image of Boudh. There was just light enough to let the strangers see that there were neither jewels, nor precious stones, nor pearls, nor gold, about the person of this figure, nor on the throne, nor indeed was there any finery in the dresses of any of the ministers. Every thing wore a plain and mean appearance. Having performed the salutations agreed upon, a list of the Governor-general's presents was read over with a loud voice; after which his majesty addressed the usual questions about the health and age of the envoy and his party, which were passed in whispers through several mouths till they reached the envoy, and the answers to which were returned in the same way. All this, with the cage and the curtain, puts us forcibly in mind of the picture drawn by Major Denham of his sable majesty, the Sultaun of Loggun, and his whispering ministers, in the centre of Africa. After the betel had passed round,

'The king rose from his seat, and turning round to depart, the curtain was immediately drawn in front of the throne. On this all the people raised a loud shout, and turning on their knees, performed numerous salutations, touching the earth and their forehead alternately, with both hands united. The princes and ministers now assumed a sitting posture, by which, for the first time, we were enabled to observe their respective places. We left the hall of audience without further ceremony. A heavy shower of rain had fallen during the interview, and the roads leading to the different parts of the palace, at no time noted for cleanliness, were now covered with water and converted into a dirty puddle; we therefore requested to have our shoes, but in vain, for no notice whatever was taken of our request. On leaving the door of the audience-hall, a paltry Chinese umbrella, which might be purchased in the bazar for a rupee, was given to each of us. Not knowing with what view it was presented, I was about to reject it, when I was told that it was meant as a present from the king.'—p. 148, 149.

On leaving the hall, they were conducted by the master of the ceremonies to see the sights within the inclosures of the palace, 'followed by a dirty mean-looking rabble, whose impudent behaviour was from time to time checked by the two police-men, our guides.' The whole way was covered with mud and water, through which they had to wade for two hours in their stockings only. Yet there was nothing, after all, to be seen but the white elephants and white monkies, with a temple or two consecrated

to

to Boudh. These white elephants are held by the Siamese in a degree of veneration inferior only to that which they receive, as we have seen, from the Burmans.

'The greatest regard is entertained in Siam for the white elephant. He who discovers one is regarded as the most fortunate of mortals. The event is of that importance that it may be said to constitute an era in the annals of the nation. The fortunate discoverer is rewarded with a crown of silver, and with a grant of land equal in extent to the space of country at which the elephant's cry may be heard. He and his family, to the third generation, are exempted from all sorts of servitude, and their land from taxation.'—p. 154.

After this dry and agreeable tour of two hours, Mr. Crawford and his suite were presented, in a mean building, with sweetmeats, which they were to devour, surrounded by a crowd of jeering spectators, as if the court, observes our author, had said, 'See them fed.' He may well say, indeed, that they had little reason to be proud of their reception or treatment. They discovered, indeed, when it was too late, that it was purposely intended to attach as little importance as possible to the mission, and to consider it, as they were afterwards unceremoniously told, in no other light than as 'a deputation from a provincial governor.' However mortifying it might be to Mr. Crawford 'that the crazy, disjointed, and puny government of Siam should affect to treat the government of Bengal as inferior, and that it should impudently dare to consider an authorized envoy from that state, as a messenger from a provincial government,' he was doomed to experience a still more offensive proof of the little comparative esteem in which the envoy of the Great Mogul was held, by the arrival and reception of an ambassador from the king of Cochin-China. On this occasion all was grandeur, and bustle, and entertainments. Describing the procession up the river, Mr. Finlayson says

'The scene, too, was interesting beyond expectation; it was both beautiful and picturesque. The rapidity with which the boats and barges moved, the order and regularity with which innumerable rowers raised and depressed their paddles, guided by the shrill notes of a song that might well be deemed barbarous, together with the singular and barbaric forms, the brilliant colours, the gilded canopies of the boats, the strange and gaudy attire of the men, the loud and reiterated acclamations of innumerable spectators,—gave to the transient scene an effect not easily described.'—p. 180, 181.

At the audience which followed, his majesty of Siam appeared with the crown on his head, and arrayed in all his splendour; while the ambassador was not subjected to negociations about ceremony, nor required to leave his shoes behind him, but marched at once with his attendants into the hall, determined not 'to abate one jot of his dignity.'

We

We have little to observe of Siam; it is a narrow territory, commencing at the head of the Malayan peninsula, and extending to the northward about 300 miles; a considerable river, the Meinam, running down the midst of it. The whole country along this river is alluvial, and highly fertile, especially in rice, being subject to inundations in the rainy season as far as the eye can reach on both sides. It is so perfectly flat that the cocoa-nut, areca, and others of the palm tribe, are the only objects that break the line of the horizon. The sugar-cane is also cultivated, but not 'introduced for the first time some twenty years ago,' as Mr. Finlayson says, by the industrious Chinese; it is indigenous in all the tropical countries of the east, and was an article of commerce in Siam, when M. de Chaumont visited this country. The annual produce is stated to be about 1800 tons; and this article, with pepper, sapan and iron-wood, sent formerly in ten or twelve small junks to China, but mostly now to Singapore, forms nearly the total of the foreign commerce of Siam. The king, as we before observed, has the monopoly of the trade, fixing the price of every article of merchandize. What a lesson he might learn, if his ministers would let him, by comparing the results of his wretched system with those of the opposite pursued at Singapore!

The people generally were very civil to the strangers, and their character appeared to be mild and good-humoured; but, like the Chinese, they are conceited, void of curiosity, and submissive to the rod that flogs them; they differ however in other most important respects, being strictly honest in their dealings, charitable and humane, always taking delight in assisting the needy, feeding the hungry, and helping the wretched. Among the higher classes, 'we should look in vain,' says Mr. Finlayson, 'for that courtly ease, and that polished exterior, so common to almost all Asiatics of high rank. An offensive coarseness, a manifest disregard to the feelings of others, and arrogance unbounded, have usurped its place.'

The Siamese may almost be designated as an aquatic race. Few houses are removed so much as an hundred yards from the margin of the river, which is about a quarter of a mile in width; and by far the greater number float on bamboo rafts, secured close to the banks; others again are built on posts in the river; every house has its boat; for walking is out of the question, there being no roads, and scarcely a passable footpath. The shops of the tin-smiths, the leather-curriers and furriers, in spite of the meanness of the houses, are said to make rather a handsome show along the margin of the river. They tan leather well, and dye it red with the bark, as Mr. Finlayson thinks, of a species of mimosa.

The

The mass of the people appeared to be well fed, chiefly with rice and fish. They are stout, but rather below the middle stature. Both sexes cut the hair short, and blacken the teeth, which, with the mouth and lips stained a deep red colour by the chewing of betel and lime, gives them rather a hideous and disgusting appearance. True to the Mongol race from which they are evidently sprung, they have the high cheek bones, broad forehead and elongated eye more decidedly than either the Chinese or the Malays. Our author observes, that the hairy scalp is in greater proportion than he ever observed it in any other people. In some it descends to within an inch, or even less, of the eye-brows, covers the whole of the temples, and stretches forwards to within a very small distance of the outer angle of the eye. Their clothing is inexpensive, the common people going naked from the waist upwards, and, contrary to what is usually found among a half-civilized people, the old women generally expose the breast, while the young ones pass a piece of cloth round the chest, just long enough to form a knot in front.

Like all the oriental nations, the mass of the people in Siam have no share whatever in the government, they pay such imposts as may be demanded, and in all other matters are subject to the will and caprice of an uncontrouled despot.

'The people are governed by opinion, absurd and unjust, not by reason, by sense, nor by kindness. The most degrading and brutal tyranny is mistaken for well meaning patriarchal kindness; and the oppression of the multitude, and the grinding of the many, is regarded as the will of the Deity. No man either wishes for, or aspires to, freedom of thought or of action; and tyranny has cast its roots so deep, that change would seem hopeless.'—p. 158.

Mr. Finlayson seems to think that 'the temple is the source from which the monarch of Siam borrows the display of regal pomp;' and he is highly indignant at the 'beast-like grovelling, which is exacted not only by the king, but by every superior from his inferiors. It is natural that an European and a Briton should thus feel; perhaps, however, we judge incorrectly of national ceremonials, which from long usage have become mere matters of course, and are performed and received without thought or reason. The Siamese, the Cambodians, the Cochin-Chinese, and the head of all these nations, the Chinese, are constantly on their knees, which is as familiar to them as touching the hat is with us, and no more thought of in practice. The act of bowing the face to the ground before a sovereign of the east is as much unconnected with any feeling of degradation, as is the homage of the knee in Europe; nor does it appear that eastern despotism is at all inconsistent with the most ardent and affectionate loyalty in the subject.

subject. There is a remarkable instance of this feeling in the narrative which Père Tachard has given, of a Siamese embassy to the King of Portugal, which, in the year 1684, was wrecked in a Portugueze vessel off Cape L'Agullas. At that time that part of the country was totally uninhabited; and the sufferings of the poor Siamese, to the number of about thirty, half of whom perished from hunger, thirst, fatigue and cold, are related by the only surviving ambassador of three, in a manner so simple and affecting, and so remarkably resembling that of Captain Franklin's narrative, as to create a deep interest, and leave an impression on the mind of the reader highly favourable to the character of the Siamese. The veneration of these poor people for their sovereign, and their confidence in his protecting power, seem never to have forsaken them; his name was indeed to them 'a tower of strength in their deepest distress, and afforded them consolation even in the moment of death. The letter from him with which they had been entrusted shared their veneration, and, in all their difficulties, was the object of their greatest solicitude. When the first ambassador expired, it was handed over to the second, and from him to the third; and when at length their situation became hopeless, it was solemnly agreed that the last surviving Siamese should bury it, as his last act, on the summit of some hill, to guard it against insult or profanation.

It is hardly necessary to observe that the Siamese are strict Boudhists; that their temples, their images, their priests and their ceremonials of religion are the same as those of Ceylon, from which island they profess to have derived them. Both temples and images are stated, however, by Mr. Finlayson, to be much inferior to those of Ceylon.

'The Siamese would appear to excel in the number of their images, the Kandians in their quality. The Siamese temple, rich in the frippery and tinsel of a Chinaman's toy-shop, with its three hundred images, reminds you more of children's playthings than of the place of devotion; while the Kandian, by the skilful distribution of light and shade, and proper position of one, or, at most, of a few well-executed images, produces an effect at once solemn, majestic, and impressive.'—pp. 157, 158.

The largest temple in Siam is, as usual, of a pyramidal form, of about 200 feet high, terminating in a slender spire. The walls of a covered passage or veranda which surround it, are daubed with rude paintings, chiefly taken from the poem of the Ramayuna; from which it would seem that the simple tenets of the Boudhists are here blended with the absurdities of the Brahmins. As Boudhists they affect to observe the five prohibitory commands of their founder:—not to take away life—not to commit adultery—not to steal—not to utter falsehoods—not to make use of intoxicating liquors.

liquors. But while they affect to forbear from killing any living creature, they scruple not to eat of *all* living creatures, laying the crime on the butcher or vender. The king has the privilege of selling the fishery to the highest bidder; but by way of expiation, we suppose, he gives liberty to all fish that are caught on certain days. Besides their temple-worship, resembling that of the Chinese, the festival of the New Year is kept in the same way as by that people. They differ, however, from them in the disposal of their dead, whom they burn, with the exception of pregnant women and children; these are interred; the very poorest throw their dead into the river without ceremony, resembling in this the same class in China. The richer classes embalm the bodies previous to burning; and it is said to be a common practice, approved by the priests, to cut away all the muscular parts and leave them to be devoured by jackals and vultures. The ashes are kneaded into a paste, moulded into the image of Boudh, and placed among their lares and penates.

There was little for Europeans to admire in Siam; the royal barges, described by Loubère, and so greatly admired by the French ambassador M. Chaumont, attracted the attention of the present mission, when brought out to convey the Cochin-Chinese ambassador. They seem to be on a par, both in respect of finery and good taste, with the barge of the lord mayor of London. But the Siamese music was sufficiently good to attract notice. Their instruments were very various, both wind and stringed, and the airs they played were by no means deficient in melody. A very remarkable difference however was observed between their vocal and instrumental music, the former being as plaintive and melancholy as the latter is lively and playful. 'Its principal character,' says Mr. Finlayson, 'is that of being soft, lively, sweet and cheerful, to a degree which seemed to us quite surprizing.'

The envoy, having found that he was not likely to gain any thing from the Siamese, prepared for his departure, which he was allowed to take without the least mark of attention from any person belonging to the court. The ministers were satisfied, it would seem, that they had succeeded in degrading the representative of the Great Mogul to his proper level of a 'provincial governor,' and in the same proportion elevating their own sovereign in the opinion of his subjects. The merchants of Singapore, however, are more likely to teach these people good manners than Mr. Crawford. A brisk and flourishing trade is now carrying on between them; and all the Siamese vessels that used to go to China, now make the shorter and safer voyage to Singapore.

Of the botany of the Sechang or Dutch Islands, opposite to the

the mouth of the river Meinam, Mr. Finlayson gives some interesting notices; among other things he mentions an enormous *yam*, whose creeping stem, scarcely larger than a quill, rises, almost without any earth to cover its root, out of the most arid and sterile situations, covering the trees with its clusters of branches and leaves, and throwing out such masses of tuberous excrescences, that one of them was found to be no less than 474 pounds in weight, and to measure nine feet and a half in circumference; yet the atmosphere apparently was the only source of the plant's nutriment. In our own temperate climate we can form no adequate idea of the vigorous vegetation of an intertropical country. 'What,' asks our author, 'would Mr. Brown say to a plant of the Orchideous tribe, that should have a flowering spike six feet high, covered with upwards of one hundred flowers, each two inches across?' He adds, 'there is not a more splendid object in vegetable nature.' There is, however, a more singular and gigantic one—the *Rafflesia*—whose single corolla measures three feet in diameter.

Their next visit was to the city of Saigon, in Cambodia; and in the account of the passage up the river Donai, we are forcibly struck with the very great difference which exists between the descriptions of Mr. Finlayson and Captain White* as to the appearance of the houses, and the character of the natives. The 'filthy huts and pigsties' which the latter found at Cangeo, the former has converted into 'large and comfortable houses.' Where White tells us of 'men and women, children, swine, and mangy dogs, equally filthy and miserable in appearance,' Finlayson finds 'the poorest among them clothed from head to foot, and the populace to make a more decent and respectable appearance than other eastern nations.' White says, 'the women are coarse, dingy and devoid of decency;' Finlayson says, 'among the females there are many that are even handsome as well as remarkably fair, and their manners are engaging;' that they betray 'no looseness of character' nor 'coarseness,' but, that their conduct was agreeable to the strictest decorum. The American tells us that they were obliged to 'chastise with their canes the rude curiosity of the crowd;' the Scotchman reports that 'the crowd conducted themselves with a degree of propriety, order, decency and respect, that was alike pleasing as it was novel.' How are we to reconcile these and several other contradictions of the two travellers? does this difference of colouring arise from the different reception which the authors met with? or does one of them purposely falsify the real facts? We hinted, in our review of Captain White's

* See Vol. XXX. p. 351. History of a Voyage to the China Sea, by John White, Lieutenant in the United States Navy.

book,

book, a suspicion that we were in danger, under the guidance of our author, of underrating both the understanding and the power of this singular people;' and we are now satisfied that we were right; the disappointment of his sugar speculation having, no doubt, made him view things with a jaundiced eye.

The envoy and his party met with no obstacle to their travelling up to Saigon, for which purpose they were accommodated with barges of thirty or forty rowers each, dressed in red cloth with yellow facings, and having light caps surmounted with plumes of feathers. On their arrival five elephants were sent to conduct the party to the presence of the governor, whom they found to be an old withered eunuch. He was however sagacious enough to discover that the letter, of which the envoy was the bearer, was only from the Governor-general of India; and having observed that it was customary for kings only to write to kings, 'How,' said he, 'can the Governor-general of Bengal address a letter to the king of Cochin-China?' This inauspicious letter being sent for, was opened and copied, and copies of it immediately dispatched to the capital.

It was with some difficulty that the old man and his assessors could be made to understand the nature of the Governor-general's proposals respecting commerce; but having discovered that this was the main object of the mission, he hinted that it was not necessary to have come so far for that purpose; telling them 'that all ships of all nations were permitted to trade with Cochin-China.' During the interview and afterwards nothing could exceed the civility of the mandarins and people of Saigon; they entertained them with shows and plays; but our limits will only allow us to extract the description of a fight, got up for their entertainment, between an elephant and a tiger, though the cruel and unfair treatment of the tiger may grieve the heart and draw down the honest indignation of Mr. Martin.

'In the midst of a grassy plain, about half a mile long, and nearly as much in breadth, about sixty or seventy fine elephants were drawn up in several ranks, each animal being provided with a mallawat and a hauda, which was empty. On one side were placed convenient seats, the governor, mandarins, and a numerous train of soldiers being also present at the spectacle. A crowd of spectators occupied the side opposite. The tiger was bound to a stake, placed in the centre of the plain, by means of a stout rope fastened round his loins. We soon perceived how unequal was the combat; the claws of the poor animal had been torn out, and a strong stitch bound the lips together, and prevented him from opening his mouth. On being turned loose from the cage, he attempted to bound over the plain, but finding all attempts to extricate himself useless, he threw himself at length upon the grass, till seeing a large elephant with long tusks approach, he got up and faced

faced the coming danger. The elephant was by this attitude, and the horrid growl of the tiger, too much intimidated, and turned aside, while the tiger pursued him heavily, and struck him with his fore paw upon the hind quarter, quickening his pace not a little. The mahawat succeeded in bringing the elephant to the charge again before he had gone far, and this time he rushed on furiously, driving his tusks into the earth under the tiger, and lifting him up fairly, gave him a clear cast to the distance of about thirty feet. This was an interesting point in the combat; the tiger lay along the ground as if he were dead, yet it appeared that he had received no material injury, for on the next attack, he threw himself into an attitude of defence, and as the elephant was again about to take him up, he sprung upon his forehead, fixing his hind feet upon the trunk of the former. The elephant was wounded in this attack, and so much frightened, that nothing could prevent him from breaking through every obstacle, and fairly running off. The mahawat was considered to have failed in his duty, and soon after was brought up to the governor with his hands bound behind his back, and on the spot received a hundred lashes of the rattan.

'Another elephant was now brought, but the tiger made less resistance on each successive attack. It was evident that the tosses he received must soon occasion his death. All the elephants were furnished with tusks, and the mode of attack in every instance, for several others were called forward, was that of rushing upon the tiger, thrusting their tusks under him, raising him, and throwing him to a distance. Of their trunks they evidently were very careful; rolling them cautiously up under the chin. When the tiger was perfectly dead, an elephant was brought up, who, instead of raising the tiger on his tusks, seized him with his trunk, and in general cast him to the distance of thirty feet.

'The tiger fight was succeeded by the representation of a combat of a different description. The object of it was, to shew with what steadiness a line of elephants was capable of advancing upon, and passing the lines of the enemy. A double line of entrenchments was thrown up, and in front of it was placed upon sticks, a quantity of combustible matter, with fire-works of various descriptions, and a few small pieces of artillery. In an instant the whole was in a blaze, and a smart fire was kept up. The elephants advanced in line, at a steady and rapid pace, but though they went close up to the fire, there were very few that could be forced to pass it, all of them shuffling round it in some way or other. This attack was repeated a second time, and put an end to the amusements.' —pp. 321—324.

At Turon Bay they were equally well received as at Saigon; 'the people behaved to us,' says Mr. Finlayson, 'with remarkable civility.' An account of their approach had, of course, preceded them; and in a few days two barges of forty oars each arrived from Hué to carry the envoy and ten persons only of his suite to that capital, but after some discussion he was allowed to take fifteen; the obvious purpose of limiting him to this number was to make the mission, thus 'shorn of its beams,' as obscure as

possible. It is the policy of the sovereigns of all these nations to degrade, as much as possible, all foreigners in the eyes of their subjects, thinking thereby to elevate themselves and add to their own dignity by comparison.

'It took them twenty hours to reach the mouth of the river that leads to Hué. Though narrow without the bar, it spreads out within to a vast lake; it is, in fact, an estuary with sandy and barren shores, on which were several hundred boats lying in front of small miserable fishing villages. A little farther up, however, the appearance of the country was wholly changed.

'The scenery becomes now very interesting. Islands, covered with cultivation, are visible at a distance; several vast rivers appear to pour their waters into one basin. Thousands of boats are seen returning from, or proceeding to sea. There were women in all the boats, and they seemed to have more than their due share of whatever labour was going forward. The superior politeness which we had remarked amongst these people has not ameliorated the condition of females in society.'—p. 342.

When they had advanced about nine miles, they were ordered to halt, and a boat from the 'Mandarin of Elephants,' came alongside and conveyed them to their destined lodging, which was ample and convenient; but the place was every where thickly surrounded by armed soldiers, who never for a moment lost sight of a single individual of the mission. 'Compared with the native troops of India,' says Mr. Finlayson, 'and of the king of Siam, the soldiers we saw here made a very respectable appearance.'

A messenger now came to demand the letter for the king, which was given up with the Chinese translation; but the next day it was brought back, as containing expressions not fit to be laid before his majesty, with an observation 'that the governor writes as though he was writing to his equal.' It took the Cochin-Chinese scribe and Mr. Crawford's interpreter a whole day to concoct a new translation to the taste of his Cochin-Chinese majesty. They were now carried about six miles farther up the river, to wait on the Mandarin of Elephants. The country was every where intersected with streams and canals, and it was agreed, 'that the banks of the river Hué presented the most beautiful and interesting scenery of any river we had seen in Asia.' The villages were numerous and comfortable; the neatness and cleanliness of the houses most remarkable; and the grounds and little gardens round the houses were adorned, with considerable taste, with flowers and ornamental trees; the natives themselves seemed cheerful, contented, and lively.

A question was asked by the Mandarin of Elephants, if the envoy had any thing to communicate beyond the matters contained in

the

the letter to the king; and Mr. Crawford having replied, 'only a few words on commercial matters,' the Mandarin observed, as he of Saigon had done, 'that the ports of Cochin-China were open to all nations; that the duties of late had been diminished, and that the affairs of traders would always meet with proper attention.' Mr. Crawford then asked 'when he might expect to have the honour of obtaining an audience of the king?' 'We were little prepared,' says our author, 'for the answer to this;'—'that the business of the envoy being entirely of a *commercial* nature, it altogether precluded the possibility of his being admitted to the presence of the king.' This was indeed a severe and unexpected blow to the hopes of the envoy, who pleaded the hardship of his having come from so distant a country to cement the bonds of friendship between the two nations, and to congratulate the king of Cochin-China on his accession to the throne—that the determination was wholly unaccountable, of not receiving the envoy of the Governor-general of India, 'a man,' says Mr. Crawford, 'of the most exalted rank, the intimate friend of his sovereign, looked up to by all the world, and holding correspondence with the greatest kings of the east'—but all would not do. To put an end to the discussion, the music was ordered 'to strike up,' and the players to come in; but, in the present temper of their minds, the party found the performance of the one 'so ridiculous and unmeaning,' and of the other 'so abominable,' that they asked permission to retire.

Mr. Crawford certainly ought to have known, for he has written and published largely on all the countries in the east, that the Chinese (and the Cochin-Chinese are the same people, using the same laws and language) consider merchants and traders as a degraded class, and place them accordingly in the lowest rank of the community. He should have kept to himself his *commercial* views till after the audience, and never have put them forward as the main object of his mission. This, however, was not the last of his mortifications; he had scarcely got home when the same old man who had taken the letter to the king came to say that the presents could not be accepted; that, with regard to the ceremony, it was necessary that all the court should be in full dresses; and that such state was reserved for the envoys of kings; that had Mr. Crawford come from the king of England he would have been received; but that, as it was, the governor of Saigon might just as well send an envoy to his sovereign.

Hitherto they had seen nothing of that wonderful work which encompasses the city of Hué, built under the direction of some French engineers, and described by us in our review of Captain White's 'Voyage;' but on their return, accompanied by the only

two surviving officers, Messrs. Vannier and Chaigneaux, (since returned to Europe,) who held the rank of mandarins, and assisted at the conference, they passed up an arm of the river which brought them as suddenly as unexpectedly,

> ——— ubi nunc ingentia cernes
> Mœnia, surgentemque novæ Carthaginis arcem.

In short they found themselves immediately in front of one of the quadrangular sides of this newly fortified city. But here again our author differs from Captain White, or rather the Frenchman from whom he had his description; thus instead of nine it is about six miles in circumference; the walls, instead of sixty, are from twenty to thirty feet high; the ditch thirty instead of one hundred feet in width; and instead of twelve hundred the walls are capable of mounting eight hundred pieces of cannon. Our author found it, however, both within and without, 'an extraordinary work of great beauty, regularity, and strength.' The granaries, storehouses, magazines, barracks, arsenal for artillery, were all well and substantially built, and most of them erected on the margin of a navigable canal that traverses the city.

At a meeting of mandarins our envoy was doomed to receive additional vexations from these experienced diplomatists. They produced a letter addressed to the Governor-general, not from the king, but from one of his ministers, and a list of presents, consisting of a few cattees of cinnamon, some agilila wood, two rhinoceros' horns, and some sugar-candy. The envoy, however, declined receiving them without a letter from the king himself. One of the mandarins observed that 'whatever might be the custom in Europe, it was quite contrary to their notions of propriety to *open* a letter intended for the king, and that the letter from the Governor-general of Bengal to the king of Cochin-China had been *opened* at Saigon.' This was rather too much; for although it might be imprudent in the envoy to give it, we doubt not that if the governor of Saigon had not obtained it from him he would have been deprived of his situation. After this a little mandarin from Turon started up and said, 'You come from the governor of a province; you offer presents to a great king; he does not receive them, and now you reject the presents which he has deigned to offer.' In short, after much useless discussion, it was finally determined that even the letter for the Governor-general (though only from one of the ministers) could not be delivered, unless the presents were also accepted. Matters being thus finally and unfavourably settled, the old mandarin at once laid aside his distant and formal state, laughed and talked in the most familiar manner, called in four or five of his children, of whom, he said, he had thirty-six then in his house, the survivors of

of fifty-four, and, though sixty-six years of age, he expected to have many more. They now sat down to a feast of which fat pork and rotten eggs are said to have been, to the taste of the mandarins, the most delectable dainties; if the latter contained young birds so much the better, and better still if they were full grown. The defeated envoy, however, appears not to have enjoyed the feast.

A hint was now given that the sooner they departed the more agreeable; and the offer was made of their returning either by land or by water: as the winter season had set in, being near the end of October, they preferred returning to Turon Bay by land. It became the more necessary to hasten their departure, as, in the true spirit of their neighbours, the Chinese, a marked change immediately took place in the manner of their treatment. 'They descended,' says Mr. Finlayson, 'to acts of petty meanness, which were altogether contemptible, and much more calculated to excite contempt, derision, and pity, than any hostile feeling.' Accordingly, the envoy and his suite set out the very next day, in two boats, with a third containing an armed guard, and proceeded along a fine canal, which at the distance of eight or nine miles opened into a large estuary, appearing like an inland lake; beyond which they crossed a hilly country in palanquins, each carried by a couple of men, whose good humour, strength, and agility are highly commended. The kind disposition of these poor people was evinced in their extreme attention to the persons and property entrusted to their care; and in their readiness, as they proceeded, to collect for them such flowers and fruits as attracted their notice. The great beauty of the country and the variety of its scenery are described as objects worthy of admiration. Rice appeared to be the chief article of cultivation both in the plains and uplands. The numerous villages on the road were neat, clean, and comfortable. On the fourth day they descended the hills to Turon Bay, and, having rejoined their ship, set sail for Calcutta.

Thus ended this ill-concerted and luckless mission, much in the way that any one acquainted with the nature of the people to whom it was sent, and the object to be attained, would have anticipated; but which, by a little management, and a more firm and dignified line of conduct on the part of the envoy, might at least have commanded a greater degree of respect than was shown to the representative of the 'man' who is 'looked up to by all the world,' and who 'holds correspondence with the greatest kings of the east.'

ART. V.—1. *Narrative of an Excursion to the Mountains of Piemont in the year 1823, and Researches among the Vaudois or Waldenses, Protestant Inhabitants of the Cottian Alps. With Maps, &c.* By the Rev. William Stephen Gilly. 2d edit. London. 8vo. 1825.

2. *The History of the Christian Church, including the very interesting Account of the Waldenses and Albigeuses.* By William Jones. 2 vols. 4th edit.

3. *A Brief Sketch of the History and Present Situation of the Vaudois.* By Hugh Dyke Acland, Esq. London. 8vo. 1825.

THE Vaudois have recently been called *seditious fanatics* in a publication of Dr. Milner's, not more remarkable for truth in its statements, than for charity in its spirit and courtesy in its style.

> These, who gave earliest notice, as the lark
> Springs from the ground the morn to gratulate;
> Who rather rose the day to antedate
> By striking out a solitary spark,
> When all the world with midnight gloom was dark;
> These Harbingers of good, whom bitter Hate
> In vain endeavoured to exterminate,
> Fell Obloquy pursues with hideous bark.—*Wordsworth.*

Unluckily for Dr. Milner and for other Romish writers who, like him, are repeating calumnies which have been again and again confuted, a faithful account of what the Vaudois were and continue to be, has been laid before the public in one of the most interesting volumes that has recently appeared.

Mr. Gilly, the author of this volume, happened to attend a meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, on the day when a letter was read from Ferdinand Peyrani, one of the pastors of the ancient Protestant church of the Waldenses. The pastor stated the numbers at that time existing in the valleys of Piemont as amounting to 18,000, divided into thirteen parishes; he represented their clergy as in the greatest poverty, the churches in want of books, the people exposed, since peace had been restored, to fresh injuries from the Romanists, and even the continuance of their church in danger, not from any want of attachment in its members, but because the stipends of the clergy were so low that they could not by any exertions support the expense of bringing up their children to succeed them in the ministry. Mr. Gilly, who had then only an imperfect general knowledge of what related to the Vaudois, was so much impressed by this affecting representation, that the subject, he says, took complete possession of him. He immediately made the history

history of this persecuted people his particular study, and the result was a determination to visit them in their native vallies. Accordingly in the month of December, 1822, he left England with three young companions. Winter is not the season for visiting the vallies of the Alps; but it was their intention to make the tour of Italy afterwards, and in his own words, 'if those who have a few months only at their disposal, are resolved to make the most of that time, they must regulate their movements less by choice than necessity.'

At Turin the travellers had the good fortune to fall in with a Vaudois merchant, resident in that city; some of his family were living at La Torre, the principal village of the community: he provided them with letters of introduction; and his son, an intelligent young man, who was acquainted with the country and with the English language, accompanied them. The first Vaudois village which they visited was Pomaretto, where M. Peyrani resided, the then Moderator, as the supreme pastor of their church is now called. This village is in the valley of Perosa, which, in most of the old maps, is named La Valle di Clusone, because the river Clusone divides it along its whole length; but the Protestants are confined to the western side of that river. In fact, they seem now to possess those parts of the country only from which it was found too costly and difficult to extirpate them, because a handful of determined men may there maintain their ground against very superior numbers. They have at different times been dispossessed of almost all that could be taken from them, and the vallies which they still retain are so unproductive and so awfully situated amid the wreck of the mountains, that a former visitor speaks of them as having been left to the Vaudois rather as places of exile than of enjoyment. This however is not so. Drear and uninviting as their country may appear, it will be seen, when we come to the history of this virtuous people, how dearly they have prized and how manfully maintained it.

There is indeed a wild and desolate character in these Alpine vallies, both on the side of Savoy and of Piemont, which can hardly be imagined by those who have seen no other mountain scenery than such as Great Britain contains. The wildest passes in Wales or Scotland afford but poor materials for comparison: the aid of exaggeration must be called in before any of these can be called terrible. Even in Glencoe, which is perhaps the grandest and most impressive scene of this kind in the island, you have a sense of perfect security, and the stream there might invite you to drink of its waters or to bathe in them. But in these Alps the mountains are crumbling on all sides, the rocks themselves are in a state of dissolution. A fall into the torrent (and every

stream is a torrent there) would be certain death; and even in situations which, to one unacquainted with the fearful character of the country, would seem remote from all danger, an avalanche, beginning so far away as to be out of sight and hearing at the commencement of its course, may make its way through the forest, prostrating the pines before it, and overtake the traveller on his road, or bury him in his inn. The habitations are in keeping with the scenery; the houses are so low, so rude, and so loosely constructed, that a village appears at a little distance more like a heap of ruins than an assemblage of human dwellings, and seems to form a part of the wreck and desolation amid which it stands.

'Never,' says Mr. Gilly, 'did a more dreary spot burst upon the view than the village of Pomaretto seen in its wintry aspect. It seemed as if the mountains must have rent asunder to produce so much nakedness and desolation.' The street was narrow and dirty, the houses or rather cabins so small and inconvenient, that at every step the travellers took, poverty stared them in the face. The presbytery of the Moderator differed little either in construction or size from the hovels by which it was surrounded. Its appearance sufficiently testified that an appointment to the episcopal office among the Vaudois brought with it no worldly advantages or comfort. But it would be injustice to the author were we to proceed in any other words but his own.

'We were received at the door by a mild, sensible, and modest-looking young man dressed in faded black, to whom we communicated our wish of being introduced to M. Peyrani. He replied, that his father was very unwell, but would be happy to see any English gentlemen who did him the honour of a visit. We were afraid that we might disturb the invalid, and therefore hesitated to intrude until we had begged M. Vertu to see M. Peyrani first, and ascertain whether the sight of strangers would be agreeable. The answer was in our favour, and we were now conducted up a narrow staircase through a very small bed-room, whose size [the size of which] was still further contracted by several book-cases. This led into another bed-room, more amply provided still with shelves and books. The apartment was about fourteen feet square, low, and without any kind of decoration of paint or paper hanging. It was thick with dust; and the only attention to those *munditiæ vitæ*, to which we were in the habit of looking, were the sheets of the bed, than which nothing could be cleaner. At a small fire, where the fuel was supplied in too scanty a portion to impart warmth to the room, and by the side of a table covered with books, parchments, and manuscripts, sat a slender, feeble-looking old man, whose whole frame was bowed down by infirmity. A nightcap was on his head, and at first sight we supposed he had a long white beard hanging down upon his neck; but, upon his rising to welcome us, we perceived that it was no beard, but whiskers of a length which are [is] not often seen, and which had a very singular effect.

effect. His dress consisted of a shabby, time-worn, black suit, and white worsted stockings, so darned and patched, that it is difficult to say whether any portion of the original hose remained! Over his shoulder was thrown what once had been a cloak, but now a shred only, and more like the remains of a horse-cloth than part of a clerical dress. This cloak, in the animation of his discourse, frequently fell from his shoulders, and was replaced by his son with a degree of filial tenderness and attention extremely prepossessing.

'The sickly-looking sufferer, in this humble costume, in this garb of indigence, was the Moderator of the Vaudois; the successor of a line of prelates, whom tradition would extend to the Apostles themselves; the high-priest of a church, which is, beyond all shadow of doubt, the parent church of every Protestant community in Europe, and which centuries of persecution have not been able to destroy. It is indeed a vine "which has stretched her branches to the sea, and her boughs unto the river:" but while her branches are flourishing, "the wild boar out of the wood doth root up the stem, and the wild beasts of the field devour it." And unless the same Providence which first planted this vine and made room for it, shall turn again and look down from heaven, and visit it, it must, it is feared, perish; for nothing short of the divine succours can enable men to bear up against the poverty, humiliation, and deprivations, to which most of the Vaudois clergy are exposed to this hour.

'M. Peyrani was upwards of seventy-one years of age at the time we saw him; the whole of his income did not exceed 1000 francs, or about forty pounds a-year; and with this pittance he had been obliged to meet the demands of a family, the calls of charity, the incidental expenses of his situation as moderator, and the additional wants of age, sickness, and infirmity. An accident, occasioned by the kick of a mule, had added to the ills of his condition. A large and prominent rupture, and an incurable weakness, were increased by his inability to procure surgical aid as often as he required it. For two years he underwent excruciating pain; and had his means enabled him to obtain the medical assistance which his case demanded, the malady might have been materially, if not effectually, alleviated.

'The welcome which we received from our venerable host was expressed with all the warmth and sincerity of one whose kindly feelings had not yet been chilled by years or sufferings: and the manner in which it was delivered, displayed a knowledge of the world and a fine tact of good breeding, which are not looked for in Alpine solitudes, or in the dusty study of a recluse. We were predisposed to respect his virtues and piety, and had been given to understand that he was a man of the first literary acquirements; but we did not expect to find the tone and manners of one whose brows would do honour to the mitre of any diocese in Europe: nor did we know that he, who was now drooping in a state of the veriest penury, had been, during the French dominion, one of the twenty-five* members of the provisional government of Piemont.

* The author has been informed of an error in this passage, and has learnt that it was M. Gosmet, the predecessor of Peyrani in the office of moderator, who was so employed by the French government. M. Peyrani never filled any civil office.—*Note to Second Edition.*

Such

Such a reverse could never have been discovered from his complaints, for there was nothing of querulousness in any of his observations, nor did he once express himself with the least degree of bitterness upon the subject of his own grievances, or those of his community.'—pp. 69. 71.

'M. Peyrani spoke with so much rapidity, and his thoughts followed each other in such quick succession, that he never suffered himself to be at a loss for words. If the Latin term did not immediately occur to him, he made no pause, but immediately supplied its place by a French or Italian phrase. This animation of manner had such an effect upon his whole frame, that very soon after we began to converse with him; the wrinkles seemed to fall from his brow, a hectic colour succeeded to the pallidness of his countenance, and the feeble and stooping figure, which first stood before us, elevated itself by degrees, and acquired new strength and energy. In fact, while he was favouring me with a short history of himself, I might have forgotten that he had exceeded the usual limits of man's short span; and I must repeat, that it is impossible to admire sufficiently the Christian character of the individual, or of the church which he represented, when I recollect the meek resignation with which he submitted to his hard fate, and the forbearance he exhibited, whenever his remarks led him to talk of the vexatious and oppressive proceedings which have never ceased to mark the line of conduct pursued by the Sardinian government, in regard to the churches of the Waldenses.

'M. Peyrani's book-shelves were loaded with more than they could well bear; and when I noticed the number of the volumes which lay scattered about the room, or were disposed in order, wherever a place could be found for them, he told me, that if he were now in possession of all that once were his, the whole of his own, and the adjoining house, would be insufficient to contain them. He said he had bought a great many himself; but the principal portion of his library was the accumulation of his father and grandfather, and of more distant ancestors; and expressed much regret that he could no longer display the folios and curious old manuscripts that had been handed down to him. I asked what had become of them. "They have been sold," he replied with considerable emotion: for he had been compelled to part with them from time to time, to purchase clothes, and even food, for himself and family!!'—pp. 72, 73.

When this venerable man was asked whether there had not formerly been bishops in the Vaudois Church, he answered, yes; and that his own office was virtually episcopal: 'but it would be absurd,' said he, 'to retain the title when we are too poor to support the dignity, and have little jurisdiction but that which is voluntarily submitted to among ourselves. The term Moderator is therefore now in use with us, as being more consistent with our humiliation.' His own means have never in the best times been adequate to his situation; and humble indeed, when at the best, they must have been, for his wishes did not extend farther than three thousand francs a-year! Another reason why the title had been dropt was that the Protestants were few in number compared

compared to what they once had been, and confined at present to three vallies in the province of Pinerolo; whereas they formerly possessed all the mountainous region of that province, and extended into those of Susa and Saluzzo. The wars of extermination, which their government so often waged against them greatly reduced the harmless people whom they failed utterly to destroy: and a plague in the year 1670 swept off full two-thirds of them. Eleven out of their thirteen pastors died in that visitation; and as their place could not be supplied with Italian ministers, they were obliged to obtain pastors from Geneva and France, who introduced the liturgy of Geneva, and brought with them also an attachment to the Calvinistic discipline. They would not submit to the annual visitation of the Moderator; this part of his duty therefore fell into disuse: nor has he performed the office of ordination since their college at Angrogna was demolished, and its funds sequestered. After that event the Vaudois students were compelled to repair to Lausanne or Geneva, and orders conferred there were held good, after some confirmation on the part of their own Moderator; this appearing to be the chief act of authority which he now exercises. From the sentiments of the clergy, Mr. Gilly thinks there would be no difficulty in restoring the ancient discipline, if their college could be re-established; an opinion confirmed by Mr. Acland, whose sensible sketch stands also at the head of this article. But while their principal support is derived from Switzerland, it is not surprizing, he says, if some of the opinions of that country have found their way among them. The leaven of false doctrine however has not contaminated the Vaudois. They hold the gospel *in its integrity*. M. Peyrani spoke with respect of Calvin, but observed that many of his tenets convey a strange notion of the Almighty's attributes. 'If God infallibly saves some,' said he, 'and as infallibly rejects others, I do not see what is the use of his laws.'

It was with evident satisfaction that this venerable man explained how closely the doctrines of the Vaudois church assimilate to those of the church of England.

'He pointed to the works of Tillotson, Barrow, and Taylor, which still enriched his book-case, and declared that every time he read them, he was more and more gratified by the light which these English divines had thrown upon truths, for their adherence to which his poor brethren had been so often obliged to conceal themselves in their mountain fastnesses. "But remember," said the old man, with conscious and becoming pride, "remember that you are indebted to us for your emancipation from papal thraldom. We led the way. We stood in the front rank, and against us the first thunderbolts of Rome were fulminated. The baying of the blood-hounds of the inquisition was heard in our valleys before

fore you knew its name. They hunted down some of our ancestors, and pursued others from glen to glen, and over rock and mountain, till they obliged them to take refuge in foreign countries. A few of these wanderers penetrated as far as Provence and Languedoc, and from them were derived the Albigenses, or heretics of Albi. The province of Guienne afforded shelter to the persecuted Albigenses. Guienne was then in your possession. From an English province our doctrines found their way into England itself, and your Wicliffe preached nothing more than what had been advanced by the ministers of our valleys four hundred years before his time." "Whence," continued my aged informant, with increased animation, "came your term *Lollards*, but from a Waldensian pastor, Walter Lollard, who flourished about the middle of the thirteenth century? and the Walloons of the Low Countries were nothing more than a sect, whose name is easily found in the corruption of our own. As for ourselves, we have been called heretics, and Arians, and Manicheans, and Cathari, but we are, like yourselves, a church built up in Christ, a church with the discipline and regular administration of divine service which constituted a church. We have adhered to the pure tenets of the apostolic age, and the Roman Catholics have separated from us. Ours is the apostolical succession, from which the Roman hierarchy has departed, rather than ourselves. We are not only a church by name and outward forms, but a church actually interested by faith in Jesus Christ the corner stone." '—p. 79.

'It was with extreme regret we witnesssed the approach of the hour, which told us we must take leave of the venerable Peyrani. The good-humour, cheerfulness, and resignation of the old man, his perfect recollection of events and conversations which took place years ago, his profound erudition and general information, lent a deep and peculiar interest to his discourse. My young companions were riveted with attention. He appeared to them like a being of a different order to what they had been used to see: all that they heard and saw had more the air of romance than reality. The little window of the room opened upon the wild mountain-scenery of Pomaretto; the roar of the distant torrents was heard through the casement; and the impression left by the whole scene was so much the greater, from the contrast between the elevated character of the noble old man, and the circumstances in which he was placed. Poverty within, and desolation without, formed a dark and striking back-ground to the portrait of the philosophic minister, whose lips teemed with eloquence, and whose mind was stored with all the riches of the most intellectual society. The looks of my friends, as they wandered from the window to the moderator, sufficiently told me what was passing within their breasts; and they did not escape the notice of M. Vertu, who watched with an inquiring eye, to observe what impression the aged moderator of his church would make upon the strangers. Holding him in the utmost reverence himself, he was all anxiety that we should do the same; and could not disguise his feelings of delight at every mark of respect, which we paid to the sacred representative of this primitive Christian community.

'Before we parted, I looked several times earnestly round the room, that

that I might carry away with me every possible recollection of the chamber, in which Rodolphe Peyrani was likely to finish his days. The ordinary and antique furniture, and the prints which hung upon the walls, were all objects of interest; and some of them illustrated the character of the man. In the centre, and directly over the fire-place, was the moderator's diploma, presented to him by the Royal Academy of Turin. On one side of the diploma was George the Fourth, taken when he was Prince of Wales: on the other, the King of Sardinia; for no sufferings or injustice done to him could efface the loyal principles of M. Peyrani. Several kings of Prussia, Isaac Newton, Luther, and Calvin, occupied another place; and the Duke of Wellington, and Lord William Bentinck, were in a very conspicuous situation. The good man pointed to the latter, and spoke of him with much gratitude. "If any thing could have been done for the Vaudois, Lord William would have effected it," he said; "but the restored king was deaf even to his intercessions."'—p. 91.

'At the door of his humble presbytery the aged moderator wrung our hands, and said farewell with every symptom of regret at parting. He stood at the threshold, watching our departing steps, and the last sight that I had of his long grey locks, floating in the wind, left an impression that will not soon be removed. I am sure nobody could take leave, as we did, of M. Peyrani, with the certainty of seeing him no more, without being sensibly affected. His son accompanied us to the edge of the torrent, and there we said adieu to him.

'Such was our visit to the successor of the bishops of the purest church in Italy, whose necessities were such, that we felt bound, by a sacred sense of duty, to run the hazard of wounding those feelings of pride, which every man of sensibility must retain, even amid the most urgent poverty, by pressing upon his acceptance a heart-offering for the purchase of a few of those comforts, which his age and infirmities required. I have had many struggles before I could make up my mind as to the propriety of stating this circumstance, and nothing could have induced me to do it, but the persuasion that it will put the case in the strongest light, and show at once the deplorable situation to which many of these excellent pastors are reduced. We could not have presumed to proffer, nor would the venerable moderator have condescended to accept the assistance of private individuals like ourselves, if it had not been a very timely succour: and certainly the circumstance never could have appeared in print, but with the object of drawing attention to the wants of a people who have been too much overlooked by those who have the means of aiding them.'—p. 93.

'Reader, the sufferings of Rodolphe Peyrani are at an end. He died about three months after our interview with him. His spirit could no longer bear up against a complication of maladies and sorrows, and now, all that I remember of him is literally like a dream that is past, or a tale that is told.'—p. 95.

One son of this excellent man is now studying at Lausanne, preparatory to taking orders, and existing there upon a pittance which

which is scarcely sufficient even for the necessaries of life. He was invited to the house of an English family there, and could not accept the invitation till a fellow-student lent him his clothes for the day.' Another, we are told by Mr. Acland, was working two months ago for his bread in the lime-quarries opposite to St. Germain. p. 42. What is the condition of the Vaudois clergy the reader has seen in this faithful description of their chief pastor. None but those who have been among them, Mr. Gilly says, can imagine what are their toils and deprivations. They execute their duty to the utmost under every imaginable discouragement, except that they want not the love and respect of their people; and it may well be supposed that only the sense of religious duty can induce the parent to chuse such a destination for the son, or the youth to accede to it. M. Peyrani produced some family papers to his visitors, saying he was interested in them, not on his own account, for time was advancing rapidly with an old man like himself, but for his children's sake, who might carry these documents into the world as proof of their connection with England. They contained his maternal grandfather's letters of orders; he was ordained by the bishop of London in the early part of the last century, and licensed by him as tutor in a nobleman's family. They contained also some letters from a mercantile family of the first distinction in London, to whom he thought himself distantly related. Of such a member any family might be proud. His virtues were worthy of the primitive church, while his attainments and talents would have qualified him for the highest and most important station in a prosperous one. Some years ago a Roman Catholic priest, at Geneva, published a pamphlet in defence of the adoration of saints and the Romish use of images. The Swiss Romanists exulted in it as an unanswerable production, because no answer appeared. Mr. Lowther, the author of 'Brief Observations on the Present State of the Waldenses,' happened at that time to visit the vallies, and in conversing with M. Peyrani, expressed his regret that they should thus be permitted to triumph. The venerable Moderator took out an answer from his desk; he had composed it, but it was not published, because he could not afford the expense, and there was no one to undertake it. To the honour of our country this was undertaken by the English visitor, and the answer was so complete and convincing, that the Romish polemic endeavoured, as far as he could, to suppress his own confuted composition.

Let us now look back upon the history of the remarkable people over whom this excellent man presided.

The question concerning the origin of the Waldenses is like that

that upon the origin of romance; there may be some truth in every opinion that has been advanced, but they are all erroneous, because every one is exclusive. There may have been among them people with whom heresies, which had been publicly suppressed, were secretly preserved, as Judaism always was in Spain and Portugal. Others there certainly were, whom Providence had kept from the general corruptions of the Romish church. The Vaudois were of this class, having, in their simplicity and poverty, retained the faith and the forms which they received in the first ages; and this as well in the recesses of the Pyrenees as in those of the Alps. But undoubtedly the greater number consisted of those who, listening to the earliest preachers of Reformation, became willing and ardent converts; and fully perceiving the falsehoods and abominations of the papal system, called upon others to join them in breaking a yoke as burthensome as it was degrading. There may have been many differences in minor points among them, which, if they had succeeded in the struggle, might in the ordinary course of things have widened, and produced divisions equally lasting and lamentable as those which took place among the later and happier Reformers. But there is nothing in their history to show that people of widely-varying, still less of contrarious sentiments were acting together. The two heresies, of which their old calumniators accused them, were Manicheism and Arianism, to which Robinson, in his 'Ecclesiastical Researches,' has added Unitarianism, most inaccurately as well as injuriously, though he intended to compliment them by the imputation.

Under the names of Waldenses and Albigenses, Spaniards, French and Italians were included; adventurers from many other nations contributed to swell that force, which was sufficient to endanger the tyranny of Rome; and if the kings of France and England, or either of them, had understood their own interest, might then have overthrown it; but the great majority of this people belonged to the Alpine and Pyrenean regions. It is probable therefore that there were Arians among them, because it is certain that Arianism continued to lurk in Spain long after it had ceased to be the dominant system there. If there were no other proof that suppressed heresies were still cherished in that country, their existence would be indicated by the fact that the names of Arius and Pelagius were long continued in noble families. In subsequent times, when those names had for ages been hereditary, the motive for preferring them was no longer remembered, but the reason why they were originally chosen is evident; and as late as the latter end of the eleventh century, which is more than four centuries after the Moorish conquest,

quest, and six after the overthrow of Arianism in Spain, the remains of the sect ventured to show themselves in Cerdaña, in such force that the count of that province, D. Guillen Jordan, unable to reduce them himself, called in the aid of the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer, of the bushy head. There is no reason to doubt that these people were really Arians, as they are called by the old Catalan historian Père Tomich, and by Garibay, for the appellation has never been ignorantly and indiscriminately given to heretics of all descriptions, like that of Manicheans; and in Spain particularly its proper import must have been well understood. Arians therefore there may well have been among those who came from the Pyrenean countries, but they must have been few in number; and it is certain that they did not obtrude their opinions: it is even probable that they concealed them, contented with the hope of obtaining liberty of conscience for themselves in the general movement; for in every statement which the Waldenses put forth of their own doctrine in earlier or later times, their creed is perfectly orthodox on this point.

For the charge of Arianism there may then have been at least a plausible foundation. Is there any ground for that of Manicheism? Robinson, in accrediting it, fortifies himself with the authority of Limborch, which he ought to have known had been set aside by Beausobre, the highest of all authorities on that subject: and Mr. Butler, making the same charge, most strangely cites Beausobre himself in support of it.* Dr. Milner, in his wonted temper, says that the Albigenses were 'obscene Manicheans, and monsters of impiety and immorality, rather than heretics.' This gentleman has imbibed the spirit as faithfully as the opinions of those by whom these persecuted people were hunted down. It was easy to calumniate them, and safe also, while the power was every where in their persecutors' hands, and when, if a word had been uttered in vindication of them, it would have been punished with death. The work of calumny is as easy now as it was then, but it has no longer the secular arm to aid it, nor is it any longer effectual; for notwithstanding the efforts which were made to destroy their writings, as well as to extirpate themselves, time has brought truth to light, and Protestant Europe has not been ungrateful to the memory of those who, by their teaching and their sufferings, prepared the way for its deliverance. Even the Manicheans, towards whom no such motive existed, have been faithfully represented, after fourteen

* Book of the Roman-Catholic Church. Letter XI.

centuries

centuries of obloquy, by two Protestant writers, who for diligence, fidelity, and candour have never been surpassed.

Lardner, who calls the remarkable founder of the sect Mani, as his name is written by the Persians and Arabians, says, in his usual benevolence of temper, 'it is not a pleasing thing, unless there be very cogent reasons, to fix the charge of imposture on a Christian, and a man of great knowledge and understanding, as Mani was.' And on summing up the case, he concludes thus:—'Upon the whole, I do not wish to deny that Mani was an impostor, but I do not discern evident proof of it. I plainly see that he was an arrogant philosopher, and a great schemist; but whether he was an impostor, I cannot certainly say. He was abundantly too fond of philosophical notions, which he endeavoured to bring into religion: for this he is to be blamed. But every bold dogmatizer is not an impostor.' Beausobre's opinion is less favourable; he perceives imposture or fanaticism in Manes, or both. Venema differs in this point from Beausobre, and pronounces him to have been, like Montanus—'*fanaticus verius quàm impostor, qui sibi æque ac aliis imposuit.*' To us it appears probable that he was both impostor and enthusiast, but very doubtful whether he had any belief in Christianity. His object was to construct a composite religion, by blending Christianity with the old Magian mythology, and modifying both so as to form a system different from either, yet so connected with each, that it might obtain acceptance in Persia as well as in Christendom. This was the scheme of an ambitious visionary, not of a religious enthusiast; for the manner in which he distorted both systems, evinces that he had no belief in either. He could no more have believed in the tenets which he taught than Tasso in the story of his own poem upon the first crusade.

If Manes had a predilection for any system, it was, as Beausobre has observed, for the Oriental philosophy, in which, being a Chaldean, he was brought up. Perhaps the same cause may explain why he sought to represent Christianity as altogether disconnected with the Jewish dispensation; maintaining that the Christian church, being composed of converts from the Gentiles, ought to acknowledge the prophets of the Gentiles, not those of the Hebrews: and upon this hypothesis rejected those prophecies which are the irrefragable proofs of Christianity, and appealing to the fabricated books under the names of Enoch, Seth, and other patriarchs, which existed in his own country. An inherited dislike of the Jews, who, till the time of their dispersion, had been a bordering and hostile people, may have influenced him, in addition to his consciousness that the system which he promulgated was not only in all points unsup-

ported by scripture, but in many, and those most essential, contrary to it. Rejecting in this way the whole of the Old Testament, he also in great measure invalidated the New, by teaching that the Gospels were not written by the Evangelists whose names they bear, or that, if written by them, they had been interpolated by Judaizing Christians. In thus disparaging the authentic records of the Christian revelation, expunging from them whatever was inconsistent with his own scheme, and mutilating the Gospel to make it suit his own doctrine, instead of deducing his doctrine from the Gospel, Manes proceeded as the Socinians have since done. Lardner has indicated two other circumstances in which the Manicheans resembled his own sect, though without noticing the resemblance. He says that they were rather a sect of reasoners and philosophers (as that poor word has been abused) than of visionaries and enthusiasts: and that, though they were widely diffused in many parts of the world, they were no where numerous. This was objected to them by St. Augustine, who said they were so few as to be *almost none;* but they, as they could not exult in their numbers, made it a boast that they were the few who had found the strait way which leadeth to eternal life.

According to the Manicheans, matter was eternal. This they held as a corollary from the maxims that nothing can come of nothing; and that nothing which has any taint of evil could come from the hand of an all-wise and all-good Creator. The Boun-Dehesch teaches that Ormuzd existed from the beginning in primal light, and Ahriman in primal darkness. But the Manichean Deity was represented as light itself, pure, spiritual, intelligent light, incommiscible with matter, immutable and eternal. Immensity, they said, could not be predicated of this light, for if God were everywhere, and filled all things with his presence, there would be no place for any creature. They denied, therefore, the ubiquity of the Deity, and they placed him in the highest part of the universe, existing there in the enjoyment of perpetual tranquillity, and accompanied by those Eons who were immortal emanations from his divine Essence. From him they, like the heavens, had proceeded, but proceeding thus from an eternal cause, they had from all eternity existed.

At the bottom of the universe was a world of matter, not in chaos, but in a worse than chaotic state, as consisting of essential organized evil. There the five natures or elements of darkness, storms, thick waters, malignant fire and smoke, had produced each an infinity of creatures, which increased and multiplied according to their kind; and over all reigned the Great Prince, having under him inferior principalities, who proceeded from his evil essence, he being the principle of evil. The creatures of this miserable world

world lived in perpetual discord, worrying, killing, and devouring each other. In one furious contest the weaker side fled toward the border; they were so closely followed by the victorious party that the pursuers and the pursued came at once in view of the light; and that unexpected appearance had the same effect upon them which an earthquake once had upon two armies engaged in battle—it suspended their strife. They agreed to unite their forces and enter upon this new region, there to establish themselves upon as good a right of discovery as that on which the Spaniards undertook the conquest of Mexico and Peru. When the Deity perceived that the upper region was thus invaded by the Powers of Darkness, he produced from himself a power or virtue called by Manes the Mother of Life; and the Mother of Life, on her part, produced the Original Man, whom she armed with the five elements of wind, light, water, fire, and air, that with these he might oppose the five elements of the Great Prince, the tempest with the gentle and refreshing wind, darkness with light, the muddy water with the clear, the malignant fire with the good, and matter with air or spirit. But the Original Man, in his attempt to drive back the invaders, found himself too weak: he was overpowered, and the dark ones devoured that part of his armour which was composed of light; light thus became incorporated with matter. Lardner understands all this as an allegory, importing that the soul is a celestial substance which God has thought fit to mix with matter for replenishing the world; and that 'this was occasioned by an enterprize of matter, which God foresaw, but did not think fit to hinder.' But Beausobre, who took a wider range in his researches, is of opinion that it was intended to be literally believed, being derived from that almost universal tradition of a war between the Gods and Demons.

The Original Man in this distress looked up to God for deliverance, and the Deity produced another emanation called the Living Spirit, who rescued him, but not before the Powers of Darkness had possessed themselves of the light and mingled it with their own element. The first act of this Demiourgos, after his victory, was to confine the demons whom he had subdued in the region of the air, leaving them no more liberty than was necessary for the furtherance of his own designs. There, in their anger, they produce rain, tempest, thunder, lightning and pestilence, which are nevertheless made subservient to the system of Providence. The Living Spirit then, from the mingled materials before him, constructed the earth and the visible firmament. With those parts of the celestial substance which had not been polluted by the admixture of matter, he formed

the sun and moon. With those which, though deteriorated, were not greatly injured, he made the other planets and the lower heaven: of the rest, which was thoroughly mingled with matter, he composed this material world, in which good and evil are blended. Thus far the whole fable, from whatever sources derived, is merely mythological,—an attempt neither more nor less satisfactory than many others of the same kind to account for the origin of evil, and clothe the unsubstantial speculations of fancy in the form of allegory and metaphor.

What follows is more reprehensible, because the daring heresiarch begins here to substitute his own imaginations in the place of revealed truths. The Demiourgos had made this terraqueous globe, but not peopled it. It was left for the Great Prince of Darkness to do this. His chiefs, though defeated in their inroad, had secured as prisoners certain human souls, which were portions of the celestial light, and which they regarded as the most precious part of their booty. They had also seen the Original Man, and, in imitation of him, the Great Prince modelled two human figures, male and female, in which as in a prison he inclosed two of his captive souls, rightly supposing that they would soon be reconciled to such captivity and hug their chains. As they increased and multiplied, other souls, which were wandering in the middle region, came to occupy fleshly tenements prepared for them; and, as they became incarnate, drank from some oblivious cup a poison which destroyed all remembrance of their celestial origin. But the Deity would not permit the souls which had been thus deluded to be irrecoverably lost, and therefore through the ministry of angels revealed to the first patriarchs those salutary truths which they transmitted down. From time to time, for the same gracious purpose, he raised up sages and prophets in all nations, and finally sent his Only Son into the world to explain to the soul its true origin, the cause of its enthralment, and the means of its deliverance. Manes himself pretended to be not the Paraclete, (as has often been asserted,) but a prophet, inspired by the Paraclete for the extraordinary service of explaining to the Christian Church certain things which Christ had not made known to his disciples. And the Manicheans, fully believing in this mission, held it for a fundamental principle, that nothing was to be received for revealed truth, on whatever authority advanced, or in whatever writings recorded, unless it agreed with the doctrines of their founder, whom they held to be the Spiritual Man, spoken of by St. Paul, as judging all things, yet himself to be judged of no man.

As entitled therefore to this implicit credence, Manes denied the

the incarnation and nativity, death and resurrection of our Saviour. In fact he denied the humanity with all its consequences; and affirmed that the Son of God descended from the bosom of his Father in the form, but only in the form, of a full grown man, and first appeared upon the banks of the river Jordan, when the voice from heaven proclaimed him for what he was. He was not baptized: for, being without sin, baptism would have been derogatory to his divine holiness. None of the ordinary actions of life which he appeared to perform were in reality performed by him. Crucified indeed he was, but he suffered nothing; there was only the appearance of suffering and of death; and this appearance was exhibited to teach men that the divine nature which is united with matter is crucified in it, and to give them an example which they should imitate. After his apparent resurrection they taught that he took his dwelling-place in the sun. The Original Man, to whom they gave the name of Jesus, separating that name from Christ, was placed in the moon after his deliverance. Another being, whom they called the Passible Jesus, they held to have been conceived by the Third Majesty, another emanation of the Deity produced to assist the Living Spirit, and to have been brought forth by the Virgin Earth; and they maintained that the true believers, by feeding on vegetables, received his divine nature into their own substance, and thus purified their own souls, which animal food would have corrupted and rendered of the earth earthy. For this reason their Elect, who were the priesthood, were required to abstain from the flesh of animals, and they were enjoined celibacy; the body being considered essentially evil, and the whole scheme of redemption designed to separate the soul from its unworthy union.

The souls of the Elect completed their purification in this life and past at once to the heaven appointed for them. It was not so with the people, whom they called the Auditors. They, inasmuch as they engaged in the ordinary pursuits of the world, and ate flesh, and especially as they perpetuated their kind, were co-operating so far with the Powers of Darkness. This, however, being rather the tendency of their debased and unfortunate nature, than their individual sin, such of them as lived virtuous lives, according to their vocation, past after death into the bodies of those who were destined to be the Elect: and here we trace a resemblance to the Indian notion, that the Bramins are twice-born men. Those of inferior worth transmigrated into those vegetables which were the food of the Elect, and there their purification was effected. The wicked were born again to undergo disease and pain and misery; and if, after a certain number of transmigrations, no amendment was produced by suffering, they

were then delivered to the Demons, and thrown by them into that Outer Darkness, beyond the world, into which that portion of matter which was not used in the creation had been cast. This consisted of the malignant fire, which burns in darkness. In this all matter will finally be consumed, when the last portion of the celestial substance shall have been extracted from it; and there the souls of the wicked, who have proved irreclaimable, will be tormented for a while, and then sent again into the world to begin a new life of probation. Happier spirits entered after death into the Great Wheel of the Zodiac, being purified as they past from one of its vessels to another; having accomplished this revolution they were received into the moon, there to be still further refined by water. The moon receives them till it can contain no more, and, as it is thus periodically filled, discharges her burthen with equal regularity into the sun; and thus the changes in the appearance of the moon are accounted for. In the sun the last particles of matter are separated from them by fire. They then pass into the upper region, and their track is visible in the milky way, which the Manicheans called the Column of Glory.

It would be irrelevant here to enter into further details. What has been stated will suffice to show the utter absurdity of imputing Manicheism to the Albigenses, or to any later sect. Ignorance may repeat such a charge in good faith. But the slightest research will suffice to show its utter falsehood; and he who renews it after such inquiry, draws upon himself the imputation of disforting history in the spirit of faction, and endeavouring to serve his party by misrepresentation and calumny.

It is not however enough for Dr. Milner to call the Albigenses Manicheans, they must be *obscene* Manicheans. Without recriminating upon this intrepid assailant, by reminding him of the turpitudes of the Confessional, as they have been exhibited by Sanchez and Escobar, we ask whether any man of probity, after reading the volumes of Beausobre, or even the pages which Lardner has bestowed upon the subject, could persist in charging the Manicheans with obscenity; and whether any man is competent to form an opinion upon the subject without consulting these most diligent and unimpeachable writers? The Manicheans, like the Mahommedans, believed in a religion which rested upon no other authority than the assertion of its founder. He was an impostor, and they were his dupes. But in morals they erred on the side of rigour. In fact, had there been any of this persecuted sect remaining in this western world, their opinions would have assorted better with those of the Romanists than of the early Reformers. There were four cardinal points upon which

which these Reformers differed from the Romish church. (1.) They circulated the Scriptures, and especially the books of the New Testament, having translated them for that purpose. Opposite as this was to the practice of the Romanists, it is even more inconsistent with the principles of the Manicheans, who denied the authenticity of the Gospels. (2.) They 'wholly denied the imaginary purgatory of Antichrist,' as a fiction invented in opposition to the truth. The Manicheans believed in no other punishment after death than such as was purgatorial, and therefore finite. (3.) They regarded abstaining from meat on certain days as an invention of men in a matter of religion which was an unspeakable abomination before God: but the Manicheans required their Elect to abstain from it altogether. (4.) They held the marriage of the clergy to be both lawful and necessary, and that vows of celibacy were human devices productive of uncleanness. But celibacy was enjoined by the Manicheans upon all who aspired to be in the ranks of the Elect, and who would avoid the calamity of being born again on earth. What the tenets of the Manicheans were, they who raised the cry of Manicheism against the Waldenses and Albigenses neither knew nor cared: and yet the Romish writers, now that those tenets have been made well known, persist in the groundless imputation with a folly which is only equalled by its effrontery.

It has been observed that the Manicheans in their most prosperous times (if at any time they may be said to have been prosperous) were never numerous, being rather a sect of speculators than enthusiasts or fanatics. And they used no great exertions for making proselytes, as if conscious, from the very nature of their system, that it never could become popular. But the Waldenses felt the force of truth; they had the zeal and activity of men whose hearts were not less strongly impressed than their imaginations, and their success was proportionately great and rapid. There was scarcely a country of Christendom into which they had not introduced themselves. 'Day and night,' says the Inquisitor Reiner, 'they never cease to learn or to teach, women as well as men, the little as well as the great.' The labourer, who wrought at his occupation all day, learnt and taught during the night, and imparted to others what he had thus acquired. As an example of this ardour in seeking for converts, he mentions one who, in the hope of bringing over a Romanist to the reformed faith, used to cross a piece of water by swimming, in the night and in the depth of winter. Having the Scriptures in their own tongue, they studied them diligently. Reiner spoke of a peasant who could recite the book of Job, and declared that he knew many who could repeat the whole of the New Testa-

ment. By this test they insisted upon trying all the tenets and practices of the Romish church, rejecting every thing for which no warrant was to be found in the word of God.

'Heretics of various names, but of a single error,' the Albigenses have been called, 'or rather of a thousand errors; for as no heresiarch can be fixed on as its founder, this heresy,' says Bernino, 'may be represented as a child produced without a father, or as a monster born into the world from the commixture of various species, the more terrible therefore for its strangeness.' Among the various appellations given to them, this writer enumerates those of Brabanzons, Aragonese, Navarrese, Basculi (or Biscayans and Gascons), and Cottarelli or Cotterels; and then, on the alleged authority of the Lateran council, accuses them of destroying churches and monasteries; laying waste the country, as an army of Pagans would have done; exercising the utmost inhumanity, and sparing neither age nor sex. Many writers before him had charged the Albigenses with these enormities under these *aliases*, and on the same authority. The repetition by Bernino must have been attributed to malice, and not to ignorance, if there were not a lively bigotry in this writer which made him capable of saying and believing any thing in favour of the papal cause, and incapable not only of believing, but of seeing any evidence which made against it; for in mentioning and explaining one of these names, he refers to the Histoire de Bearn, by the Archbishop Pierre de Marca, and in tracing him to that authority the suspicion which these appellations had excited was confirmed. Marca observes that our Matthew Paris has properly separated the decree of the Council *de hæreticis Albigensibus et diversis eorum appellationibus* from that *de Ruptariis et Brebantiis prædonibus qui fideles affligunt*. He notices the error into which less careful historians had fallen, of ascribing what was said of the latter to the former, and thus confounding both; and explains fully and satisfactorily who and what the Ruptarii were. They were mercenaries from all countries, but chiefly from Brabant, Navarre, Biscay and Aragon; who, when they were not in the pay of any sovereign power, had been accustomed to find sufficient employment in those private wars, which occasioned more misery and greater crimes than when nations were engaged. Raymond of Toulouse, to support himself against his turbulent nobles, had been compelled to employ these adventurers, who swarmed in Languedoc and Gascony; and at the time when those troubles changed their character, by taking the colour of religious opinions, these lawless bands were living at free quarters, like the White Companies in the same countries after the wars of the Black Prince. They pillaged churches and monasteries,

monasteries, not because they entertained heretical opinions, (which were the last thing they would have thought of,) but because the best booty was to be found there; and perhaps they regarded the clergy with peculiar animosity, for having brought about the Peace of God, which, as far as it was observed, injured them in their vocation. But they were no more connected with the Albigenses than the White Companies were with the Lollards; it suited the Romanists to make their crimes an excuse for the tremendous persecution which was carried on; and the calumny therefore was launched without compunction.

The English, or rather the Anglo-Normans, bore too great a part in the crusade which ensued, under Simon de Montford, the first of that odious name. It is probable that if Cœur de Lion's life had been prolonged they would have appeared there in a manner more congenial to an Englishman's wishes. His sister Jane was the wife of Raymond. She was a true Plantagenet, as the chronicler of those times, Puylaurent, describes her, *mulier animosa, et provida et zelans injurias viri sui.* Going to solicit aid for her husband from her brother Richard, she found tidings of his death, and the shock affected her so greatly (being pregnant at the time) that she died in premature labour, and was buried by his side. Had Richard lived, his intellectual sympathies would have connected him with Raymond not less surely than this family tie; resentment against Philip Augustus would have operated as an additional motive for taking the field in his brother-in-law's defence, and that chivalrous courage and magnanimity, which no one ever possessed in a higher degree, would have been displayed in a cause worthy of the man and of his country.

To this occasion the establishment of the Inquisition is commonly referred; that holy office, for the honour of founding which the Benedictines and Dominicans have contended; in the management of which all the monastic orders and the secular clergy, as well as the regulars, have taken their full part; and for the crimes of which the Roman Catholic church is responsible, as having not only permitted, but authorized, sanctioned, approved and appropriated them: they were committed in the name and by the authority of that church, and no sophistry can extenuate its guilt, nor efface its infamy. Neither the name however nor the office of Inquisitor was new; but the merit of forming a permanent body to be employed in this work, and organizing a system for them, is St. Dominic's, and to this merit it is that he is mainly indebted for his apotheosis. The Dominicans, however, in their modesty, do not claim too much for their holy founder upon this score. Paramo affirms that the Almighty was the first Inquisitor General,

General, and that the first auto-da-fé was held in Paradise upon Adam and Eve and the Serpent, on which occasion a precedent was set of those proceedings, which the Holy Office has since observed. Possadas does not carry the origin of this darling tribunal so far back. According to him our Saviour was the first who executed the high office of Inquisitor; for he drove the Jews out of the Temple, and ordered that every tree which beareth not good fruit should be hewn down and cast into the fire. The Romanists object to the distribution of the Bible, lest it should come into the hands of those who may pervert it, to the injury of themselves and others. Is it possible to detort scripture more abominably, or more blasphemously, than in this example, which passed under the eyes of censors and inquisitors, and was published with their license and approbation? The apostles then, say the Dominicans, succeeded to the office, and after them the bishops in succession continued to be inquisitors ordinary, till the time of the glorious father and patriarch St. Dominic.

The inquisitorial exploits of St. Dominic have ever been the especial boast of the Dominican order. His mother, they say, before his birth, dreamt that she was delivered of a dog, bearing a torch in his mouth, with which he set fire to the world—a vision betokening that he was to be dog of the church, who would tear the heretics to pieces, and kindle the flames in which they should be consumed. One of their annalists exclaims, '*Sint hæ nobis palmares coronæ, natam Religionem Prædicatorum exstinguendis in orbe hæreticis, et ferro flammâque impœnitentibus exscindendis.*' F. Echard, living and writing in France, where the holy office was never established, and was not in good odour, endeavours to prove that the Saint took no part in burning the Albigenses, for which he is reprehended and set right by the Bollandists. '*At quid, obsecro,*' says Cuper, '*piaculi aut dedecoris in S. Dominicum redundaret, si hic ex subdelegatâ Ecclesiæ potestate, pervicaces hæreticos brachio seculari, ut vulgo loquimur, puniendos tradidisset? Certe Catholicus quispiam dubitare non potest de illâ Ecclesiæ potestate.*' And he goes on to prove, by abundant examples, how holy and meritorious a work it is to bring heretics to the stake, and how certain it is that Dominic distinguished himself by his exertions in this line. Words, says Malvenda, can scarcely express the glory, and the splendour, and the dignity of the Dominican order, for having the thrice holy office of Inquisitor invented by St. Dominic, and so happily perpetuated among his friars. '*Divinum hoc plane inventum fuit, et ingens in eo Dominicanæ religio Christianæ reipublicæ momentum intulit, quando eo potissimum præsidio hæreticorum audacia retunditur, orthodoxi in officio continentur, puritas et sinceritas Christianæ fidei illibata conservatur,*

servatur, evulsis radicitusque extirpatis pravis noxiisque hæresum et falsorum dogmatum fruticibus, denique quibusvis hæreticis, sanæ doctrinæ novatoribus et alteratoribus igne, ferro, ni resipiscant, exstinctis vel saltem deterritis, fugatis, profligatis.'—And the Bollandists express their indignation that persons calling themselves Catholics should be found who maintained that the church possessed only a persuasive power for converting heretics.

The means which the Romish church employed in the case of the Albigenses, before it resorted to the actual cautery, were something more than persuasive. They endeavoured to deprive them of fire and water, by forbidding all persons, on pain of excommunication, to have any dealings with them; they called upon all kings, princes and magistrates to expel them, and confiscate their property, and required all the clergy to mark them, and see that they should neither enjoy Christian privileges while living, nor burial after death. Of its tender mercies toward those whom it succeeded in reconciling to the Roman Catholic faith, we have an early and authentic example in the form of penance imposed by St. Dominic himself upon a certain Ponce Roger *ab hæreticorum sectâ, Deo largiente, conversum.* On three Sundays, which were moreover to be holidays, he was to be led by a priest from the entrance of the town to the church, naked, except his drawers, and flogged all the way. He was to abstain always from meat, eggs, cheese, and every thing of carnal origin *(quæ sementinam trahunt carnis originem),* except on Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas days, when he was to eat animal food, in abnegation of the opinion imputed to the heretics on that subject. Three days in the week he was neither to be allowed fish, oil, nor wine, and to keep three Lents in the year from fish. His dress was to be a religious one, with two small crosses on the breast, which, like those on houses in which the plague raged, were to show that he was infected. Every day he was to attend mass, and vespers on every holiday. Wherever he was, he was to go through the service called the Hours, that of the night as well as of the day. Seven times in the day he was to repeat the Pater Noster ten times, and twenty times at midnight. He was to observe chastity; to be under the inspection of his priest, and show him these terms of reconciliation once a month. This course of life he was to continue, till the pleasure of the Legate concerning him should be expressed, and if he failed in any part was then to be held as a perjured and excommunicated heretic.

These were the mercies of an Inquisitor, and for such mercies the Legate Petrus de Castronovo was killed, when crossing the Rhone. In the thundering bull which was issued upon this occasion, it is confessed that this martyr in the Papal cause worked,

worked no miracles* because of the people's unbelief, a reason which must have been as valid for the living Dominic as for the dead Peter. But Dominic has been made in his legend to out-hector all the other Hectors of Romish romance; and the more than wonderful wonders, which some of his worthy followers set forth to his honour and glory, have proved not a little inconvenient to others who happened to be placed in circumstances where some kind of management was required. They ventured therefore upon a degree of scepticism like that of the man who did not believe above half of Gulliver's Travels; and, giving credit to the pious intentions of the first relator, admitted that such stories produced a wonderful effect when they were introduced in sermons, but protested against inserting them in history! that is, they were willing that these impious figments should be related from the pulpit, where there was no danger of contradiction and exposure; but they had learnt from experience that such fables could not be printed as safely as they were preached. Examining therefore the events of his life critically, they think it more probable that a commutation of tongues between him and a travelling companion, (each of whom, during a journey, spake in the other's language, which he did not understand himself,) took place on one occasion only, than that it should have occurred twice, as some of his biographers have stated. They reject the story, that, when some of the heretics astonished the people by walking on the water, (which they used to do, being great magicians,) he caused them to sink and perish by placing the Pix on the river at the same time. They discredit an account, that the Virgin Mary, at St. Dominic's desire, sent fifteen thousand devils into the body of a perilous heretic; and that, when the poor wretch, who had been thus converted into an imp-hive, was brought before the Saint in Toulouse, Heaven opened, the Virgin herself came down, surrounded with angels, compelled the devils to declare before all the people her might and majesty, and the virtues of the Rosary, and then suffered them to depart from the body of the possessed, which they did visibly, in the shape of sparks, and flakes, and coals of fire. In like manner, they reject the statement of F. Alanus de Rupe, that the Virgin received the host with Dominic, from his hands, and afterwards assisted him in disrobing! that she adopted him for her son, and fed him at her breast! that she chose him for her husband, and espoused him

* *Qui profecto cum ob fidem et pacem, quibus nulla aut prorsus causa laudabilior, ad martyrium sanguinem suum fuderit, claris tam ut credimus miraculis coruscasset nisi hoc illorum incredibilitas impediret, de quorum similibus in Evangelio legitur, quia ibi virtutes Jesus non faciebat multas propter incredulitatem eorum.*—Catel. Hist. des Comtes de Tolose, p. 241.

with

with a ring made of her own hair! These things, F. Alanus solemnly asserts, and confirms his assertion by a tremendous oath—he heard it from the Virgin herself, and she assured him that what she said was not to be understood as a mystical representation, but that she spoke of things which were visibly and substantially true!

The critical Dominicans in later times disclaimed these things, which had been for five centuries the boast of their order!—they did not venture to do this before the eighteenth century, and then it was done more in policy than in conscience, for they professed still to believe other parts of the same astounding legend, which are neither better attested, nor less incredible. But the great body of the order continued to repeat these gross and impious fables; and the books in which they are related as matters of true and indubitable history are uncensured to this day in those countries where the most rigid superintendance is exercised over the press.

By the hero of these tales it was, and by the first members of that order in whose manufactory these tales were forged, that the spiritual part of the operations against the Albigenses was conducted, when, in the plenitude of his power, the Pope fulminated a Bull against the count of Toulouse, and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance, informing them that faith* was not to be kept with heretics. Now, says one of his biographers, 'he made out the list of the heretics, writing down their names, and employment, and age, and sex, and character; now he prepared the dungeons, and made ready the tortures; now he became an Argus—all eyes for the faith.' The history of this for ever execrable crusade, in which Simon de Montford obtained such immediate renown and such lasting infamy, need not be pursued here through all its dreadful details. Mr. Butler, in his Book of the Roman Catholic Church, denies that St. Dominic took an active part in the establishment of the Inquisition, and says that he believes it is denied by every writer of the Dominican order. On the contrary, the part which he took in it is the pride and boast of that order, their favourite theme, as being their peculiar glory. The camp, says their most celebrated historian, went on conquering the strong places, and the holy inquisitor (St. Dominic) followed, with the arms of his office, and, with the zeal of a good shepherd, separating the tainted sheep

* *Et cum juxta Sanctorum Patrum Canonicas sanctiones* ei qui fidem Deo non servat fides servanda non sit, *à communione fidelium segregato, utpote qui vitandus est potius quàm fovendus, omnes qui dicto Comiti fidelitatis seu societatis, aut fœderis hujusmodi juramento tenentur astricti auctoritate apostolicâ denuncient interim absolutos.* These are the words of the Bull. Catel. Hist. des Comtes de Tolose, p. 242.

from

from the ground. In Cazzères (Cassez?), he relaxed (that is, delivered over to the secular arm) sixty persons at the same time, and they were burnt; in the castle of Minervez, one hundred and forty; in another place, four hundred; and, in other parts, an hundred and eighty. A great number were burnt at the strong town of Vaur, and the lady of that place, named Geralda, was thrown into a well for obstinately persisting in heresy. This volume would not contain the arguments by which the Dominicans have vindicated for their sainted patriarch the honour of having established the Inquisition, They have asserted it as zealously as Mr. Butler supposes them to have denied it. And wherever they exist, he may be assured his remark, that 'from its origin till the close of the seventeenth century the constitution and proceedings of that tribunal were* *very objectionable,*' would be deemed very objectionable by them.

There are some things worthy of notice in the ordinances which Simon de Montford drew up for his conquests. Whosoever knowingly permitted a heretic to reside upon his lands, whether for money or for any other cause, was to forfeit the whole of his estates, and be at the mercy of his lord for further punishment. The same penalties were to be inflicted on any one who, having it in his power to apprehend a heretic, allowed him to escape; or who, seeing one, did not raise the hue and cry, and pursue him in good faith. No reconciled heretic was to be allowed to reside in his former place of abode, or be made prevost, bailly, judge or assessor, or heard as an advocate, or received as a witness; but was to be in all respects like a Jew, save only, that his evidence against a Jew was admissible. And every house in the conquered territories was to pay to the Pope three *deniers malgoriens*, yearly, at Easter, for ever.

The Waldenses were dispersed, but not destroyed, by this determined system of persecution. During two centuries they

* Mr. Butler cannot mean to insinuate that the constitution and proceedings of that tribunal ceased to be *very objectionable* after the close of the seventeenth century. Its constitution remained always the same: its autos-da-fé continued to flourish full fifty years longer: they have been celebrated within the memory of living men, and the will to re-establish them is not wanting at this time. We have lately been told by Llorente that, even in England, there are Romanists who think that the Inquisition has been useful in Spain, and regret that it had not been established in France also. This information comes from one whose authority in this case cannot be impeached, for he was a Romanist himself; and it is of so much importance that his own words shall be adduced. '*Pendant mon séjour à Londres, j'ai entendu dire à quelques Catholiques que l'Inquisition était utile en Espagne pour la conservation de la foi Catholique; et qu'il eût été avantageux pour la France d'avoir un pareil établissement.*'—Hist. Critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne, t. i. p. xxiii. It is proper to observe that this was not written at the close of the seventeenth century, *but in the nineteenth century, and since the termination of the war.* Llorente's book was published in 1818, and these opinions were maintained by Roman Catholics in England within the last ten years.

supplied

supplied work for the Inquisition and victims for the stake in Spain, and had hardly been burnt out in that country before the end of the fourteenth century. In Bohemia they had their season of vengeance, (and a dreadful one it was!) under Ziska and Procopius. In Germany, and in the Low Countries, they prepared the way for Luther. Here, in England, they sowed that seed, of which, by God's blessing, we now enjoy the harvest. Our business is to pursue their history in Piedmont and Savoy. The Inquisitor Pietro de Verona was sent to execute his office in the former country; the people made him a martyr, and the Pope made him a saint. But the house of Savoy produced, during many generations, a succession of wise and beneficent counts, under whose protection the inhabitants of the vallies walked in the ways of their fathers, till wisdom in their rulers degenerated into craft, and piety into superstition. Then, indeed, that house incurred its full portion of guilt. One frightful tragedy was exhibited about the year 1400. An Inquisitorial expedition was sent from Susa against the Vaudois of the valley of Pragela, and these poor people, who, in time of danger, used to find refuge in the higher Alps, were surprized at Christmas, when their enemies themselves had to make their way over the snow. The height to which they fled has since been called the Albergam, or mountain of retreat; but miserable was the retreat which it then afforded to those who escaped the sword, for the greater part of the fugitives perished there with cold in the ensuing night,—fourscore infants, with their mothers, being found dead in the morning. For two centuries, this was remembered by the Vaudois as the most dreadful affliction that had befallen them in all their persecutions: the lively picture of its horrors had been transmitted from parent to child, and they spoke of it with all the emotion which a recent calamity would have excited.

The Waldenses were not more fortunate on the French side of the mountains. They there increased, being favoured by the nobles, and indulged, both by the bishops and the governors, in the use of their religious liberty, insomuch that Gregory II. became alarmed, and addressed what are called pungent letters to the local authorities and to the king of France, calling upon them to support the Inquisitors whom he had sent into those countries, and whose proceedings were resisted there. These letters produced the desired effect; for, however much the French kings degenerated in other respects from their sainted progenitor Louis IX., his execrable intolerance was received and transmitted, even by the most profligate of them, as a sacred inheritance. It soon became necessary to solicit, by what may be called pontifical briefs, contributions through the country, for the support

of

of the imprisoned heretics, such numbers had been arrested. The inquisitors took two shares of the confiscated property themselves, the civil power being content with the other as its share of the spoil. And, during the thirteen years of Borelli's rule as Inquisitor, a tyranny was exercised at Grenoble, as revolting to humanity as the revolutionary exploits of Carrier and Collot d'Herbois. We read of an hundred and fifty persons from one valley delivered over to the secular arm, which means always to be burnt alive! and eighty from another—old men and women, with their adult children—whole families together,—many of them protesting their ignorance of the heresy of which they were accused, and complaining that it was for the sake of their property they were thus persecuted and destroyed.

If any thing could render the proceedings of the Inquisition more wicked and detestable than they must appear to every honest heart, even when they are ascribed to sincere bigotry, it is the fact that cupidity was quite as often the moving principle: though, on the other hand, it is almost a relief to know that the monsters who committed these cruelties, in the name of our Redeemer and our God, were infidels at heart. This scheme of persecution, for the sake of plundering the victims, was carried on with almost as little caution as compunction; and, at length, Louis XI. caused inquiry to be made, in consequence of the complaints which were brought before him. Conscience had made that king a votary of superstition: he contrived to quiet his fears with it as with a dram; but while it acted as an anodyne for the moral sense, it did not affect his understanding on other points. Thus, though he derived as much comfort from his trust in that sleek saint, St. Francis de Paula, as the cordial balm of Gilead could have given, he was nevertheless capable of perceiving that an inquisitor of heretical pravity might be given to picking and stealing, however orthodox his creed. He therefore issued letters, wherein the inquisitors were severely censured for instituting processes against his people without reasonable cause, putting them to the rack, exacting from them great sums of money, and condemning them for matters whereof they were never culpable. Had he been in the vigour of his mind, he would have gone farther; but, by allowing the persons who had thus nefariously abused an abominable power, still to proceed against any who should obstinately affirm and maintain any thing against what is called the holy Catholic faith by those who have most corrupted it, he afforded them a pretext under cover of which they continued to pursue the same practices.

Thuanus describes the people who were the objects of this persecution as remarkable for the degree of moral cultivation to

which

which they had attained. All of them could read and write. All of them knew French enough to understand the Bible in that language and sing psalms in it; and there was scarcely a boy among them who could not give a reasonable account of the faith wherein he had been trained. Civil obedience was with them a point of conscience; for this too they had learnt from the Gospel; and when by reason of the civil wars they had no opportunity of paying their taxes regularly, the sum was carefully set apart to be ready for a payment which they were taught to consider as a duty enjoined by their religion. Yet these people were delivered over to the most cruel persecution because they did not believe in transubstantiation, prayed to God through the mediation of their Lord and Saviour instead of the Virgin and the Saints, and read the scriptures which they obeyed so faithfully! Albert de Capitaneis, being sent as inquisitor there in the latter part of the fifteenth century, found, in the king's lieutenant, a person altogether worthy to co-operate with the Holy Office. With an armed force he entered the valley of Loyse, which contained a population of about three thousand Vaudois (that appellation may now be used)—such persons as have been just described. These innocent people retired to the caves of the mountains; thither they were traced, and fires kindled at the entrances by their inhuman persecutors—the alternative being to perish by suffocation, or throw themselves from the precipice, or perish by the sword—for they who would have trusted to the mercy of man found none. Above four hundred infants were found stifled in their cradles, or in the arms of their dead mothers; about three thousand persons are said to have been destroyed in this triumphant expedition of the Pope's agent: and the whole heretical population of that valley was exterminated.

Proud of his exploits in Dauphiny, Albert de Capitaneis crossed the mountains to carry fire and desolation into the vallies of Piedmont. On this occasion, a considerable force was raised, to attack all the vallies at once, that the one might not receive succour from the other. The preparations were made upon so large a scale, that the harmless people against whom they were directed learnt their danger in time, and, putting their trust in Heaven, omitted no human precautions for their own defence. The plan also which the enemy had adopted of dividing their forces was favourable to the Vaudois; for, when few have to defend themselves with the advantage of strong ground against many, the greatest danger is that of being worn out with fatigue, if one body after another is brought forward to attack them. It is remarkable that there is no mention of fire-arms in this expedition. The Vaudois are said to have protected themselves with

long targets of wood against the arrows of their assailants; their own weapons were the bow, and the crossbow, from which stones (instead of bullets) as well as arrows were discharged. Their women and children, who could no other way assist, were present, on their knees, in prayer. At such times the heart of man is conscious of its full strength, and the arm partakes it. A happy arrow pierced one of the enemies' officers, while giving orders to aim at these supplicants; and another leader, as he mocked their prayers, was killed and thrown down a precipice, which, in Perrin's time, more than two centuries afterwards, retained his name, and it is to be hoped retains it still, for ill memorials are sometimes not less efficacious than good ones in exciting generous and salutary emotions. A destruction like that in the Tyrol, in the war of 1809, was brought upon these persecutors: rocks and stones were rolled down upon them from the heights; and, though there was a position which they might have occupied and thereby commanded the valley of Angrogna, a fog, which the Vaudois believed to be the work of an immediate Providence, came on as they approached it: they could neither perceive the advantage of the spot, nor distinguish one another, nor see whither to direct their retreat; the pursuers were upon them, with the hand of God to aid, and no small part of the force, which had been collected for this nefarious service, fell down the precipices and perished in their flight.

Thus ended an expedition in which Albert de Capitaneis had expected to tread the Vaudois under foot 'like venomous adders;' and the Duke of Savoy put an end to the persecution at that time. It is said of him that he ordered some new born infants of the Vaudois to be brought to him at Pinerolo, having been assured that they were born hairy, with black throats and four rows of teeth; but seeing them fair and well-shapen, he was displeased with himself for having been persuaded to believe so calumnious a falsehood, and declared his determination that the Vaudois should thenceforth enjoy their old liberties, and be upon the same footing as his other Piemontese subjects. It must be supposed that the Duke believed this absurd report as little as Canute expected the rising tide to stop at his command: and if he pretended to have believed it, it must have been as a bad excuse for having, thus far, sanctioned the proceedings of the Inquisitor. In reality that house had long protected the Vaudois, as an inoffensive and industrious people, whose trust-worthy qualities were so well known, that they were in great request for servants and nurses. The Duke declared that they had always been true and obedient to him, and that he would not permit them to be thus treated as enemies.

But

But no Roman Catholic prince is sovereign in his own dominions, and the Dukes of Savoy, when their intentions were best, could only prevent the inquisitors from proceeding against the Vaudois by force of arms. A monastery near Pinerolo served them as a strong hold on the frontier; and as many as they could get into their hands they delivered over to the secular arm. It is said that there was scarcely city or town throughout Piedmont in which some of these martyrs were not sacrificed by the devouring superstition of the church dominant. These persecutions served only to attach them more passionately to their pure faith; and, when the Reformation had acquired strength in Germany, and the effects of that blessed emancipation began to be felt every where, the Vaudois resolved no longer to perform their religious offices in covert, but to assemble together openly, in the face of Heaven, and abide the consequences manfully. The reigning Duke, who should have interfered to prevent the cruelties that provoked this determination, thought it necessary to quell the spirit which was now manifested, and sent an armed force to enter the vallies by surprize and chastise the inhabitants. Surprized the Vaudois were; but they knew their ground, and the advantage which it gave them: being expert slingers, their ammunition was always at hand: and they drove out the assailants with such loss, that the Duke was assured this was not the way to hunt down the Vaudois, when the skin of one must be paid for with the lives of a dozen of his orthodox subjects. But, in a mood of relentless bigotry, he gave orders that they should be apprehended one by one as they ventured down into Piedmont, and executed as heretics, unless they renounced their belief, till the whole race should be exterminated, as an example to their neighbours.

Undeterred by this, they communicated with their brethren in Provence and Dauphiny, and with Oecolampadius and Bucer; and finding it, they said, an unthankful and evil thing in them whom God had mercifully preserved undefiled in the midst of so many idolatries and superstitions, that they should so long have delayed to profess the gospel publicly, and cause it to be preached in the ears and to the knowledge of every one, the heads of every family assembled with their pastor, subscribed the articles of their belief, and swore inviolably to observe them. Their first measure, after this declaration, was to provide themselves with the whole scripture, of which they had hitherto only the New Testament and some books of the Old, in the Romaun dialect and in manuscript only, the copies of necessity being very few. It is said by their historians that the first French Bible was printed at their cost at Neufchatel, the expense being fifteen

hundred crowns of gold. This is Olivetan's version, or rather Calvin's, by whom the greater part is believed to have been executed. Considering the poverty of the Vaudois, and that this version is in the French language, it is probable that the French and Swiss protestants, for whose use it was equally designed, bore a part in the expense. And Perrin is inaccurate in saying that it was the first Bible* printed in that language, as De Bure is in calling it the first Protestant Bible, Coverdale's bearing date a year before it. But the Vaudois were among the earliest people in rendering this great service to the Protestant cause, and, in proportion to their means, the most liberal contributors to it.

The wars of Piedmont brought them a respite of peace for some time, their situation being so secluded that they were exempt from all evils of ordinary hostility, and were never disturbed except when the spirit of religious hatred sought them out. But at length Paul III. called on the parliament of Turin to proceed against them as pernicious heretics, and these poor people addressed a petition to the King of France, Francis I., whose subjects they had become by conquest. That profligate prince, who has obtained among historians more favour than he deserves, replied that he did not burn the Lutherans throughout his whole kingdom of France, to keep up a preserve of them among the Alps; and he advised the government of Turin to make them conform to the Romish church, or punish them for their contumacy. There is no prince of that age in whom persecution appears so odious as in Francis. Philip II. carried it on in the sincerity of a perfect bigot, with his whole heart, and no man ever possessed a stronger or a harder one. In Henry VIII. there was a feeling of personal pride, connected with the maintenance of certain opinions, and the object of keeping the reformation within those bounds wherein it was his intention to confine it. It is no extenuation of such actions to say that the persecutor believed his own opinions earnestly, and attached as much importance to them as his victims did to theirs. But it is a tremendous aggravation of guilt when they are committed without even the sanction of those feelings by which men deceive themselves. And, so little sincerity was there in the attachment of Francis to that church to which he offered up more holocausts than any or all of his contemporaries, that he was engaged in a treaty with Henry VIII. for establishing a reformation in France, which, most unhappily for that kingdom, the design was frustrated by Henry's death.

* There is a translation from the Vulgate by Guyards des Moulins without a date, but which is supposed to have been printed in 1490.

His

His persecution however of the Piedmontese Vaudois was only of the ordinary kind: there was no military interference; it was left wholly to the civil power, with the assistance of the monks and inquisitors. The poor Vaudois in vain petitioned for the same liberty which Turks and Jews were permitted to enjoy. They were required to deliver up their pastors and schoolmasters within twelve days, into the hands of justice; and this, as it became them, they declared their determination not to do. The work of murder then went on, and the parliament of Turin burnt the victims as fast as the monks delivered them into their hands, with the accustomed recommendation to mercy, by which, monstrous as it may appear, burning alive was always intended and understood in these accursed processes. Henry II. stayed the persecution at the intercession of the German Protestant powers. The monks of Pinerolo renewed it by burning one of the ministers of Angrogna at Turin. The fortitude and piety with which this martyr died produced a singular effect; for shortly after a minister from Lucerna falling into their hands, was condemned to a like death; the executioner on the appointed day feigned illness, and absconded; another person was nominated to supply his place, and he also took to flight; and it was ascertained that the provost-marshal's man of the Germans, who were then in garrison, would not officiate if he were called upon. In the delay and embarrassment occasioned by this the prisoner found opportunity to escape, which perhaps was given him.

Peace being concluded between France and Spain, Piedmont by one of the conditions was restored to the House of Savoy, and the Duke would have let the Vaudois enjoy their ancient liberty. But he was called upon by the Pope's nuncio to root out the heretics in his dominions as a proof of his own sincerity in the faith; this agent of an inhuman court reproving him for his toleration, and reproaching him with the example of rigorous persecution in France. The Vaudois were not intimidated by the cruelties which had been perpetrated upon their brethren at Merindol and Cabrieres, and of which the Romanists were so little ashamed, that a deputation sent into these vallies to exhort the people to submission detailed the tragedy, and told them they must expect the same utter destruction if they persisted in their heresy. In reply they gave in a declaration of faith, professing their belief that the superior powers are ordained of God, and that whosoever resisteth them resisteth the ordinance of God; entire obedience therefore was their duty, except in anything which might be commanded against their duty to God. And resting upon that principle they would not receive the mass unless it could be proved by scripture. It appears that at this time

there were persons among them who inclined to that opinion of non-resistance which was first professed by the Mennonites, then by the Quakers. They consulted their pastors whether it was not lawful to defend themselves against the insolence and brutality of ruffians, whom their non-resistance incited only to greater excesses? The pastors answered that it was lawful, but warned them, in any case, to abstain from bloodshed. The permission was taken, but the impossible condition which clogged it, when they came into action, was of course thrown to the winds, —or rather to the waters, for the Clusone is said to have been stained with the slaughter which they made of their enemies. Yet they confined themselves to the strict bounds of self-defence, and did not, as they ought to have done, proceed to the convent, which at that time they might have forced, and liberated their countrymen. This was in the month of July, and the courage which they had thus displayed obtained for them a respite of three months, while a force was levied for putting down what was called their rebellion; in this service criminals who had been banished or fled from justice were invited to enlist. The Vaudois held a council to determine how they should act in the extremity which threatened them. The ministers and synods agreed that they should not defend themselves by arms, but remove, with as much of their goods as could be conveyed thither, to the higher Alps, and if they were pursued to that last retreat, act then as it might please God to prompt them. There was no murmuring at the decision, no want of alacrity in obeying it. They began to carry their goods and stores to the heights which God seemed to have appointed for these his servants, as for the chamois and the eagle, and 'for the space of eight days' all the ways were filled with comers and goers to the mountains, like unto ants in summer which provide for winter. Thus did they in their great perplexity and danger, with a wonderful courage and cheerfulness, praising God, and singing of psalms, and every one comforting another.' And when the Count de la Trinité was sent against them, he found in the people a spirit worthy of their cause. Before every action they joined in prayer, and thanksgiving was their first act after the victory; for in every instance they kept the ground and repelled their assailants, who indeed were possessed with an opinion that the heretics by some sorcery made their own weapons always effectual, and took away the strength of their enemies.

Attempts were made to delude them by overtures of accommodation and amnesty, which were the more likely to obtain belief, because it was known that the duchess was their friend, and greatly disapproved the violence which was exercised against them.

But

But on the part of their persecutors there was as little honour as humanity. Those who listened to the proposal were exposed to insults, exactions, and outrages of every kind; and cruelties were committed of such devilish invention as to be unexampled in history. The people of Bobbio, who had not retreated to the heights in time, proposed a general league among all the vallies, in which the Vaudois of Dauphiny should be included. Deputies from Dauphiny came to Bobbio upon this business, and during their conference a summons arrived requiring every householder to appear at the town-house the following day, and make his election, either to receive mass and remain unmolested, or to be delivered over to the course of what was called justice. The alternative was to renounce their faith, or abide the extremity; flight being now rendered impracticable because of the snow. Their choice was made at once, passionately but piously, like men as well as Christians. At the hour appointed for their appearance, instead of repairing to the town-house they went to the church, in arms; threw down the images and altars first, in proof that they had utterly forsaken the false religion of the Pope; performed the same clearance in the church at Villaro, having met and encountered a band of soldiers on the way; besieged a fort in which some of their own people were held prisoners, delivered them, allowed the garrison to depart according to capitulation, and rased the fort. La Trinité revenged himself by setting fire to the houses wherever he went. A reinforcement of Spanish troops, at that time the best in the world, gave him a great superiority, which was yet more than counterbalanced by the determined spirit of an heroic and religious people; and by exciting in him more confidence it brought on worse discomfiture and further despair.

On this occasion these brave people reaped the reward of their constancy. By favour of the Duchess their just and loyal representations were at length heard. They were allowed the free exercise of their religion within their own vallies; mass, indeed, was to be performed in their churches, but no one was to be compelled to attend, nor was it to be at their cost. Those in the gallies were set free, prisoners were to be ransomed according to their means, and an entire amnesty to be observed. A few years only had past when the duke joined in a league against the Protestants, but the duchess averted the danger with which they were then threatened, and the Bartholomew massacre produced a salutary effect upon the duke himself. Bonfires in honour of that accursed tragedy were kindled in Piedmont, and the Vaudois, expecting that their own destruction must follow, retired again to the heights; but the duke was shocked at the treachery and wick-

edness which had excited such exultation at Rome, and by proclamations invited them back, assuring them of safety, and from that time till his death they experienced all the justice which they could desire.

From this time, for half a century, a system of insidious policy towards the vallies was pursued by the court of Turin, under the direction of a council *de propagandâ fide et extirpandis hæreticis*, and of the missionary monks. These missionaries scrupled not at stirring up and fomenting divisions between master and servant, husband and wife, parent and child, that by so doing they might prevail on the one party to renounce the Protestant faith for despite. Young men they sought to inveigle away by negociating marriages for them with persons of the Romish persuasion; and if the Protestant sought but to prevent their perversion, by speaking in defence of his own religion, it was an overt act of heresy, to be punished with fire. One witness was sufficient to prove the crime, and for the encouragement of such witnesses a reward of an hundred crowns was appointed, and secrecy assured. No opportunity was omitted of provoking the Vaudois to this indiscretion. The missionaries even entered their churches, and insulted their ministers during the service, in the hope of drawing forth, by the most studied insults, an answer for which the heretics might be sent to the stake. Another mean which they employed to propagate the faith, was to kidnap the children; and they were taught by their church that in acting thus they were doing God service, and laying up for themselves a store of merits which would be treasured in heaven!

This system had been pursued for half a century, when, in the January of 1655, an edict suddenly appeared, requiring the Protestants to remove within three days, on pain of death, from all the other vallies, into those of Angrogna, Rorala, Villar, Bobbio and Bonetti. Of what rank, degree or condition soever, they were to forsake the plains of Lucerna, Lucernetta, St. Giovanni, La Torre, Bubbiana and Feueli, Campiglione, Borcherassoro, and St. Secondo, the sole indulgence being if within twenty days they could make it appear either that they had turned Romanists, or sold their goods to persons of that persuasion. That season had been chosen when, because of the waters on the plain and the snow on the mountains, it was thought impossible for them to escape, so that, as Morland says, they feelingly understood the force of our Saviour's words, 'pray ye that your flight be not in the winter!' In vain did they represent to the conservator-general of the holy faith, for ever infamous by his name of Andrea Gastaldo, by whom the edict was issued and to be enforced; in vain did they represent to him the iniquity of the command,

command, the shortness of the time, the severity of the season, the impossibility that so many outcasts could be harboured in the already crowded district to which they were thus relegated. They betook themselves (in the words of their own supplication) some to the mountains amid the snow and ice, and many into caves for want of shelter.

Ere long the Marquis Pionessa was sent with a large force, amounting to 15,000 men, to complete the great object of the Extirpating Council. Some regiments, which the French king had sent into Italy for the assistance of the Duke of Modena, were employed in this service, on pretence of quartering them in the valley of Lucerna; and there were some Irish Romanists also, who became exiles for their share either in the guilt or the consequent miseries of the Irish massacre, and to whom, it is said, the country from which the Protestants were to be driven, was promised. Then it was, that, if any reliance may be placed upon human testimony, carefully and juridically collected, solemnly given, and rendered credible (though otherwise impossible to be believed) by other like enormities committed in the name of the same church, for the same cause, in other times and countries—then it was that those horrors were perpetrated with which all Europe rang from side to side. The attested statements may be found in Morland's book, and with them a series of prints, that ignorant eyes might see what they could not read, but which have been cut out of the copy before us, because the cruelties which they represent nakedly to the life are of that devilish character, that to preserve the remembrance of them in any shape is a sin against human nature. There is no exaggeration in Mr. Jones's language, when he says, that if hell had been emptied of its inhabitants, and all let loose among the vallies of Piedmont, greater enormities could neither have been expected nor committed.

Then too it was that Milton poured forth that strain which is always to be remembered, when the persecution in Piedmont is spoken of.

> 'Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
> Are scattered on the Alpine mountains cold!
> Even them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
> When all our fathers worshipt stocks and stones,
> Forget not! In thy book record their groans
> Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
> Slain by the bloody Piemontese, that roll'd
> Mother with infant down the rocks! Their moans
> The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
> To heaven. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
> O'er

O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The tripled tyrant: that from these may grow
A hundred fold, who having learnt the way,
Early may fly the Babylonian woe.'

The conduct of Cromwell on this occasion is one of the redeeming parts of his life. It was a case in which his heart and head were perfectly in accord, his feelings prompting him at once to what was his true policy as chief magistrate of England. Acting at once as the head of the reformed party throughout Europe, a station which it had before been observed by the Duke of Rohan, that the King of England always ought to hold, he not only addressed letters to all the Protestant states, in a strain worthy of the cause, (for Milton was the writer,) but he dispatched an envoy to the King of France and to the Duke of Savoy; to the former he complained both of the persecutions and employment of the French troops in it, requesting his intercession, that the Vaudois might be restored to their own possessions and their former liberty. The answer is remarkable, when compared with the subsequent conduct of that monarch, who has deserved for himself the appellation, let us hope, of the last Great Persecutor. Louis XIV. declared that his troops had been there employed without his knowledge and against his pleasure; and he added, that Cromwell had judged well in supposing this to be the case, for it could never be thought, said he, 'that I should contribute to the chastisement of any subjects of the Duke of Savoy, who are professors of the pretended reformed religion, and yet, in the mean time, give so many marks of my good will to those of my own subjects, who are of the same profession, having also cause to applaud their fidelity and zeal for my service, they on their parts not omitting any occasion to give me proof thereof, even beyond all that can be imagined, and contributing in all things to the welfare and advantage of my affairs.' When Morland had audience at Turin, he addressed the duke in Latin, with a warmth which the occasion justified, and the confidence of an ambassador who knew how his country was respected. Assuming that the atrocious cruelties which had been perpetrated were done as without the advice of the duke, so contrary to his will, he specified some of them, then breaking off with some art of eloquence as well as passion, he pursued,

'What need I mention more, although I could reckon up many of the same kind, if the mind were not shocked at the very thought of this! If all the tyrants of all times and ages were alive again, (which I say without offence to your highness, seeing, we believe, that none of these things were done through any default of yours,) they would be ashamed to find that they had devised nothing but what might be esteemed mild and

and humane in comparison of these actions. Mean time, angels shudder; men are amazed; heaven itself seems to be astonished with the cries of dying men, and the very earth to blush, being discoloured with the gore of so many innocent persons. Do not, O thou most high God, do not thou take that vengeance which is due to such enormous crimes. Let thy blood, O Christ, wash away this slaughter.'

He then delivered his letters, saying, that a speedy answer would highly oblige the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth of England, who had laid this thing deeply to heart. The Protector's letters were in a conciliatory temper but firm tone.

'When an account of these things were brought us,' said he, 'we could not but be moved with extreme horror and compassion upon the news of so great a calamity befallen this most miserable people. And seeing, we acknowledge, that we were not only in respect of humanity, but through communion of the same religion, and so by a brotherly relation, wholly conjoined and concerned with them, we conceived that we could not either satisfy ourself, or answer our duty towards God, or the bond of brotherly love and charity, or the profession of the same religion, if being touched with a sense of sorrow in this calamity and misery of our brethren, we should not also use all our endeavour, as far as in us lieth, to remove their so many unexpected miseries.'

Then reminding the duke of the loyalty of these his subjects, and the liberties which had been granted to them by his predecessors, time out of mind, a thing most pleasing to God, who intended that the inviolable right and liberty of conscience should remain only in his own power, he besought him to abrogate his last edict, restore his persecuted subjects to their possessions, confirm to them anew their former liberty and ancient rights, and take such order, that an end might be put to these vexations.

The duke's mother answered for him, expressing surprize that malice should so have misrepresented what she called the father-like and tender chastisement of their most rebellious and insolent subjects; nevertheless, for his highness's sake, she promised every thing which was requested, in proof of how great respect they had to his person and mediation. This was sincerely said, for it was in the fear of Oliver that she spoke, her answer to a like mediation from the Protestant cantons having been, that they were not obliged to give an account of their actions to any prince in the world. A strong feeling, however, had been excited throughout all the Protestant states; they acted as it became them, with one accord, and though duped in a manner, which is almost as disgraceful to the powers who were so stupidly overreached, as to the government that paltered with them, a stop was put to the persecution and massacre, in which above six thousand victims had fallen. The treaty, indeed, made with the Vaudois,

was

was well likened by Morland to the prophet's roll, which though it was sweet as honey in the poor people's mouths, yet there was written within nothing but lamentation and misery and woe; and no sooner had the Protestant ambassador departed, than difficulties and grievances came 'crawling out of the said treaty, like so many hornets out of a rotten tree.'

Thirty-eight thousand pounds were raised for the sufferers by subscription in England, (Cromwell, the Protector, giving two thousand,) a great sum, considering the value of money and the condition of the country at that time, and highly honourable to the English character. Morland's account of these transactions was drawn up at the special desire of Archbishop Usher. He says, and truly, 'that it is even from one end thereof to the other, one of the saddest tragedies that ever had been acted in the Christian world, insomuch that my spirit has often waxed cold within me, and my heart even failed me, that my very hand has troubled me with a fit of the palsy in the writing thereof.' Yet he persevered, knowing it to be a work 'which would be most useful to the whole Christian world, both as to themselves, their children, and their children's children, in future generations.' It is so, and the continuance of the story is not less important. Cromwell was not a man to brook with insincerity in any thing which he had at heart; and from the tenour of his language to Louis XIV. and to the Protestant cantons, it is evident that he would have gone all lengths to enforce his mediation, if death had not prevented him from executing the best and noblest of all his purposes. Very few years elapsed before the Council for propagating the faith prepared to repeat its former atrocities. But the Swiss cantons interposed, and Charles II., unworthy as he was of that station to which Providence had restored him, joined in remonstrances both at Turin and Paris. Shortly afterwards these very Vaudois volunteered their services during a war with Genoa, and by their courage retrieved the affairs of their country when it was in great danger. Their deserts were acknowledged by the duke, and as long as he lived, and as his widow retained her influence, they remained undisturbed. The persecution they next sustained is less attributable to Victor Amadeus II. than to Louis XIV., when, happily for England, he resolved upon extirpating the Protestants wherever his power or his influence extended. Happily for England, we say, because our civil and religious liberties were at that time equally endangered, and could hardly have been preserved, if the character of popery had not just then been manifested in a manner which awakened the nation. When Louis revoked the edict of Nantes,

and

and let persecution loose, he prepared the way for the Revolution of 1688, and for the victories of Marlborough.

Victor Amadeus was an able soldier and a bad man, without probity, without humanity, without honour: as a politician, like his ancestor, he was of the serpent class. At this time he was young, and the excuse which he afterwards made for himself, and which the Vaudois willingly believed, was, that he had been directed, contrary to his own judgement and wishes, by the counsel of others. It may have been so; but the truth is, that religious bigotry, in the house of Savoy, was combined with political apprehensions, and the sins of Geneva, and Scotland, and the Puritans were visited upon a people who held obedience to the ruling powers for a religious duty, and never raised an arm in self-defence till they were driven to it by absolute despair. The duke, after the example of his great ally, revoked all those edicts by which the immunities of the Vaudois were assured, ordered every Protestant place of worship to be rased by themselves, and required every person who professed that faith to renounce it within fifteen days, on pain of banishment. The mediation of the Protestant powers was disregarded; for of what weight in Europe were they when the King of Great Britain was a Romanist? The representations of the injured party were of course of no avail; and while one force marched against them from Turin, the French general Catinat invaded them with another from the French frontier, desirous, as he said, to have the honour of striking the first blow against the heretics. He did so, and had the honour also of being well beaten; for the cry among the Vaudois was death rather than the mass! But their numbers had been lamentably diminished; they did not now amount to more than 15,000 souls, and no support was to be hoped for from Saluzzo or from Dauphiny. They were promised mercy if they would submit, after such barbarities had been exercised that (in Mr. Gilly's words) 'it would be outraging human nature to recount them.' The mercy which they experienced was this—the whole of their property was confiscated, and the whole population thrown into prison; especial care was taken to separate families; and filth, confinement, unwholesome and insufficient food, and grief of heart reduced them so fast, that, at the expiration of six months, only 3000 survived. They then experienced the duke's further clemency,—that is, they were set at liberty, to transport themselves whither they could, and to begin their journey the same day, in a state of utter destitution, in the winter, with the Alps to cross! In many instances the children were forcibly taken from their parents, that they might be brought up in the religion which by its Infallible head authorized and applauded these means of propagating the faith!

Mr.

Mr. Jones has pursued the first part of this tragedy to the concluding scene at the gates of Geneva, where the exiles arrived in such a state of exhaustion, that some of them expired between the two gates of the city, 'finding the end of their lives in the beginning of their liberty.' He has related it with the feelings of an Englishman and a Christian; but he chuses to conclude his history there, instead of relating the second and happier part of this most impressive drama, in which the Vaudois pastor, Henri Arnaud, collected 800 men among these exiles, re-entered the vallies, maintained himself there from August till April against the French and Piedmontese forces, and then, on the rupture between France and Savoy, obtained an amnesty for his people, the recall of their families from exile, the restoration of their lands, and the renewal of their old religious liberties. Tempting as the details are we must not enter on them; the reader will find them in Mr. Gilly's delightful book; and they are shortly yet spiritedly and feelingly told in the 'Brief Sketch,' which is well fitted for popular circulation, and may do good service to the Vaudois, and to the Protestant cause.*

The revolution in Piemont removed some of their grievances, but upon the restoration of the reigning family they were all reimposed. The Vaudois at this day can neither purchase nor inherit land beyond the limits of the three vallies which are left them; they must pay a land-tax of 20½ per cent. where the Romans pay 13; they must keep the Romish saints' days. Even in their own communes the majority of the syndics must be Romanists, though it is necessary to chuse them from the lowest of the people. No book of instruction or religion for their use may be printed in Piemont, and the duty upon the importation of such books is enormous. They are excluded from all military and civil employment, except that they are liable to the conscription to serve in the ranks, not even their clergy being exempt. No Vaudois may practise as physician, surgeon, apothecary, attorney or advocate, except among his own community, and within their limits; and no pastor sleep in any of the villages without those limits. These grievances were reimposed four days after Lord William Bentinck had interceded in their behalf. The venerable Peyrani spoke of this nobleman with much gratitude. 'If any

* Arnaud kept a journal of this extraordinary war, which was afterwards published under the title of L'Histoire de la glorieuse Rentrée des Vaudois dans leurs Vallées. This book is exceedingly scarce, and it is supposed that there are not more than eight or nine copies of it. One of these is in the possession of the writer of this pamphlet, who intends to have a translation of it printed, with engravings of some of the spots most celebrated in it, from sketches made by himself for the purpose during the last summer.—Note, p. 23. We hope Mr. Acland will redeem this pledge; but why not reprint the book itself?

thing,'

thing,' he said, 'could have been done for the Vaudois, Lord William would have effected it; but the restored king was deaf even to his intercessions.' We will not say, Oh for an hour of Cromwell! but of this we are sure, that if on such an occasion an ambassador had spoken as one of Cromwell's ambassadors would have spoken, the people, and the parliament, and the sovereign of Great Britain would have borne him out. 'Do you emancipate the Irish Catholics,' said the King of Sardinia, 'and I will emancipate the Vaudois.' It was rejoined, 'We only beg of your majesty to concede as much to the Protestants of the valleys as has been conceded to the Roman Catholics of Ireland.' The king had been taught to believe that the Romanists are persecuted in Ireland, by those orators and journalists who care not how they injure their country in the eyes of foreign powers, so they can but serve a purpose at home.

The good offices of the British government, then, have been altogether unavailing in behalf of the Vaudois. But these poor people have a claim upon it. Of the sum raised for their relief under the Protectorate, £16,000 was put out to interest here, by the authorized commissioners, for their use. It is one of the scandalous acts of Charles II. that he withheld that interest upon the plea that he did not consider himself bound by the engagements, nor responsible for the debts, of an usurper. This example was followed by James, who would have rejoiced in the extirpation of the Vaudois, as in duty bound. It was restored by William and Mary, and regularly paid till the year 1797, when the annual payment was discontinued, because Piemont then became subject to France; and it has not been renewed since the restoration of the legitimate government. They now ask for its restitution as what is their due, and the claim, Mr. Gilly tells us, is under investigation. We may be permitted to observe, that whether till that time it were paid as a debt, or given as a benefaction, in either case the reasons for continuing it remain in full force. But independently of this sum, the repayment of which we cannot but consider as certain, we are glad to find that individual charity has been awakened on behalf of the Vaudois, and that committees have been formed in London and elsewhere for the promotion of subscriptions for their use. We refer our readers to the 'Brief Sketch' for information as to the specific objects which it is desired to accomplish by them; and heartily approving of them, and wishing success to the undertaking, we will close our paper by the just and forcible appeal, with which Mr. Gilly concludes his warm-hearted and right-hearted work.

'They are as poor and as aggrieved as they were previous to the year in which the pension ceased. They are as quiet and as unoffending, and

as

as submissive to the constituted authorities of their country, as when the King of Sardinia declared, in June, 1794, that he had not more loyal subjects than themselves. Be it remembered too, that in the late attempt at revolution, in the Sardinian dominions, the Vaudois took no measures which could excite the slightest jealousy on the part of their sovereign.

'They are so far from being apostates, or unfaithful to the cause which recommended their fathers to the protection of England, that they have preserved their integrity, unsullied and unimpaired, in the midst of greater seductions, if not greater perils, than ever threatened the constancy of the ancient Waldenses.

'They are esteemed so deserving of notice by other Protestant sovereigns and states, that the Emperor Alexander, and the kings of Prussia and of the Netherlands, have very lately exerted their kind offices, and extended their royal bounty, by remonstrances in their behalf, and grants of money for their relief.

'It cannot then be apprehended that this country will now neglect a community, which has been so supported by us in former years, when the same reasons still exist for holding them in estimation, viz. respect for the cradle of the reformed churches, respect for the descendants of the men to whom we are indebted for our religious doctrines, and respect for the people themselves, whose faith hath failed not, under persecution, want, or sufferings. There is a solemn bond of justice and gratitude incurred by us, which we cannot be unwilling to redeem; and when it is considered that there never was a period in English history when the interests of humanity and true religion were more consulted than by those who guide the counsels of the nation at this present time, it is not possible to be otherwise than sanguine in expecting that the claims of the Vaudois, if they are proved to be founded in equity and justice, will be amply recognized.'—p. 264.

ART. VI.—*Derniers Momens de Napoléon.* Par le Docteur F. Antommarchi. Londres. 1825.

IT is not for its merit, or general interest, that we notice the work which we have placed at the head of this paper; nor are we inclined to throw away our time in the useless but easy task of exposing to the derision of Europe a writer, whose folly, ignorance, vanity, and egotism, really surpass belief. But these volumes afford us an opportunity of settling finally a question in which it is impossible not to feel some interest, we mean the cause of Napoleon Buonaparte's death. The enemies of England, internal and external, have delighted to attribute the disorder which destroyed him to the climate of St. Helena; and if that could have been established upon satisfactory evidence, every one must have regretted, though no one could have blamed, the unfortunate choice of a residence, which, according to all previous rea-

soning

appeared to be singularly favourable to the human constitution.* Let us now examine whether the evidence leads to this, or whether it warrants that other and very different conclusion, at which we arrived in a former Number† upon information satisfactory but less full than that which now lies before us.

The medical reports of Mr. O'Meara are the first source to which we turn for information. These were delivered verbally to Dr. Baxter, by him committed to writing, and are now verified on his oath. From them it appears, that the first serious failure in Buonaparte's health was observed in the summer of 1817, nearly four years before his death. He had then been living for some time in a way which was almost certain to injure his constitution, whatever might be the salubrity of the climate. From the active habits to which he had been accustomed all his life, he had become more sedentary than an artisan. Mr. O'Meara says, 'he has not been on horseback for six months, and latterly, scarcely in the carriage, or out walking in the garden.' He used to confine himself not merely to the house, but to his bed-room, without going out of it, even to dinner, entirely occupied in reading or writing, with the doors and windows carefully shut, so as to make the room oppressively close. 'After living in this way several months, he was visibly altered in appearance, his face was pale, his gums spongy, his legs swollen and cold, and his breathing short on the slightest exercise.'

In the autumn of the same year we discover the first noticeable symptoms of that disease which was ultimately to destroy him. There was pain in the right side, under the ribs, this part was a little swollen, and on examining it, a firm tumour was discovered, which was painful on being touched; even when not touched

* As to the climate of St. Helena, we have been looking over a journal of the thermometer, taken at Longwood, from April, 1816, to April, 1817. As the eye runs over the figures it lights upon nothing but 60s and 70s; and on carefully examining it, we find the lowest temperature at noon to be 58°, and the highest 73°, taking the whole year. There is not a climate in the world subject to slighter variations of temperature, and where the state of the atmosphere is more exactly between inclement cold and oppressive heat. If it were within reach, we should certainly send our consumptive patients to it. We have likewise before us the report of Mr. Walter Henry, assistant surgeon of the 66th Regiment, dated 9th June, 1823, and verified on oath. It states that 'he resided at St. Helena from July, 1817, to May, 1821; that it is equally removed from the oppressive heat of India, and the sudden vicissitudes of England. Diseases of the lungs are rare. Those parts of the island in which Longwood and Deadwood are situated are much more salubrious than the low portion of the island. Out of nearly 500 men whom he had under his care, *he did not lose one by disease during twelve months.* Many who had come from Bengal, enervated and emaciated, recovered their health at St. Helena. The climate of the higher parts of the island (in which Buonaparte resided) is superior to that of the south of Spain, the south of Italy, and Sicily.'

† Vol. XXVII. p. 262.

there was a dull pain, and a sensation of warmth which did not exist on the left side. 'In consequence of the obesity of the part,' says Mr. O'Meara, 'I have not been able to ascertain correctly, whether the tumefaction proceeds from an enlargement of the left lobe of the liver, or is external to it.' He decides, however, in favour of the former; and that the disease was chronic inflammation of the liver. He expressed also his firm conviction, 'that if he put it (exercise and regimen) in practice, his complaint would be removed in *twelve or thirteen days*.' This opinion was formed, and this valiant promise made at a time when there can be no doubt that the lower end of the stomach was schirrous, and just beginning to pass into cancer. So much for Mr. O'Meara's opinions and promises.

From the first mention of pain and swelling in the right side, Napoleon never ceased to feel uneasiness in this part, except for short intervals, after more than usual evacuation by the skin or bowels. About this time (Nov. 27, 1817) his countenance grew yellow, or rather sallow. Medical men, particularly those who have practised in warm climates, see this appearance so continually connected with disease of liver, that they fancy it can be connected with nothing else, and are continually mistaking the sallow countenance which is a constant attendant on schirrus and cancer, for the sallow countenance which depends on liver disease. This blunder was committed in Napoleon's case, from the first failure of his health down to the moment, not only of his death, but even of his dissection; and this blunder naturally influenced the choice of remedies, as far, at least, as Napoleon's dislike of medicine would permit. On Jan. 13, 1818, exactly three months and a fortnight from the time when pain and swelling had been first observed in the right side, we find the first complaint of sickness. From this time it was a frequent, though not constant symptom; palpitation of the heart also frequently troubled him, and was relieved only by the erect posture. In May, 1818, Mr. O'Meara states that '*the complaint is evidently hepatitis*, in a chronic and insidious form—that Napoleon *stands in need of, first, repeated and active purgatives, and subsequently, some preparation of mercury;*' 'that was he any other person—one that would do as he was desired, he would give him a strong purgative, and recommend him a good deal of exercise; and if that would not do, *put him through a course of mercury*.' Napoleon, fortunately for himself, in this instance, at least, was not one 'who would do what he was desired,' and therefore escaped, for a short time, a mercurial course, which could not have relieved a non-existent hepatitis, and would certainly have aggravated the commencing cancer in his stomach. At length, however, he was prevailed

prevailed on to try this mischievous course. He began it on the 11th June, 1818, and continued it till the 27th, (sixteen days,) and then left it off, because it occasioned distressing nervous irritability. 'Experience,' says Dr. Franklin; 'is a dear school, but fools will learn in no other.' Mr. O'Meara's folly, it seems, was not of a sort which could learn even in this school; on the 2d July, another mercurial course was commenced, which produced nervous agitation and weakness to such an alarming extent, that the doctor was called out of his bed before six o'clock in the morning, and was so heartily frightened at the state in which he found his patient, that he requested a consultation. Mr. Stokoe, the surgeon, was selected. It is amusing to see how these gentlemen were terrified at the responsibility of their office. 'Mr. Stokoe came up at three o'clock in the afternoon, not for the purpose of consultation, but to excuse himself, on the plea that he was not willing to get himself into *scrapes*.' Here Mr. O'Meara's reports terminate, for about this time he quitted the island. In his 'Voice from St. Helena,' the last date of his Journal is the 25th of this month, July, 1818. We now turn to Antommarchi.

Information of the dismissal of Mr. O'Meara having arrived in England, Lord Bathurst thought, probably, that the attendance of a French or Italian physician would be satisfactory to Napoleon, and wrote to Cardinal Fesch at Rome, requesting him to select one. His choice was singular: instead of procuring an experienced physician or surgeon, he chose Antommarchi, a man who was only 'Prosecteur d'Anatomie' in the university of Pisa, an office exactly similar to that of our demonstrators of anatomy, persons who are employed in dissecting bodies for the professors to lecture upon, and who have no experience themselves in the treatment of disease. Before he set off, he received a report from Mr. O'Meara, upon the nature of Napoleon's disease, which was laid before a consultation of physicians at Rome, and they, after perusing it, gravely drew up their opinion, which was to be his law and guide in the treatment of his patient. This document states that Napoleon's disease is *obstruction of the liver*, and a scorbutic dyscrasy; that he was to take hemlock, rhubarb, soap, dandelion, with a long list of anti-scorbutic plants, and to drink *mare's milk*. When one considers that this consultation was held at Rome, upon a patient at St. Helena, there is nothing in Molière equal to it.

Antommarchi arrived in London, and had daily interviews with Mr. O'Meara, who, of course, only plunged him more deeply in error; but this was not his only misfortune. Some reports had been received from Mr. Stokoe; in one of these, dated 19th January, he said, 'I examined the *hepatic region* more particularly than I had done before, and I am now convinced that the liver is

*seriously affected.** '*I have consequently recommended the use of mercury.*' Thus, after Mr. O'Meara quitted the island, the same erroneous notion about the nature and treatment of the disease was adopted by Mr. Stokoe, and from them the blunder was communicated to Antommarchi.

Antommarchi, however, was not satisfied with his consultation at Rome, or his interviews with the learned O'Meara in London.

'I addressed circular letters,' says he, 'to them' (the medical men in London); 'I laid before them the consultation which had been delivered to me,' (by the physicians at Rome) 'and the reports which I had received' (from O'Meara and Stokoe), 'and I requested them to give me their opinion respecting the emperor's complaint, and to point out the means which they considered the best calculated to effect its cure. All, but particularly the venerable James Curry, so celebrated for his labours on hepatitis, answered me with a zeal and kindness that affected me most sensibly.'

Dr. James Currie is since dead; he was a very ingenious, learned, eloquent, wrong-headed man, and, what is curious, fell into the same mistake about himself which he contributed to propagate concerning Napoleon. For many years he believed himself to be labouring under inflammation and abscesses in the liver; but when his body was examined after death, his liver was found to be perfectly healthy. He was a most impressive talker however, and would have been sufficient alone to overwhelm the feeble mind of the Prosecteur d' Anatomie, and to send him out incapable of using his own senses, or exercising the little judgment which on other occasions he may have possessed. When Antommarchi arrived at St. Helena, Napoleon perceived the absurdity which Cardinal Fesch had committed in supplying him with a dissector instead of a physician, 'a kind of Cuvier, to whom he would give his horse for dissection, but not trust the cure of his own foot.' In his account of his reception by the medical men of London, Antommarchi says, 'the publication of the posthumous works of Mascagni had given me a sort of celebrity (!) and I naturally found myself *en relation* avec tout ce que Londres avait *d'illustre*.' Mark the account which he gives to Buonaparte of his reception in London.

'*Napoleon.* Whom did you see there more particularly?

Antommarchi. Physicians and professional men, *chiefly* those who have practised within the tropics.'

* Thus it stands in his report, published by Antommarchi; but in the written report delivered in at St. Helena, these words were added, 'having distinctly felt a hardness in that viscus.' These are now omitted; but how foolish is cunning! What was the use of erasing them when it must be obvious, that an examination of the hepatic region would discover that the liver was affected only by feeling a hardness or swelling of that viscus?

There

There is not, nor, with the exception of Dr. Currie, was there one eminent physician or surgeon in London who ever practised within the tropics.

On the 23d September, 1819, Antommarchi made his first deliberate inquiry into Napoleon's disease.

'I examined minutely,' says he, 'and observed *that part of the left lobe of the liver which corresponds to the epigastric region was hard and painful on being touched; the vesicle of the gall bladder was full, resisting pressure, and projecting outwards in the right hypogastric region, near the cartilage of the third false rib.*'

Who but a charlatan would ever pretend to feel the gall bladder in a man whom he describes as 'excessively fat'? As to the indurated lobe of the liver, if any tumour were felt at all, it is now certain, that it was not the liver, but the right end of the stomach. O'Meara, Stokoe, the Roman doctors, and his medical friends in London had sent him out with nothing but the liver disease in his head, and unable to feel any thing else with his finger ends. One would have supposed that a long residence with Napoleon, and the daily opportunity, for months, of watching his symptoms, would have removed this illusion; but not so; after having been ten months in the island, he writes the following opinion to the Chevalier Colonna, at Rome:—

'I have now been ten months in this island, and I can assure you that I have not passed a single day or night without devoting to the illustrious patient all the care and assistance my zeal and my *medical knowledge (!)* could suggest. I found him labouring under a *chronic hepatitis* of the most serious nature.' And again, in the same letter, 'the *influence of the climate*, which is the primary cause of the *chronic hepatitis*, being too contrary to the constitution of the illustrious patient, and to the action of the remedies I have prescribed.'

After enumerating his symptoms, he adds—

'*I do not hesitate* to *affirm*, that these affections are produced by a disordered state of the digestive, and an alteration of the functions of the biliary organs.'

On the 21st March, 1821, we find him persuading Napoleon to take an emetic—an emetic to a man with a cancerous ulcer in his stomach!

'The bare name of the remedy wrought his repugnance to the highest pitch, and he replied, *exaggerating the uncertainty of medicine*, "can you tell me simply in what my disease consists? can you even point out the seat of it?" It was in vain that I represented to him that the *art of healing does not proceed like the exact sciences;* that the seat and the cause of the sensations which are felt can only be established by inference; he would not admit any distinction of the kind. "If such be the case," said he, "keep your physic; I will not have two diseases, that with which I am afflicted, and that which you would inflict upon me." When I insisted,

sisted, he accused us of working in the dark; of administering medicines at random; and of killing three-fourths of those who trust themselves to us.'

How exactly Napoleon's opinions were verified by the event! he did not exaggerate the uncertainty of medicine, at least in Antommarchi's hands. Persuaded, however, he was to take a quarter of a grain of tartar emetic on the 22d, a quarter of a grain more on the 23d, another on the 24th; and Antommarchi would have given him a fourth on the 25th. In the afternoon of the 24th, however, the symptoms were 'icy coldness, after having manifested itself at the lower extremities, extending all over the body; yawnings, general anxiety, pain in the head, distension of the abdomen, painful on pressure.' These were the natural effects of vomiting from antimony, and might easily have been anticipated by any one whose medical knowledge exceeded that of a demonstrator of anatomy. But Antommarchi was heartily frightened at what he had done. 'I was afraid,' says he, on the 26th, 'to trust to my own skill, and the emperor would not have any English physician.' After the three cruel days on which he took an antimonial emetic every day, the stomach never again became tranquil, and was not relieved even by opiates. In every report we find nausea, vomiting of 'glairy fluid.' The patient was almost constantly complaining of distension of the abdomen, burning heat, and pain within the stomach; sometimes feverish heat, sometimes clammy perspirations—scarcely any thing remained on his stomach. Sometimes 'filiaceous substances,' like slender shreds, were vomited up. These symptoms it would have seemed impossible not to understand, and Dr. Arnott, who was consulted towards the end of the illness, saw into the case; he assured Napoleon and Antommarchi that the liver was not the seat of the disease—that it was sound—but neither would believe him. At length the suspicion came across the mind, not of Antommarchi, but of Napoleon, that the stomach was the seat of the disease. 'Doctor,' said he, 'I recommend to you once more to examine my pylorus with the greatest care; write down your observations, and deliver them to my son. I wish, at least, to preserve him from that disease.' On the 2d May we find him uttering the following words:—

'Recollect what I have directed you to do after my death: proceed carefully to the anatomical examination of my body, and particularly of the stomach. The physicians of Montpellier declared that schirrosis in the pylorus would be hereditary in my family: their report is, I believe, in the hands of Louis; ask for it, and compare it with your own observations, in order that I may at least save my son from that cruel disease. You will see him, doctor, and you will point out to him what is right to be done, and will save him from the cruel sufferings I now experience—it is a last act of service which I ask of you.'

The

The disease now advanced rapidly. Napoleon was occasionally insensible, had oppressed breathing, spasmodic heaving of the muscles over the stomach, loss of voluntary power over the limbs, general agitation of the body, occasional delirium, icy coldness of the lower limbs, a pulse of 110 scarcely perceptible and intermitting, incessant hiccough, acrid eructations, vomiting of dark liquid matter. He died on the 5th. On the 6th the body was opened by Antommarchi, in the presence of Drs. Short, Mitchell, Bruton, and other medical gentlemen.

And now arrived the moment which was to verify and approve, or falsify and disgrace, the opinions entertained and the remedies employed successively by O'Meara and Antommarchi—the mercurial courses of the first, and the antimonial emetics of the last. According to them Napoleon's disease had depended on the climate in which he was placed—it was chronic inflammation of the liver, and this had been going on from the summer of 1817 down to the time of his death, the 5th May, 1821, nearly four years. If this had been the case, what would have been the state in which the liver would have been found? We could venture to answer this question ourselves, but we prefer giving the answer from the 'Morbid Anatomy' of the late Dr. Baillie, a writer remarkable for his accuracy, and a physician in whose statements very many of our readers have had reason to feel confidence. Speaking of inflammation of the substance of the liver, he says,

'when this inflammation has continued for *some time*, abscesses are formed, and then the active state of the inflammation very much subsides. These abscesses are sometimes of large size, so as even to contain some pints of pus—sometimes the whole of the liver is almost converted into a bag containing pus.'

For more than a year and a half Antommarchi had been talking and writing about chronic inflammation of the liver, and declaring that he could feel it enlarged and indurated near the pit of the stomach. It was important, therefore, that he should find something after death to corroborate these statements, and he probably would have succeeded, if the dissection had been performed in the absence of medical witnesses; but unluckily there were persons present who had eyes as clear, judgments as competent, and integrity, to say the least, as unquestionable as his own. All, therefore, which remained for him to do, was to introduce into the account of the dissection a few words which might lead those who are ignorant of medicine to suppose that he had made no mistake. His words are these:—

'The spleen and the liver, which was *hardened*, were very large and distended with blood. The texture of the liver, which was of a brownish red colour, *did not*, however, *exhibit any remarkable alteration of struc-*

ture. The vesica fellis was filled and distended with very thick and clotted bile. *The liver, which was affected by chronic hepatitis,* closely adhered by its convex surface to the diaphragm; the adhesion occupied the whole extent of that organ, and was strong, cellular, and of long existence.'

In this account, the expressions 'the liver, which was hardened,' and 'the liver, which was affected by chronic hepatitis,' might induce a general reader to suppose that Antommarchi had found what he expected; but any medical man will easily see through the fraud. If the texture of the liver, as he says, did not exhibit any remarkable alteration of structure, how could it be said to be affected by chronic hepatitis, and that, be it remembered, for nearly four years? Either he does not know the changes which chronic hepatitis induces in the liver, or it is a statement purposely fraudulent. On examining the stomach, however, the diseased appearance of this organ was too remarkable and extensive to escape disclosure.

'On examining that organ with care,' says he, 'I discovered on its anterior surface, near the small curve, and at the breadth of three fingers from the pylorus, a slight obstruction, apparently of a schirrous nature, of very small extent, and exactly defined. The stomach was perforated through and through in the centre of that small induration, and the aperture was closed by the adhesion of that part to the left lobe of the liver. * * * The mucous membrane of the stomach was sound from the small to the large cavity of this organ, following the great curve. Almost the whole of the remainder of the internal surface of the stomach was occupied by a cancerous ulcer. * * * An ulcerous, greyish and smooth surface lined this canal, which, but for the adhesion of the liver, would have established a communication between the cavity of the stomach and that of the abdomen. The right extremity of the stomach, at the distance of an inch from the pylorus, was surrounded by a tumour.' (This was the tumour felt during life, and mistaken for the liver.)

Amidst this jargon (and there is much more which we have been obliged to omit) the attentive reader will perceive that the diseased appearances discovered on dissection, were, 1st, a cancerous ulcer of the stomach, so extensive as to spread over almost the whole of its inside; 2dly, a hole in the stomach, which this cancerous ulcer had eaten, and through which every thing which was swallowed would have run out among the bowels, if it had not been for, 3dly, an adhesion between the part of the stomach which the disease had perforated, and that surface of the liver which lay opposite to it—the surface of the liver was, as it were, glued over the hole in the stomach, so as to shut it up, and prevent any thing from running out through it. This is one of the most common and wonderful provisions of nature, to stop the ravages or counteract the injuries of disease. The adhesion, it is true, is the effect of inflammation

inflammation on the surfaces of the liver and of the stomach thus glued together. But this inflammation is the effect of the ulcer, an effort of nature to counteract the injuries of the disease, and totally different to that inflammation of the substance of the liver which is called chronic hepatitis, and which a tropical climate occasions. If Antommarchi had ever had any professional reputation an ignorance of this distinction, whether affected or real, would have effectually destroyed his character, either for honesty or for knowledge. We have the report of the dissection, which was drawn up and signed by the English medical officers who were present on that occasion—Drs. Short, Arnott, Mitchell, Bruton, and Mr. Livingstone. It goes to confirm the statement which we have already made out from the unintentional jargon or the intentional evasions of Antommarchi—'that, with the exception of the adhesions, no unhealthy appearance presented itself in the liver.' But besides this, we have before us an account of the scene by one of the professional eye-witnesses.

'O'Meara,' says he, 'and Antommarchi had stoutly affirmed that his principal disease was in the liver; hence, when the liver was examined, the countenances of the spectators indicated much anxiety. When Antommarchi made his first incision into it, he expected to see a flow of pus from the abscess which had been anticipated in its substance; but no abscess, no hardness, no enlargement, no inflammation were observed; on the contrary, the liver was of natural size, and perfectly healthy in its internal structure—only the convex surface of the left lobe adhered for a small space to the diaphragm, and to that part of the stomach in which the perforation was seated.'

However little our readers may know of medicine, if they have perused attentively the foregoing description they must have drawn for themselves the inference which we are about to state—namely, that the disease of which Napoleon died was not chronic inflammation of the liver, or disease of the liver of any kind, but that it was a most extensive cancerous ulcer of the stomach. But to show how clear and decisive was the evidence for this conclusion, we should state that it was completely satisfactory even to those friends of Napoleon who were with him at St. Helena. In a letter written by Count Montholon to the Countess, dated 6th May, 1821, the day of the dissection, he says,

'L'ouverture de son corps a eu lieu ce matin; elle a prouvé qu'il était mort de la même maladie que son père, un schirre ulcéreux à l'estomac; près le pylore, les $\frac{1}{3}$ de la face de l'estomac étaient ulcérés—il est probable que depuis quatre à cinq ans, l'ulcère avait commencé. C'est dans notre malheur, une grande consolation pour nous que d'avoir acquis la preuve, que sa mort n'est, et n'a pu être, en aucune manière, le résultat

résultat de sa captivité, ni de la privation de tous les soins que peut-être l'Europe eut pu offrir à l'espérance.'

It is clear, indeed, that Napoleon's case was mistaken and mistreated from beginning to end, first by O'Meara, and lastly by Antommarchi; and that additional and unnecessary sufferings were inflicted on him, by mercurial courses and antimonial emetics —the result of the grossest ignorance in those whom he had the misfortune to trust; but it is equally clear that his death was totally independent of the climate of St. Helena, or of any cause within the controul of the English government; and this is the short point which we have been desirous of establishing.

ART. VII.—*Reasons against the Repeal of the Usury Laws.* London. 1825.

THAT any interference on the part of the legislature with the management of the property of individuals, by regulating the rate of profit which they shall derive from their dealings with one another, tends to retard the increase of national wealth, and consequently the diffusion of those comforts and conveniences of which wealth supplies the means, is now so universally admitted, that it would be a mere waste of time to demonstrate it. It is become therefore a general rule, that the legislature ought to abstain from such interference. There may be exceptions to this, as well as to other general rules, but the propriety of such exceptions must in all cases be strictly proved, and cannot be presumed merely from the authority of past times; because we know that both the opinions and practice of our ancestors were in many respects opposed to this principle, the establishment of which is one of the modern triumphs of political science. Now that it is established, however, the presumption necessarily arises, that any particular law which can be shown to be irreconcilcable with it, is a bad one; and it does not lie upon those who propose an alteration in the law to prove this, but upon those who are for maintaining the law to show that, on account of some special circumstances, it is fit to be preserved. Our business then in delivering our judgment upon the pamphlet before us is to consider whether it makes out such a case as may justify the legislature in continuing to make an exception to the rule in the case of the traffic in money. We believe indeed that the author would be very glad, if he dared, to impeach the soundness of the rule itself, to which he takes every opportunity of showing his dislike. No wonder therefore if he sets about his task with a fretful reluctance to admit its practical application, and is much inclined to cry down those, who propose so to apply it, as speculative theorists.

Under

Under the influence of these feelings he has greatly, we hope not intentionally, misrepresented both the arguments and conduct of those who are opposed to him. He states the design of his work in the following passage:

'If a fair examination of the practical operation of the usury laws on the different classes of society should show that these laws do in truth produce much good at the expense of little inconvenience; that, while they restrain and limit to a very narrow field those usurious practices, which, whenever and wherever we can trace them as generally prevalent, have produced suffering, discontent, and turbulence, they do not injuriously fetter the internal trade, or foreign commerce of the country; that, on the contrary, their indirect effects have a strong tendency to give solidity and safety to the real progress of the nation: if it should appear, that, far from prejudicing the land-holders, they are certainly highly instrumental, perhaps essentially necessary to preserve to them, as a body, a character of moderate permanence, a character which they could not wholly lose without losing all their wholesome influence on the constitution and the manners of the country; and, that the complete annihilation of the present law must needs be, in all its diversified and widely spreading consequences, a fearful and intricate experiment upon the moral habits of the great body of the people, from which there is every reason to expect a result equally painful and unmanageable; then it will be admitted that the projected change throws a solemn responsibility upon those who, viewing too lightly its probable operations, or following too hastily in the train of theories they have not cautiously examined, may suffer themselves to be persuaded to join in this dangerous game of disturbing, without any proved necessity, the habits and peace of their countrymen.

'I would willingly do something towards the useful task of rescuing the question from the dominion of those wide and sweeping general principles, which the slightest acquaintance with its details will show, may indeed create powerful delusions, but can never throw any useful light upon the subject; and I propose, therefore, to examine, as far as the materials which are in every one's hands will enable me, what the most obvious and important practical effects of the projected repeal would be upon the different classes of the community. So completely however have the maxims and speculations of theoretical writers mixed themselves with the facts of the case in the public mind, that even the practical inquiry I propose can hardly be intelligibly conducted without clearing the way by examining some of those speculations.

'I shall not be accused of shrinking from the task of meeting the arguments on the other side in their greatest strength if I select the treatise of Mr. Bentham and the evidence laid before the committee of the House of Commons, which made its report in 1818, as the basis of the theories and the facts I mean to analyse.'—pp. 2—4.

Having thus selected his antagonists, the author, before he attacks their intellectual strength, seems to think that it may be as well to deprive them of the aid of any public sympathy, by showing

ing them in the present argument to be destitute of any moral title to respect. With this good-natured purpose, he insinuates that Mr. Bentham, and of course all who are his disciples in this point, deny the possible existence of moral turpitude in any transaction relating to the interest of money. What our opinion is of this gentleman as a reasoner, and writer, is well known; he has always appeared to us a grand master in the use of a certain figure of composition, which, for want of a more appropriate name, we will venture to call Bedevilment; and a more splendid instance of it can scarcely be conceived, than the absurd title which he prefixed to his clever and sound treatise; when he chose to call it 'A Defence of Usury,' he not only arrayed a thousand natural prejudices against its favourable reception for the sake of indulging foolish vanity in a startling paradox; but he introduced an unnecessary difficulty into his argument, and gave an untrue description of the work itself. The word usury may be taken in two senses; in one, which is the more ancient, it means the taking of any interest at all for money; in the other, and now common acceptation, the taking of iniquitously high interest; that is, of such interest as a fair dealing man would not have taken under the same circumstances: and this we will, for the sake of brevity, call moral usury. The first species of usury there was no necessity for Mr. Bentham to defend; it has long been generally agreed to be, to some extent or other, allowable. The other species he never does defend; his whole drift being merely to show that the law ought not to fix any maximum of interest, the exceeding which shall be taken as conclusive proof that a contract for a money loan *is* morally usurious. Mr. Bentham certainly does not mean that it is impossible for a man to be over-reached in a contract for a loan of money, as well as in a contract for the purchase of a house, to which he frequently compares it; nor is there a sentence in his book from which it can be fairly collected that, if the contract was shown to be fraudulent, he would not have it vacated in the former case as well as in the latter. His *moral* definition of usury, however, lays his doctrine open to misconstruction; he defines usury, abstracted from the legal notion of it, to be 'the taking of a greater interest than it is usual for men to give and take;' he shows afterwards, as we think, satisfactorily, that to act thus is not, of necessity, morally wrong, and then he infers that there is no such thing as the moral guilt of usury; an inference *in terms* far too large; by which, however, he merely means that the terms, Usury and Iniquity, as applied to money-transactions are not convertible, but that some actions may be usurious without being iniquitous; as, according to his acceptation of the term, undoubtedly

undoubtedly they may. But if our definition of usury, that it is the taking iniquitously high interest, is in fact consonant to the common acceptation of the word, then, in common understanding, every usurious contract is also iniquitous; and the consequence is, that when Mr. Bentham, speaking of usury according to his own definition, says there is no moral guilt in it, a person who takes his words in the popular sense, may misunderstand or misrepresent him as having taught that there is no sin in overreaching one's neighbour in a contract for interest on a loan; and this imputation the writer of the pamphlet before us throws upon him with all the weight which he can give to it. We repeat that, if Mr. Bentham's reasoning be fairly considered, no such position can be extracted from it; but he certainly has himself to blame in some measure for the misrepresentation of his doctrines.

There is not so good an excuse for an attempt made by the author to extenuate the authority of the evidence collected by the committee of 1818. He says,

'It is impossible to glance at the evidence, without perceiving that it leans extremely on one side, and feeling quite certain that by far the greater number of witnesses must have been selected, and by far the greater part of the examination conducted, by persons who had already formed very decided opinions in favour of the repeal.'—p. 55.

The evidence divides itself into two branches, evidence of facts and evidence of opinion. The evidence of facts is certainly all on one side; it must of necessity have been so. Nobody ever pretended that the good, if any there be, which is produced by the usury laws, is of a positive nature; the merit which their supporters claim for them is the prevention of certain evils. The only question of fact, therefore, to be ascertained in this branch of the inquiry was, whether or not these evils existed notwithstanding the laws. The affirmative of this question, and of course the proof, lay upon the advocates of the repeal; but it was not in the nature of things for the supporters of the law to prove the contrary by evidence; their business was to show by argument, if they could, that the evidence brought forward by their adversaries was insufficient. Whether or not the usury laws do produce positive mischief, is also a question, the affirmative of which is maintained by the advocates of the repeal. They may bring forward evidence to prove it; but it is not possible for the supporters of the laws to establish the negative in the same way; they can only deny the truth or the applicability of the testimony produced on the other side. These are the only questions of fact, and as to these, the positive evidence, let it have been selected by whom it would, let it have been sufficient or insufficient, must have been all on one side. All the rest is mere matter of opinion;

and

and we most fully agree with our author, that opinions deserve no weight, unless so far as they are 'founded on facts or reasoning.' (p. 55.) But, so far as the mere authority of opinion goes, we do not think that any body who reads the examinations of Mr. Preston, Mr. Rothschild and Mr. Gurney, can suspect that those who summoned these gentlemen intended to deprive the laws of the support of authority by the undue packing of their witnesses. If the Committee did not know beforehand the opinions of the persons whom they called before them, they are clearly acquitted of the charge; if, on the other hand, they knew that Mr. Rothschild had formed the opinion which he delivered in writing at the close of his examination, and what doubts Mr. Gurney entertained of the propriety of repealing the present laws; if they knew more of the speech that was to be delivered to them by Mr. Preston than that it would be immeasurably long; their conduct in summoning these gentlemen is entitled to the praise of an honest inquiry after truth.

We have made these observations, not because we think they bear materially upon the question in issue; the decision of which does not depend upon the soundness of Mr. Bentham's morality, or upon the good or ill faith of those who selected the evidence laid before the Committee; but because it is an act of justice to clear them both from unjustifiable imputations, and to resist any attempts to prevent their opinions from being impartially examined by the public.

Leaving positive law out of the question, we have said that the circumstance of a loan being negociated at a higher than the market rate of interest does not of itself prove the existence of any moral turpitude in the bargain. The market rate of interest is adjusted to ordinary circumstances; the ordinary security for repayment; the ordinary facility of obtaining such repayment at pleasure; the ordinary certainty of receiving the interest regularly; any variation, therefore, which renders the transaction less advantageous to the lender, entitles him to a compensation, either in the shape of increased interest, or, which is both in fact and in law tantamount, of a premium on the principal. The market rate, however, though not a conclusive, is an indispensable criterion of the existence of moral usury; for it is quite impossible, without knowing this, to say, that the rate of interest in any transaction is higher than a fair dealing man would have taken; the only notion that we can form of a fair dealing man, in any sort of traffic whatever, being, that he is willing to sell his commodity for the same rate of profit that is commonly made, without availing himself of any casual advantage which the ignorance or necessity of the purchaser may give him. Our author, however, will not admit the market rate of interest to be *any* criterion of moral usury; he thinks

thinks that, if we witnessed the negociation of a loan in any country, we could, without any knowledge of the terms upon which such transactions were usually there arranged, determine whether the conduct of the parties was fair or otherwise, merely by observing the earnest but unequal conflict between the evident distress and urgent necessity of the borrower, and the unbending sternness of the lender. Now we affirm that from these circumstances no conclusion could be drawn against the fairness of the demand; all that could be inferred would be, that the borrower was in great distress for money, and had no good security to offer. For, if he had such security to offer as was commonly considered available in the market, it is clear that he need not have troubled himself to press the acceptance of his security upon this particular lender, but might have gone elsewhere with the certainty of having his wants supplied upon more reasonable terms. If, on the other hand, he knew that no other person in the world would furnish him upon easier terms with the accommodation required, what right could he have to complain of the steadiness of this particular lender in refusing to do so? Let us suppose the houses in a particular street to be generally worth £1000, and A. to have a house there notoriously out of repair, though he might be under such a pressing necessity for £1000 as might induce him to struggle a long time before he consented to sell it for £800, he would have no more right to complain of the obduracy of B. in refusing to give him the larger sum for it, than he would have to complain of B.'s refusing to make him a present of £200.

It is not then morally wrong to lend money at the market rate of interest, whatever that may be, upon marketable security; nor to indemnify ourselves for the deficiency of inferior security by taking a proportionably higher rate of interest. If such be the case, why should the legislature restrain the moral liberty of the subject by fixing a particular rate of interest which shall never be exceeded, whatever may be the value of money in the market, or the deficiency of the security offered? The supporters of the usury laws tell us, that such interference is necessary for the protection of the needy and unwary against imposition: and if it could be satisfactorily shown that there is any thing in the nature of money which makes the traffic in it more liable to fraudulent abuses than any other, we should be ready to admit that it was the duty of the legislature, if possible, to guard against such abuses. But we confess that, in our opinion, money transactions are precisely those in which imposition is the least easy. In any other kind of traffic the buyer is liable to be imposed upon by concealed defects of every kind; and if he is not a dealer in the article he purchases, but a mere common consumer, is almost always

always obliged to rely upon the representations of the seller as to the quality of the goods, and the cost of their production, particularly if he is obliged to buy them in a part of the country where such articles are not in common demand. On the contrary, he who deals for a loan of money, bargains for an article of an exactly ascertained quality, and of such easy transmission, that its value in the most distant parts of the same country can scarcely be susceptible of variation; so that any man of ordinary capacity may, upon the shortest notice, inform himself of the current rate of such dealings. The very universality of the demand for money, which is alleged as a proof of the necessity of regulating the price of it by law, is in truth the greatest possible security against imposition, by the general notoriety which it gives to the market price of the commodity. Our author, however, seems to think that there are some classes of borrowers whose absolute necessity for money deprives them, by a sort of fascination as it were, of the protection of their reason, and that the possessors of money are thus enabled to force the use of it on their own terms upon these unfortunate persons.

'There is no peculiar aptitude in bargains made in the hire of houses, to spread ruin and disorder amongst large bodies of the people. The person who wants and treats for them has the unimpeded exercise of his discretion, whatever that may be, and is under no sort of disadvantage relatively to the person with whom he proposes to deal; but the debtor, whose need of money is real and pressing, is the slave of necessity, of which the iron grasp silences all discretion. We hear enough in our early years of the debtor's pillow and the debtor's terrors; and who that has mixed at all with life has failed to observe, that what he was then told falls short of the truth? The expectant heir, dreading a disclosure of his embarrassments which would expose him to the certainty of anger, to the chance of disinheritance; the sinking tradesman, who feels his credit giving way beneath him, and sees the entire loss of his fortune and good name pressing hard and close upon him; the man of sensitive honour, whose difficulties have forced him within sight of a gaol, to him the certain grave of peace and hope; when such men in such circumstances have to meet the money lender, speculating on their difficulties and their prospects,—who doubts the intensity of their agitation, the dread, the despair of heart, the utter helplessness, the natural abjectness of spirit, which make them an easy prey? It was the cruel abuse of such power and such distress that first made usurers and usury odious, and suggested restraining laws to moderate the evil.'—pp. 10, 11.

We are perfectly ready to acknowledge the depth of the debtor's misery; but we deny that such misery would exist in a higher degree, or in more numerous instances than at present, if the traffic in money were rendered perfectly free. A debtor is about to be sent to gaol; why? because he has, either through

through misfortune or imprudence, incurred heavier charges than he has the means of satisfying. Thus far, however, usury has not injured him; but to relieve his present need he wants to borrow money, and if he has a sufficient security to offer for it, he will easily obtain the required loan at the market rate of interest; if his security be doubtful or contingent, he must borrow at a higher rate; but if the fact be that he has really no security at all to offer, he may be dishonest enough to promise mountains of gold to any capitalist who will be weak enough to lend him money on the faith of such promises, but he can have no right to complain if the relief thus obtained procure him only a temporary respite from the gaol, to which his unpaid tradesmen would otherwise have consigned him. In truth, however, these are not the circumstances under which usurious loans will ever take place: nobody will lend money to a man who has no property, except his friends; and as they will relieve him out of pure generosity, they will not stipulate for exorbitant interest. Our author, however, brings forward a fact in relation to this part of the subject; and as, notwithstanding his declared aversion to theory, and love of facts, this is the only one with which he has favoured us, we must pay him the compliment of examining it. It is true, he goes back a good way for it—to the early times of the Roman republic; but the fact is not the worse for being ancient; our only objection to it is that it is inapplicable. The fact to which he refers is that instance of oppression of a debtor by his creditor, which led to the secession to the Mons Sacer, A.U.C. 259. But what was the real cause of this poor Roman's misfortunes, and of the public indignation which attended them? If we turn to Livy, we shall find that his house had been burned, and his farming stock carried off by the Sabines; that at this juncture a tax had been imposed, to pay which he had been obliged to borrow money; that this debt, increased by arrears of interest, *(cumulatum usuris,)* had stripped him of his estate and all his property, which being insufficient to discharge the demand, the law had delivered him over to his creditor to be chained and tormented in satisfaction of the residue. But neither were the usurers answerable for the misery which was really occasioned by the Sabine invasion, nor was the cause of the sedition the want of usury laws, but the existence of a law which admitted of such gross abuse as that of imprisonment for debt in the private custody of the creditor. That this was the case appears still more clearly from the history of the tumult which arose A.U.C. 429, twenty-two years after the legal rate of interest had been reduced from 12 per cent., the amount fixed by the Twelve Tables, A. U. C. 303, to 6 per cent. The popular fury was then excited by a flagitious

attempt of a creditor, L. Papirius, upon the person of a young man, C. Publilius, who had surrendered himself to his custody as surety for his father; and it was appeased, not by altering the rate of interest, but by taking away from the creditors the power of imprisoning their debtors.

Our author's reasoning throughout his book, but more particularly in that part of it which relates to expectant heirs, proceeds upon the perfectly gratuitous supposition, that every contract for a loan, however iniquitous, will be legalized by the repeal of the usury laws; and he delights in alarming his readers with the prospect of usurers established in every part of England, 'cleansed, as far as the legislature can cleanse them, from all mark and stain, secured and authorized by the law to poison the habits of youth by their supplies, while they are speculating on the polluted profits of their ruin.' (p. 132.) But do the usury laws in effect afford protection to the expectant heir at present? It is notorious that the most usurious transaction, according to the moral notion of usury, is capable of being kept quite clear of the letter of the law, under the convenient covering of an annuity, or a post-obit bond. Against such securities, indeed, courts of equity will relieve, where circumstances of fraud appear in the manner of obtaining them, and particularly in the case of expectant heirs, who are considered peculiar objects of equitable protection. But this jurisdiction is perfectly independent of the usury laws, and would still continue to be exercised, if those laws were altogether repealed; the only effect of the repeal would be to take away the conclusive presumption of fraud which the present law establishes wherever the parties to a loan, under circumstances, however peculiar, have exceeded the terms which our ancestors a century and a half ago thought fair and proper under the general circumstances of such transactions. All such legal presumptions of criminality are odious; they are in direct contradiction to the liberal spirit, and to an acknowledged maxim of English law; they ought, therefore, never to be admitted without the most apparent necessity, which cannot be made out to exist in this case. There is no law which regulates the number of years purchase at which estates shall be bought; if therefore an estate be purchased for a small sum of money, that circumstance is not admitted by our courts of equity to be of itself proof of fraud, though, in connection with other circumstances, it is evidence of it, and the courts must collect and sift all the facts of the transaction, before they grant relief against the contract as fraudulent. Yet the superintendence of those courts is relied upon as fully sufficient for the protection of the subject in contracts for the purchase of estates; and if this can be done

in

in the case of land, the value of which depends upon circumstances so various and so difficult to be appreciated, much more safely might it in the case of money loans; because, the value of money is both more equable, and more generally known, than that of estates, and therefore both the amount of any deviation from the current price of it, and the effect which ought to be allowed to such deviation as evidence of imposition, would be more easily ascertained.

There is one class, and we admit that it is a most interesting class, of *lenders*, who, according to our author will be exposed to considerable danger from the dishonesty of those about them, in the event of the repeal of the usury laws. It consists of 'old persons and females possessing small capitals, and living wholly or partially upon the interest of them. These people even now perpetually suffer from their credulity. Nothing is more difficult than to persuade them to turn a deaf ear to restless relatives, or plausible schemers, and keep their money safe. Enable the people who beset them to promise legally heaps of gold, and hardly one of these poor people will escape.'—p. 118.

If such be the credulity of this class it is indeed worthy of great commiseration, but we cannot think that the state is bound to legislate for its protection in such a way as to cramp all other classes of society in the use of their property. Persons of this description, if blessed with the most ordinary share of understanding, must, one should think, suspect, that a man who offers them a *very* unusual return for their capital has some secret consciousness, that it is not in his power to give the usual security for it; and that suspicion should induce them to take the advice of their friends before they assent to the proposed speculation. But if they will, without having recourse to such assistance, withdraw their money from good security, and invest it on the worthless word, or equally worthless note or bond of an adventurer who has no security at all to offer, they must abide the consequences of their rashness; unless indeed the circumstances of the case are such as to admit of relief from those courts whose office it is to protect the unwary from fraud so far as it can be done without interfering with the rights of others.

But there is yet another species of iniquity to which it is supposed a door would be opened by the proposed repeal, not indeed affecting either of the parties to the loan, but enabling them by collusion to injure third persons. Our readers are aware that any person, except members of corporate companies, embarking capital in trade upon condition of sharing in the profits of such trade, is liable to answer for the losses which may be incurred therein, to the extent of all his property; although he may never

have held himself out to the world as a partner. It is apprehended that if the usury laws were repealed, this liability might be evaded by fraudulent agreements between the parties: thus that, which was really a proportion of the profits, might, it is said, be reserved in the shape of interest to a concealed partner, who would in this way keep clear of all risk but that of an ordinary creditor to the amount of his property actually embarked in the trade: while the dealers with the firm would be deprived of the benefit of his responsibility in case of failure. This is another apprehension for which we cannot see much ground; whether the parties were or were not partners would still be a question of fact for a jury at law, or a judge in equity; and either of those tribunals would easily strip the case of the flimsy disguise supposed to be thrown over it. If it appeared, either from the terms of the contract, or by the dealings of the parties with each other, that the amount of the interest reserved was in any degree dependent upon the amount of the profits realized, that would clearly be sufficient evidence of a partnership; and even if the amount of interest should have been fixed by the parties according to a supposed average rate of profits, such interest would be so much above the ordinary rate, that it would of itself excite a suspicion, which very slight circumstances of interference or superintendence would increase into moral certainty, that the pretended lender was in fact a partner with the borrower, or rather that the latter was the mere agent of the former. Such circumstances could never be wanting, where the nature of the transaction was really such as we are contemplating; for it cannot be supposed that any capitalist would, without very minute superintendence, trust his property in the hands of a person worth nothing, to carry on a trade with it, in which he might, by hazardous speculations, gain something for himself beyond the agreed rate of interest, supposed to be the usual rate of mercantile profit, but by which he could lose nothing, having, by the supposition, nothing to lose. On the other hand, no trader who was really a man of substance, and to whom a capitalist might be induced to entrust his property without such rigorous inspection, would borrow upon the terms of paying over the whole or nearly the whole of his profits in the shape of interest to the lender; for in such a case the borrower would feel that he must stand to all losses, ordinary or extraordinary, as far as his own capital, which by the supposition is substantial, would extend; while he could never make any profit at all upon the borrowed capital, except by *extraordinary* gains, the ordinary profits being, by the supposition, absorbed in the interest. Though, therefore, persons of this description would probably, as they might always with the most perfect integrity, and often with the greatest

greatest prudence, give somewhat more than the market rate of interest for money borrowed on their personal security, which the lender might also fairly require from them on account of the imperfect nature of such security; yet they would never allow to the lender such or nearly such a rate as he would derive in the shape of profit, if he were actually embarked as a partner in the trade.

We believe we have now gone through all the cases put in support of the usury laws as a necessary security against fraud. The objection on this ground to their repeal is consistent with an admission of the soundness of the general principle of freedom in the management of property; and if it was supported by sufficient reasons, which we think we have shown it is not, might authorize the exception of money transactions from the rule. The objections which we now proceed to consider are of a different character; they arise from the mode in which it is supposed that the repeal would affect the landed and the trading interests; both which it would, according to the advocates for the usury laws, materially injure. A short answer to such objections would be, that no advantage which results to any class of persons in consequence of a law restraining the free management of property, is a reason for the continuance of such a law; because the advantage must be obtained at the expense of some other class, upon which the restriction operates, and which is equally entitled with the first to the protection of the legislature. We are not, however, obliged to have recourse to this argument, which, though it might silence, would not satisfy those whom the proposed change is deemed likely to affect; we prefer examining their cases, and showing that neither class has reason to apprehend any injurious consequences from the repeal. We will begin with the landed interest. It is stated as a fact by every witness examined to the point before the committee of 1818, even by Mr. Preston himself, that during the period of difficulty which had then lately passed, 'prudent persons seised of estates in fee-simple, with unexceptionable titles, were obliged to raise such money, as their occasions required, by way of annuity on lives, on account of the impossibility of procuring it on mortgage at 5 per cent.' (*Minutes of Evidence*, p. 38.) The reason of their being able to obtain money on annuity when they could not on mortgage, plainly was that the former mode furnished a ready mean of evading the usury laws; for, as the grantee of such an annuity has it in his power by life-insurance to secure to himself the return of his principal at the extinction of the life for which the annuity is granted, whatever he receives beyond the annual sum requisite for such an insurance is interest; and, as the law does not interfere to regulate the price

of life annuities, there is no legal limit to the amount of interest which may be reserved in this way. It might appear therefore, at first sight, that this mode of raising money would not be more disadvantageous to the land-owner than a mortgage at the market rate of interest; for that the amount of the annuity would be compounded only of that market rate and the sum necessary for the insurance of the principal, from the payment of which the grantor is discharged. But in fact, the lender upon annuity both does, and ought to require a higher rate of interest, than that which would be the market rate upon a mortgage; 1st. because he never can enforce payment of his principal; while the borrower always reserves a power of paying it at his pleasure, and consequently will be sure to pay it, if at all, at a time advantageous to himself and disadvantageous to the lender, who must therefore receive a compensation for this disadvantage in the rate of interest; 2dly, because when the grantee insures the life on which the annuity depends, he must calculate on paying something more than the insurance is actually worth, from which excess the profit of the insurer is to arise; and lastly, because it is an unpopular investment; though never declared unlawful, it has been discountenanced by the legislature, and subjected to a variety of nice forms, any departure from which vitiates the security; and thus the traffic having fallen into disrepute, the profits of it, and consequently the burthen of the borrowers, have been increased to the amount necessary to compensate for the risk and ignominy incurred by the lenders. The result of all these circumstances was, that during the period of which we are speaking, persons who, if the law had allowed them, could have easily procured money on mortgage at from 6 to 8 per cent. were obliged to borrow on annuities at 10. Any one would think, that the stating of this was quite sufficient to show, that the landed interest must lose considerably whenever the market rate of interest is above the legal rate. It is said, however, that the general body of land-owners derive an advantage from the law, which more than compensates for the inconveniences sustained by individuals under particular circumstances; because the law, by rendering it difficult to raise money upon landed estates, tends to preserve them in families, and thereby secures our nobility and gentry from the diminution of weight and influence and the alteration of character which the loss of territorial property would occasion. But we deny that that security is the result of the usury laws. The causes, which preserve estates in families, are the aristocratic feelings and principles which fill a man with respect for the memory of his ancestors; and teach him to abstain from any personal indulgence which may, in its effect, impair the dignity of his and their common posterity; when these

these feelings and principles are extinct, no laws to prevent borrowing money at above 5 per cent. will supply their place. If the law could, as we have seen it cannot, prevent a tenant in fee simple from borrowing, it would not prevent him from selling; and the spendthrift as easily finds excuses to himself for selling this and that outlying parcel of his lands till he strips his family of all, as he would, if borrowing was free, for loading them with incumbrance after incumbrance till their whole value was absorbed. Again it is said that a fixed rate of interest gives a steadiness to the value of land, favourable to the stability of the landed interest, because thus the person who, for family purposes, creates a charge upon his estate knows with certainty how much he takes from, and how much he leaves to his heir. Let us, however, inquire how stands the fact as to this supposed steadiness of value? Hear Mr. Preston; he *thinks* indeed that "nothing could be so injurious to the landed interest as to have the rate of interest without a limit; the value of land *would* fluctuate from ten to forty years purchase, and even more."—(*Minutes of Evidence*, p. 43.) But after pronouncing his opinion thus largely, what does he state as a fact?—why that the value of land *has* actually fluctuated within the last fifty years from ten to thirty years purchase; a tolerably extensive range! The fact indeed is too notorious to require Mr. Preston's evidence; and we should not have cited it, but for the sake of demolishing, out of his own mouth, an argument, upon which he mainly relies in his defence of the usury laws as applicable to the landed interest. It is quite obvious, that considering it as a subject for the investment of capital, whenever the interest of money rises, the market value of land must fall. If, when a man could obtain 4 per cent. for his money in the funds, the highest price at which he was willing to buy land was thirty years purchase, by which he invested his capital in it at 3⅓ per cent., he will certainly not give so high a price when his capital, if funded, will yield him 6 per cent. It is impossible, therefore, that land can be kept to a certain value by any law; and if not, then the proportion between it and the charges on it cannot be preserved from fluctuation. Whenever the incumbrancer feels that the rate of interest he could obtain elsewhere, as for instance in the funds, is sufficiently above that which the land-owner pays him, to make it worth his while to change his security, he will insist upon an increase of interest or a discharge of the debt. Under the present law, the land-owner cannot raise the interest above 5 per cent.; therefore, if that be less than the incumbrancer can obtain elsewhere, he must pay him off. He must pay him off by sale of part of his estate; and he must sell that part for so much less

than it would have brought at the time of the creation of the charge, as will counterbalance the rise in the rate of interest since that period. If, when land sold at thirty years purchase, the sale of 200 acres would have discharged the incumbrance, it will require the sale of 300 acres to discharge it when the value of land has sunk to twenty years purchase. Thus far, it is true, it makes no pecuniary difference to the land-owner whether he is obliged to sell 300 acres of land producing any given amount of rent, or whether he pays the same amount of rent away in the shape of interest as soon as he has received it. But he may have the strongest reasons for not wishing to sell the whole or any part of his estate; and if so, we cannot but see how great an object it would be to him to be allowed to bear in the shape of increased interest the same diminution of his annual income, which, if he cannot increase the interest, he must bear by the sale of a portion of his land producing a corresponding amount of rent. Every tenant in fee simple who borrows upon annuity, shows that he considers this object sufficient to induce him to incur all the loss, inconvenience, and, as many consider it, disgrace, attendant upon that mode of raising money. Fluctuation in the value of land then is not prevented by the usury laws, and would not be increased by their repeal; the only effect they at present produce upon that value is a constant depression; by making it less available for the supply of the wants of the owner than investments of any other description, it follows as a matter of course, that the value of land as compared with that of such other investments, must be diminished by the usury laws.

We come now to the trading interest. The friends of the repeal have always considered, that the advantages to be derived from it by this class, were too manifest to be doubted. Forced sales of land are disadvantageous; forced sales of goods, which must often be occasioned by the same cause, are at least equally ruinous; and the acknowledged convenience, not to say necessity, to the mercantile world of discounting bills, has always been insisted on as an unanswerable reason, why no impediment should be thrown in the way of this species of accommodation by limiting it to a particular rate, which is sure to operate most forcibly at the most inconvenient time; then namely, when, from the scarcity of floating capital in the money market, that which is to be found there is in the greatest demand. But our author is a resolute man; he grapples with the case in all its bearings; he first denies that the pressure of the usury laws has ever been felt by the mercantile interest in either of these ways; and then he says that, even if it has been so felt, it was right, proper, and for the benefit of the mercantile interest, that it should have been.

It

It really is idle to adduce a formal proof of the fact, that sales of goods are forced when the market rate of interest is above the legal; the man who is under a necessity of raising money, and who is not allowed to give that interest for it which the possessors of money know they can make by other means, must sell his goods for what he can get; and whoever is obliged so to sell, will feel the force of the transatlantic proverb, 'there is 20 per cent. difference between will you sell? and will you buy?' What shall be the actual amount of his loss must of course depend on the circumstances of the particular time and the particular case; but whatever it may be, the owner of the goods must incur it; it is not in his power to defer the sale. If he had a choice, he might perhaps decide unwisely for his own interest; our author thinks he very often would, and that therefore the choice ought, for his own sake, to be taken from him; that is, that it will be better for him to be tied down to the necessity of a certain loss, than be allowed to exercise his own judgment, and purchase, if he pleases, the possibility of avoiding loss altogether, at such a price as, in his estimation who has the best means of judging, that possibility is worth.

The mode in which the usury laws operate as an impediment to the discount of bills we shall take very shortly from the evidence of Mr. Gurney, an adversary to the repeal. Having stated the difficulty of discounting bills in 1815, which he ascribes, and no doubt truly, to the possibility of making much higher interest elsewhere than the law would allow in the discount market, he is asked; 'Did many mercantile failures take place when the houses had actually good bills in their possession, in consequence of the difficulty of discounting those good bills? *Ans.*—It is a very difficult question to answer fully; but I think not; because, when a person's existence as a commercial man was at stake, no one would allow their own friends and connexions to be ruined, merely to save themselves from a disadvantage in the rate of interest.'—(*Minutes of Evidence*, p. 24.) No argument can, we think, be necessary to show that to be a most improper state of the law, whereby a merchant who has actually in his hands the means of meeting all demands upon him, shall be obliged to throw himself upon the charity of his friends and connexions for the support of his very existence as a commercial man; a support which they can only afford by incurring a loss for which he cannot by law provide any compensation.

Our author, however, thinks that if the usury laws do operate to restrain the facility of obtaining loans on goods and of discounting bills, such operation is beneficial; inasmuch as it prevents 'that over-trading and its consequences to which any excessive

excessive facilities to loans and discounts may be the instrument.' —(p. 95.) In support of this doctrine he alleges some parts of the speeches delivered by Lords Liverpool and Grenville, and Mr. Peel, in the course of the debates on the removal of the Bank restrictions, in which strong disapprobation is expressed of the over-trading to which the facility of discount introduced by those restrictions had given rise. But there is no real analogy between the circumstances of the two cases. The Bank of England, the great fountain of discount during the period of the restrictions, issued the sums advanced by it for that purpose in paper not convertible into specie. Such an issue, as Mr. Peel excellently observed, had 'no counteracting principle within itself.' In those few words lies the whole history of the origin of the mischief which followed. The bank directors had an obvious interest in increasing the quantity of a currency of no intrinsic value, but from the furnishing of which they derived a considerable profit; and as they could not be compelled to exchange that currency for what it professed to represent, its overabundance could never be brought home to their notice, as it otherwise would have been, by an immediate and equivalent demand for bullion. The consequence was, that they loaded the discount market with a supply beyond its natural and effective demand; they lent notes, which cost them nothing, at a rate at which they could not have afforded to lend gold, or notes convertible into it at the pleasure of the holders; and it was this excessive supply which stimulated the country to the over-trading complained of by the great statesmen above named. But no such unnatural supply would be thrown into the market in consequence of the measure we are supporting; no capitalist could, after the repeal, discount bills by the advance of any thing but money, or paper convertible into money; and the only change introduced would be, that the discount market would be as open when the market rate of interest was above 5 per cent. as when it was below. No overtrading is produced by the facility of discount arising from the circumstance of the market rate being below the legal maximum; we have therefore a right to maintain, that none would be produced by providing for the continuance of that facility in case the market rate should rise above it.

Another of our author's objections to making the rate of discount perfectly free, is countenanced by the authority of Mr. Gurney and Mr. Rothschild, the latter of whom thought it of sufficient importance to be embodied in a paper which he delivered to the committee at the close of his examination. It is this: that small manufacturers and traders would either be prevented from obtaining that accommodation by way of discount which they at present

present enjoy, or would be compelled to purchase it at an exorbitant rate; because the number of persons to whom they can apply for it being small, those persons have a monopoly against them, and would impose their own terms upon them. That such small dealers would be obliged to allow a rate of discount on their bills somewhat higher than would be charged on the bills of eminent houses is likely enough, and is a consequence of the first principles of commercial credit. Such bills are really of different values. A bill bearing Mr. Rothschild's name would be cashed in any part of the civilized world by any individual who chose to deal in bills. But when A. B., a small manufacturer in some remote county, draws upon C. D., an obscure tradesman in London; though they may each, in proportion to the extent of their dealings, be as solvent as Mr. Rothschild, yet the number of persons, who know that they are so, is so small, that any one willing to cash their bill, has a right to consider that if he should happen to want money before it becomes due, he has little chance of being able to get it cashed again; and he may therefore fairly require an increased rate of discount to compensate for this disadvantage. But that an unreasonable compensation could be exacted, we by no means believe. Putting the disadvantages of such small traders in the strongest light possible, it is yet quite clear, that they will not allow a greater discount than their profits enable them to afford; if a greater be demanded, they will not discount at all, and no capitalist will insist upon such terms as will destroy his own market, and put an end at once to a connexion in the continuance of which, upon fair terms, he has as great an interest as the person to whom he affords the requisite accommodation; for in this, as in every other branch of trade, the benefits derived from the intercourse must be mutual, or the intercourse will cease. Fraud in this case is out of the question; for the small and large traders have the same means of knowing the general rate of discount.

It has been supposed that the usury laws confer an advantage on the government in its pecuniary transactions, of which it would be unwise to deprive it. It would be impossible to describe with precise accuracy the mode in which the operations of the government in the money market would be affected by the repeal, without a more minute consideration of many complicated circumstances than our limits will allow us to engage in; we may still, however, show, even by a very general view of this branch of our subject, that the supposed advantage is imaginary. As the case stands at present, the government is free from the operation of the law; it can, therefore, give any amount of interest for the money it borrows; and this circumstance is supposed to give it a sort

sort of monopoly whenever the market rate of interest is above the legal rate. But they who reason thus, forget the notorious fact that the usury laws are completely evaded upon the Stock Exchange, the great market in which the government does and must carry on its pecuniary operations. It is, indeed, well for the government that they are so. The great contractor who bids for the loan does not carry millions of money in his pocket to Downing Street; but he undertakes to procure the money, in the confidence that he shall be able to do so by a number of subordinate loans, in the negociation of which he will be practically as free as the government itself. If this were not the case he must deal with the government on harder terms, because he would feel that in his own future operations he might be obliged to have recourse to more disadvantageous means of fulfilling his engagements than borrowing at 6 per cent., or any other rate which he may find necessary; as he now knows he shall have the power of doing. That the usury laws are capable of being evaded in practice in other places as well as on the Stock Exchange, we have already shown; but we will here suppose that they are everywhere else implicitly obeyed, both in the letter and the spirit. If that were so, the government would certainly enjoy a monopoly in the money market, as against the landed and trading bodies, whenever the market rate of interest was above 5 per cent. Those bodies however are not strangers to the government, but component parts of that general body politic which wants to borrow, and of which the government is only the representative and agent. Now it is quite clear that an advantage gained by the body politic over all its members is no advantage at all; because, whatever the body gains the members must lose; and, as all the members make up the whole body, the amount of their losses must equal, and consequently neutralize, the gain of the body. But if the gain of the body be at the expense of some only of the members, such gain is still no benefit to the body at large, which suffers by the pressure thrown on some members, exactly as much as it profits by the relief given to others; it is merely an unfair advantage given to those members who do not contribute to the loss, at the expense of those who do; for by such an arrangement the burthens of the community become unequally distributed, and those who bear the loss which corresponds to the gain of the government, are compelled to support alone a weight which ought to be shared with them by the possessors of other descriptions of property. The government, then, can never enjoy any real advantage in consequence of a monopoly in the money market; the only effect of such a monopoly, if it produce any effect at all, being to shift

part

part of the public burthens from the shoulders of those who can evade the monopoly to the shoulders of those who cannot.

There is still a strong hold left to the supporters of the usury laws: the repeal will be an innovation, say they, and nobody can tell what will be the consequence, till it has been tried. The objection is inapplicable, because the laws may be restored at any time, if their abrogation should be found mischievous. Innovations which give new rights may be dangerous, because it may not be safe or practicable to take away such rights when once given, however urgently the general good may require it: but the removal of these restraints will neither entitle nor empower any man or set of men to resist the restoration of them whenever it shall seem good to the legislature. There is then, as it seems to us, no good reason for maintaining the usury laws. They are neither necessary nor effectual for the prevention of fraud; they are not advantageous to the government; they are positively injurious to all classes of the people, to which their operation extends.

ART. VIII.—*Don Esteban, or Memoirs of a Spaniard,* written by himself. In three volumes, 8vo. London. 1825.

THAT a Spaniard has furnished a part of the materials of this work cannot be doubted; but 'that every thing which the author relates is to be considered as simple matter of fact, with the sole exception of those *names* which he has assigned to the parties figuring in the merely *biographical* part of his story,' is an assertion which no attentive reader will credit. Whatever there is of truth in these volumes has been foisted into a tale, which we are strongly inclined to attribute to some one of our English third-rate Novel writers.

But even in those portions of the book, in which we discover the hand of a native, there is a something inexplicable to the Spanish scholar, who has studied the manners and habits of Spaniards in their own country. The national features are certainly there; but so distorted, so like a portrait attempted by an unskilful painter, half from recollection, half from description, that we confess we are at a loss to conjecture the *whole* truth as to the stock and parentage of this work. In the first place, many of the Spanish words, of which there is an affected display, are mangled in a manner which it seems scarcely possible to attribute to the hand of a native; and blunders perpetually occur, betraying that half knowledge of a language, which is sure to mislead the possessor, whenever he is determined to be exceedingly accurate. The word *Calatayud,* for instance, is spelt *Calataguz,*

as

as if the writer had forgotten the guttural sound of *g* before *i*, and thought himself a perfect Castilian by substituting a *z* for the final *d*. In another place, the inhabitants of Cadiz are called *Caditans;* from which we suspect that the writer failed to catch the sound of the *G* in the true Spanish word *Gaditanos*, which preserves it from the Latin *Gades*.* It is inconceivable how a Spaniard could have supposed that *Pero Botero*, a synonime of *Old Nick*, could be translated literally, *Swearing Peter*, taking *Botero* for *Votero*, and imagining that the word, thus altered, can be derived from *Voto*, an oath. *Botero*, in fact, comes from *Bota*, a skin-bottle, the makers of which, being obliged to use a great quantity of melted pitch, and looking not much whiter than our chimney sweepers, have, unhappily for the honour of the trade, exposed their workshops to be made the emblems of the infernal regions.—The measure of the short verses of seven and of eight syllables is so familiar to the Spanish ear, that the most illiterate natives, and even mere children, never fail to discover a halting line. Yet, in a quotation from the modern poet Cienfuegos, we find the following stanza.

O quanta dulce imagen
Quantas tiernas palabras
Allí diré, que el labio
Quiere decirlas, y calla.

The last verse exceeds the measure by a syllable; and the pronoun *las*, in *decirlas*, which has caused the mischief, is evidently added by a person, who, misguided by his grammar, and unchecked by his ear, has missed the delicate idiom of the poet. The true reading is *Quiere decir, y calla.*† If a Spaniard inserted these verses he must have quitted his country at an early age. No other supposition can, indeed, reconcile the existence in the work of much that must have come from a native, mixed with inaccuracies and mistakes, which no native but a child could have made. There is scarcely a description of manners and customs in the book, which we could not quote in proof of this assertion. The account of the vintage, at the beginning of the work, is, we believe, the only exception; and that attributable perhaps to the circumstance that the author was familiar with it in his boyhood.

One of the sketches nearest to nature is that of a talkative Andalusian muleteer; and yet part of it is so exaggerated, that were it

* It may not be unacceptable to some of our readers to learn, by the way, that the old English appellation *Cales* for *Cadiz* was derived from *Calis*, the name given to that town in the Chronicle of Don Pedro Niño.

† It is curious that, in a Paris edition of Cienfuegos, the same verse is altered into *Quiere decirla, y calla*, which preserves the measure by the absence of the *s*; the two vowels *a* and *y* being in that case pronounced together. We should infer from this circumstance that the Paris editor, though not a good scholar, was a native Spaniard, whose ear was his chief guide.

translated

translated into Spanish, the Andalusians would be inclined to suspect its having come from the hand of some of the English officers, who during the Peninsular war often amused them with their efforts to understand and assume the peculiar humour of the province.—When touching upon church matters, Don Esteban is sure to blunder, in a manner which, without showing complete ignorance, betrays a very imperfect recollection of things, which, had he grown up in Spain, he must have known thoroughly, though a layman. What Spaniard could imagine that an ancient image of the Virgin was washed and scoured to take out the dark colour, which age and the lamps had given it; or that the priest of a country town, removing the pix with the consecrated host from the danger of profanation, on the approach of the French, would have put it into the hands of one of the *Guerrilla* men, who protected the flight? Such a privilege is not allowed even to a clergyman in sub-deacon's orders. The priest, in the case imagined by Don Esteban, evidently for the sake of a picturesque sketch, would have consumed all the consecrated wafers, or carried them in his own bosom.

The account of a *Romeria*,* or annual visit, to some country sanctuary, though prettily told, appears to us to be taken partly from hearsay and partly from imperfect remembrance.

'All along the fertile plain, at the foot of the hermitage, groups of persons were seen lying on the ground, with their *fiambre* (cold meat) and *botas* (borrachios) of wine before them, singing, laughing, and playing all kinds of tricks, all ranks, ages and sexes huddled together, with a cordiality characteristic only of the Spanish nation. There might be seen persons of the true-blue blood, slighting all etiquette, and offering part of their provisions to the plebeian, who, sensible of the honour, sat himself down to eat with them, and treated them with a joke or some witty story of his own invention; while the handicraftsman politely offered his *bota* to the *hidalgo*, both rendering common what each had brought for his family and friends.'

All this is well enough, though there is some exaggeration as to the primitive familiarity with which the picture is coloured. As for the church festivals, the gigantic dancing figures, and the procession which he describes in another part, we think he has borrowed the materials from books already in the hands of the

* *Romeria* is derived, we believe, from *Romero*, a pilgrim bound to Rome. As by means of the system of indulgences the merit and spiritual benefits of visiting Rome in person, were often conferred by the pope on such as performed certain devotions before some image or shrine which the monks wished to bring into notice, the short jaunt to a convent or hermitage was probably dignified at an early period with the name of a journey to Rome; or, what is more likely, pilgrimages in Spain took the name of those devotional journeys which were most frequent. It should be also remembered that pilgrims to the Holy Land, generally, if not universally, took Rome in their way.

public.

public. It would indeed be no difficult matter to trace Don Esteban, in this as in many other places, to the stores from which he has taken detached pieces for his patchwork, or to detect the mistakes he has made in the act of appropriation; such as the attributing the elegant language of the fan, to the *Manolas* of Madrid—the coarsest, lowest, and most disgusting of the Spanish females:—and the transferring to the *Prado* of Madrid, all the peculiarities of the *Alameda* of Seville.

If we are to believe Don Esteban's account of the noisy and in general grossly offensive meetings of the *Romerias*, which he transforms into a kind of Arcadian festival, extemporaneous poems flow from the lips of half the company. 'The Spaniards, we are gravely told, 'possess great readiness for poetry, and their talent for improvisation (which is quite equal to that of the Italians) is a source of much entertainment at these parties.' This is the mere exaggeration of national partiality. The number of these extempore poets was at all times very limited, and their performances generally of a nature to excite mirth at their own expense. The custom itself of improvisation has been ridiculed and exploded in Spain, as any one who has read the *History of Father Gerund* will readily believe. But to state that 'these natural versifiers compose, with the rapidity of thought, *octavas* and *decimas*, often all constructed on the same rhyme, and keep up poetical disputes, which might puzzle the most fertile and ingenious,' is pure unmeaning jargon, as groundless as the assertion that the Spaniards are not inferior to the Italians in readiness for poetical composition. The only mode of accounting for such outrageous mistatements is to suppose the union of an undue portion of national vanity with an utter ignorance of the peculiar difficulties which the Spanish language opposes to ready versification, and of the advantages possessed by the Italian.

It is far from being our wish to deter an industrious foreigner from attempting to obtain naturalization in our literature. The Spaniard who has written a part of Don Esteban does not appear deficient in talent, though his taste is still unrefined, and he wants the leading hand of acquired knowledge. We conceive that, by a longer residence in this country, a better acquaintance with our eminent writers, and the assistance of a higher description of literary advisers, than the whole conduct of his present work betrays, he may be able to rise above the busy and contemptible class of book-makers and every day novelists. But, before he can realize this hope, he must cure himself of the national defect, which of itself was sufficient to have spoiled the work before us: we mean that spirit of rhodomontade, that absolute inability to draw any object in its natural dimensions, to which the Spaniards

Spaniards seem to be more subject in these their days of national wretchedness than even at the period of their dazzling and transient glory. This is the last resource of humbled pride, which, constantly forced to avoid reality, takes up its abode in the fancy, swelling and distorting its images for the sake of a vain gratification. It is a morbid symptom peculiar, we believe, to all retrograde nations, but most remarkably exhibited in the Spaniards.

If we observe the national tone of feeling when it begins to appear under a growing and settling form, in the Spanish literature of the fifteenth century, we shall find it perfectly free from exaggeration, and quite in accordance with the sedate and dignified manner which Europe has, even to our own days, attributed to the Castilians. Juan de Mina, then chief poet, and the Chroniclers, their best prose writers of that period, though certainly deficient in genius, show talent, information, and that kind of taste which rejects and curtails more from timidity than refinement. To judge by them of the prevalent mental habits of the nation, (and no guides can be safer than books which have both led and reflected the public mind) the Spaniards of the fifteenth century, far from indulging imagination, seem to have laboured under a certain awkwardness and false modesty, having their powers more curbed and cramped by fear of what might be wrong and unseemly, than urged into free action by the hope and anticipation of any thing becoming and graceful. We are indeed inclined to believe, that as this was the period when the Castilian monarchy began to be better known in Europe, it was also the original from which the common notion of Spanish formality and reserve was derived.

During the rapid accession of power which, from the conclusion of the fifteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, gave Spain her unnatural preponderance under Ferdinand V. and Charles his grandson, and till the unsteady foundations of that power gave way, almost at once, in the reign of Philip III., the Castilian literature exhibits a modification of the national feelings, exactly answering to the political circumstances of Spain. The shyness of misconceived propriety and decorum, the awkwardness of deep seated pride, afraid of ridicule, appear relieved by the assurance arising from national weight and importance; and the Spaniards of that time seem to feel that they may venture to be natural. Yet, if we except Cervantes, who was led by the unhesitating confidence of real genius, the Spanish writers seldom attempted to be original; as if the concentrated and cautious pride of the national character did not allow them to risk any thing that might expose their dignity, and determined them always to act by rule and precedent. The taste for elaborate

thoughts and far-fetched metaphors, which the nation had inherited from the Arabs, enabled, it is true, Lope de Vega and Góngora, to establish a school of metaphysical bombast. But that vicious style was nearly confined to poetry, and successfully opposed, for a time, with the weapons of ridicule; a proof that the mass of the people still preserved habits of mind averse to inflated exaggeration. Had the colossal dimensions of the Spanish monarchy under Charles V. been endued with a strength proportionate to their magnitude, the tone of feeling which we observe in the extraordinary characters of Spanish history at that period would have become fixed in the nation. Settled pride would have been the root of their evil, and love of what is great and honourable the spring of their good qualities. But their lofty spirits could not brook disappointment. The downfall and humiliation of their monarchy produced a kind of national delusion, which showed itself in the most outrageous bragging and misrepresentation after defeat, and the most barbarous ferocity when they mastered their enemies.

It was in the reign of Philip IV., when Spain lay like the mangled corpse of a giant, her best limbs severed by revolt, and her best blood spent in the obstinate contests which ended in her ruin, that the spirit of hollow boasting seized her in full possession. To present the reader with specimens of that spirit from the contemporary writers would take us much farther from our subject than we think it right to wander. But that, in 1641, it had already become as truly national and popular as it is at this day, will be evident to those who can read the Spanish novel of Luis Velez de Guevara, *El Diablo Cojuelo*, which Le Sage enlarged and altered into his *Diable Boiteux*. The lively Frenchman omitted a passage extremely characteristic of Spanish boasting, which, in his model, is connected with the quarrel between a tragic and a comic poet.* We allude to a meeting of Don Cleophas and his guide with a Frenchman, an Englishman, an Italian, and a German, the representatives of the nations which had humbled the pride of Spain, and helped her subjects in Holland to shake off her iron yoke. It is neither possible nor desirable to give a literal translation of the passages, but we will render it as closely as idiom and delicacy will allow.

"What news of the war, Signor Castilian?" inquired the Italian.—"All is war at present," answered Don Cleophas.—"Against whom?" interrupted the Frenchman.—"Against the whole world (replied our hero), that all the world may lie at the feet of the Spanish monarch."—"Faith, (rejoined the Frenchman) before the Spanish monarch"...The

* *Le Diable Boiteux*, c. xiv., compared with *El Diablo Cojuelo, Tranco V.*

Devil

Devil did not allow the *Gavache** to finish the sentence; but, checking Don Cleophas, As your travelling tutor (he said) it is my duty to stop these drunkards' mouths. My life upon it! I too am a Spaniard; and can teach them from history that the kings of Castile have the power to drive us Devils out of human bodies; which is a nobler kind of doctoring than that of touching for the evil. The foreigners, observing the silence of the Spaniards, began a malicious titter; but the Devil, holding himself up in his chair, dressed as he was in the Spanish costume, said: "Good gentlemen, my friend was going to answer you; but as I am the eldest, I must consider that as my own concern: be, therefore, good enough to listen. The king of Spain is like a thorough-bred hound, assailed by every base cur in a neighbourhood, as he walks alone down the street. The canine mob, mistaking his indifference for fear, grow bolder and bolder, till, at the turning of a corner, some one ventures to snap at his tail. The generous dog here turns suddenly upon his assailants, paws them down to right and left, and, in a moment, clears the street so effectually that all barking is hushed, his enemies biting the stones for very spite. The same happens to our monarch with his enemies, who are mere curs by the side of his Catholic Majesty. Let them beware of touching his tail, for he will serve them in such a way that they will be at a loss where to hide their heads."'

Supremely ludicrous as this passage must appear to every one acquainted with the helpless state of Spain at the time it was published, the feeling which dictated it has been ever since not only alive, but universally prevalent among the Spaniards. Conscious of their own powers, endowed generally with vivid and powerful imaginations, and, from the highest to the lowest, familiar at all periods of life with fragments of their ancient history magnified by romance and tradition; no people on earth were ever more reluctant to acknowledge their national insignificance. In the absolute ignorance of the rest of the world, which prevailed among them till they saw their country in the hands of invaders, the very proofs of higher refinement and civilization, which used to find their way to the interior of Spain, in the products of foreign industry, made them regard the makers as destined by nature to be their handicraftsmen. They were convinced that the power and wealth of the world had centered in Spain and her colonies. A dull and patient sense of the inability and indolence of their despotic government afforded them an easy and satisfactory explanation of their decay and degradation, without the least feeling of personal shame. Every individual preserved an exalted idea of himself as a Spaniard, and raised his abstract conception of Spain far above the rank which the Chinese give to their celestial empire. No untoward event could bring him down from this aerial height. The

* An insulting appellation commonly given to Frenchmen in Spain.

Spanish soldier felt as proud, when, at the first discharge of musketry, he ran away from his ranks, as the English platoons at Waterloo on seeing the French cavalry waver and fall back from their fire. Not a man, in the most numerous Spanish army, felt abashed after an uncontested defeat: and few, indeed, in the whole country, suspected their own honour to be concerned in the loss of the most decisive battle. The general threw the blame on the government, the officers on the general, the soldiers on the officers; and the people on government, generals, officers and soldiers; always saving the character and high rank of the Spanish nation. Never were the metaphysics of vanity, the abstracting powers of pride, carried to such lengths as in Spain.

It is this national faculty of flying off from reality to imagination, of forgetting what they are, and glorying in what they have been and ought to be, that makes the Spaniards such a peculiar people. To it is Europe indebted for the resistance which, against every chance of success, they opposed to the ambition of Napoleon; but from it also arises the absurd policy by which they have lost the reward due to their sacrifices, and brought utter ruin upon themselves. For both argument and experience are powerless against that incurable pride, or, to describe it less harshly, that fine and lofty spirit, which has been depraved into a helpless and sullen obstinacy, by a long, long want of proper employment on the fit and natural objects of its aspirations. Spain might have retained the whole of her colonies, if not under her yoke, most certainly in her interest, if she had graciously yielded but a very small part of the claims, no part of which had she the power to withhold from them. But, even at this moment, when she scarcely retains a foot of ground in those countries, every genuine Spaniard feels in himself a natural and inherent right of dominion over the whole land between Mexico and Cape Horn. The enjoyment of this fanciful sovereignty is dearer to him than all the real advantages which a seasonable recognition might have procured for his country. Spain might have been at this moment in the actual possession of a political charter, under the guarantee of Great Britain and France, giving her more real freedom than the freest of her ancient kingdoms ever thought of.* But a constitution was proclaimed, which its authors

* The kind of liberty enjoyed by the people of Arragon may be inferred from the fact that, in 1360, the Cortes of Zaragoza obliged the king to surrender some inhabitants of Auzanego, a village of the mountains of Jaca, whom he had taken under his protection on their complaining of ill treatment from a nobleman of the lowest rank. The Cortes declared, on this occasion, that it was the undoubted privilege of the Arragonese noblemen to treat their vasals as they pleased, and even to starve them to death: and that the interference of the crown was a breach of the constitution.—*Zurita, Anales de Aragon*, lib. x. c. 28.

and

and abettors, in the national spirit we have described, regard as infinitely superior to all the schemes of government ever devised by man. To have altered a single article would have been to lose at once the mental raptures with which they contemplated its super-eminent perfection. Rather, therefore, than bear this imaginary loss, they prepared themselves to leave their country entirely in the grasp of a despotism, which they had goaded into madness. They revelled for one day in the insults which the Cortes poured on the crowned heads, who had proposed the change; felt transported at the felicity of the poignant periods they had so undauntedly fired against the Holy Alliance, and carried the glory of this triumph to the lands of their exile, as more than an equivalent for their own and their country's misfortunes. There is too much real misery, we will add too much real nobleness in this infatuation, this intoxicating, yet disinterested vanity, to allow a smile or a sneer from any man of true feeling. But it must produce utter despondency in all who take an interest in the fate of a generous nation, thus doomed to perish by the obstinacy of her children. No change, no internal reaction can, for the present, improve her condition. The obstinate pride of the Spanish people, arrayed into two parties, each determined to sacrifice every real advantage to its ideal dignity, precludes all chance of accommodation. Spain must be governed exclusively and absolutely, either by the *Apostolic Junta*, or by a lodge of *Comuneros:* neither will yield a tittle of their pretensions, or admit the possibility of their being in the slightest error. The moderate men are equally in danger from both; Ferdinand himself is threatened with conspiracies for being too *liberal;* and the only sensible statesmen who appeared at the helm during the late change, and have sacrificed their all to political consistency, are daily abused by their fellow-sufferers in exile, as traitors, *serviles*, and bigots; because they will not yet confess that, if that most perfect constitution of Cadiz failed to raise Spain above all past, present, and future nations, it was because the way was not prepared for it by putting every Spanish priest and nobleman to death, according to the truly orthodox doctrine of the good old Jacobins.

We have wandered far, in our affection for the Spanish name and nation, to excuse Don Esteban's want of accurate vision, by the unconquerable propensity of all his countrymen to see things, not as they are, but as they most flatter their vanity. But we are indeed at a loss to explain how his English partner in this work could expect that the most thoughtless watering-place reader in England would take the novel which he has provided as a kind of back-ground to the detached figures of his Spanish pupil, for

part and parcel of a matter-of-fact history. Of the consistency and probability of this connecting narrative some idea may be formed from the following outline.

At the general rising of Spain against Napoleon, Don Esteban, a lad of sixteen, took a commission in the *Guerrilla* service. At that age he is supposed to have attached himself to a lady still younger. This baby-house love is declared in a cave by the contrivance of the boys and girls of the family, affording the writer an opportunity to display his very best style.

'And may I hope' (says the Arcadian stripling) 'for nothing more than gratitude, dearest Isabella—may not the tenderest, the sincerest love hope for something more?—She made no reply, but she did not withdraw the hand I had taken, while her lovely face and neck were covered with blushes. A look, one look of those soft dark eyes left me nothing to wish for—the ecstasy of that moment was almost more than I could bear. I threw myself at her feet, imprinted a thousand kisses on her hand, and was half delirious with joy.'

This is nothing to the 'intoxication' of the lover when, issuing from the cave, he and his Isabella join the other members of the nursery, who agree each 'to contribute a song to the general entertainment.'

'When Isabella's turn came, she made no difficulty, though she blushed, and her voice at first was not so steady as usual. As she sang, I know not which of the two enjoyed most that intoxicating pleasure produced by music and poetry—she in feeling and expressing the passion with images full of tenderness and beauty, assisted by all the enrapturing powers of melody; or I in catching those images, those sweet sounds, and more than all, those magic looks which hovered about my very soul.'

Excellent! and still better for a philosophical analysis of such 'passionate fits of admiration:' in which we are informed that it is necessary to fall into one of them to understand 'whence arises the pride one feels at being the chosen object of the woman who excites it. All is accounted for then. It is not a human creature who plays on our heart-strings, it is a being superior to ourselves, who condescends to charm us.' Poor Don Esteban! we lament his choice—not of his Isabelita;—but of his English master in fine writing. Let us, however, proceed with the story. The love, which occasioned the above romantic scene, had originated in young Esteban's saving Isabella, and her uncle the Marquis of Moncayo, from four desperate assassins, whom Don Facundo, a brother of the Marquis, had sent to procure him the Moncayo estates, by the simple process of cutting the Marquis's throat. There existed, besides, a previous tie of friendship between the Marquis of Moncayo and Don Esteban's reputed father.

Reputed

Reputed we say: for it subsequently appears that he was a foundling discovered in a lonely house ready to be carried away in his cradle by the waters of the river Pisuerga, which had risen '*more than a hundred feet*'! The marquis, as this true and faithful narrative 'of simple matters of fact' relates, having been left for dead in an action between the Spaniards and the French republicans, was fortunate enough to be picked up, and to recover in a French hospital; but could find no earthly means of informing his friends of his safety. He would have conveyed the news himself, if in his passage from Marseilles to Barcelona a corsair had not conveyed him to Algiers. There he lingered ten years in captivity. As might have been expected, the man who in France could not find the means of communicating with Spain, was not likely to procure them at an Algerine post-office; and when, at the end of his ten years' bondage, he returned to his own house, it was quite natural that not a soul should know him, except his wicked brother, who persecuted him for an impostor. In these provoking circumstances Don Esteban's reputed father, who was an eminent lawyer, succeeded in proving the identity of the marquis. Nothing could, therefore, be more natural, than that the Lord of Moncayo should give his niece to young Esteban. But here the invasion of Spain by Napoleon comes to disperse the happy knot of friends. Don Esteban 'sets off a colonelling,' and, as he was to favour us with a general view of Spain, he moves with the rapidity of a courier; becomes every thing, meets every body; is tortured in the Inquisition;* accompanies the Queen of Spain to surprize her husband in a tête-à-tête with an apothecary's daughter; conveys away the distressed princess in a dying state; and shocks us with the cruelty and wickedness of her husband, who permitted the surgeons to perform the cæsarean operation upon her, *only five hours* after her death.† The marquis, Isabella, and all the actors re-appear at proper intervals; but none under circumstances of such interest as his supposed brother Raymundo. This forms so curious an episode, that we must relate it, though hastening to a conclusion.

Don Esteban, in the course of his military achievements, takes a ramble on the site of the ancient Numantia, where, more fortu-

* Nothing can exceed the absurdity of the account which Don Esteban gives of the Spanish Inquisition: we confess we are greatly puzzled to conjecture how a picture so perfectly inconsistent with facts well known to every Spaniard, and so unlike the authentic descriptions of that horrible establishment, which are now generally read, could proceed either from Don Esteban or his English Associate.

† Don Esteban adds, that 'the Camarera Mayor, who was then present, affirmed, that, while it (the operation) was performing, she saw her (the queen) shudder.'—vol. iii. p. 197. One feels almost inclined to excuse the severity shown by the King of Spain to a party that can invent such atrocious libels, which, if any one could believe them, would only redound upon the nation. What! the king and his physicians combined to murder a woman with child! Is every human feeling extinguished in Spain?

nate than the antiquaries of Spain, who have searched in vain for remnants of that renowned city, 'he reposed among its mouldered and solitary ruins.' There he meets with one Ramirez, a shy, melancholy, tragic personage, who favours him with the history of his misfortunes. He lived at Villacastin, happy in the company of his wife and his daughter, the beautiful Dorotea, till the French general Dunier took possession of the town, and longed, besides, to obtain that of the young lady. Every thing seems to have combined in favour of his designs; for the young beauty had a brother in the *guerrillas*, whom Dunier's soldiers happened to take prisoner just when he was wanted for the accomplishment of their commander's desires. All the 'matter-of-fact' circumstances of Don Esteban's story are very surprizing, as the reader must be aware already, and therefore he will not start to hear that Raymundo was also Dorotea's lover, and stood ready to be taken prisoner on the same occasion. Ramirez would have tried to implore Dunier's mercy on the prisoners, but being confined to his bed by sickness, Dorotea, innocent girl! took this dangerous errand on herself. Dunier, of course, like another Kirk, proposed the release of her brother on certain conditions, which were rejected with proper indignation. Upon this, he had recourse to a most dramatic expedient, and falling at her feet, asked forgiveness of the past insult, proposing to be her husband, *instanter*. This, however, could not well be, the lady protesting that she was engaged to Don Raymundo de Lara. Oh! says Dunier, the insurgent who was taken in the act of being married in a country church! *Parbleu!* I have his bride in my own house, and you shall see her this moment. He then goes out of the room, returns in a few minutes, and, apologizing for not bringing *Madame Lara*, who happens to be 'saying her prayers,' invites Dorotea to 'see her through a glass door.' Thus saying, 'he drew aside a little curtain and showed her a woman who was kneeling, her hands raised to heaven, and muttering Raymundo's name with the word husband.' It being impossible to resist this evidence, Dorotea, not without a previous fit of hysterics, agrees to be married on the spot, to Dunier. Luckily, a priest had been made prisoner with the two officers; and was at hand, with his robes, to perform the ceremony, in the presence of several French officers, whom the general brought in, to add splendour to the nuptials. He appears to have been very precise on points of etiquette, for the nuptial benediction being over, and night far advanced during the preliminaries, the 'innocent victim' was led 'to the fatal bed' by two canteen keepers to the regiment. In the morning, the bridegroom, rather averse to the incumbrance of a wife for the rest of the campaign

paign, took her home to her father's, showing her by the way, her brother, her lover, and the officiating priest, hanging by the neck, in a cluster. Our readers may imagine the claspings and writhings of hands, the sobs, the tears which must be allotted to the description of such a scene; and allow us to hasten to the *denouement*. Dorotea and her mother die: the father sallies forth to avenge his wrongs, and has the satisfaction, soon after this narrative, but of course not without Don Esteban's assistance, of dipping his sword in the heart-blood of Dunier. To crown the wonders of this *real* story, Raymundo, whom we left on the gallows of Villacastin, joins our hero soon after in perfect health. His brave soldiers, it seems, suspecting his fate, had entered Villacastin, put Dunier's corps to flight, and returning victorious, cut down their captain, whom they restored to animation by a process exclusively known to the scientific Spanish *guerrillas!*

But who, after all, is this Don Esteban? Can our readers be so unacquainted with *real histories* of this kind, as to suspect him of being a vulgar foundling! Have they not guessed that he is the unknown child of the Marquis of Moncayo! Such he is declared by his barbarous uncle, Don Facundo, on his death-bed; an appalling scene, which prepares that of the happy nuptials of Don Esteban with his cousin Isabella, a dispensation from the Pope in due form having been obtained.

We will not conclude without earnestly recommending the Spaniard, whoever he may be, who has laid the groundwork of Don Esteban, to procure better advice and assistance when he next ventures on composition. Unpleasant as our observations must be to him, they have not been written with half the severity with which literary deceptions of this kind should be visited. Disguise and fiction are certainly allowable, when convenient to an author in order to instruct or amuse his readers. But such assurances of reality as are prefixed to this book, make the deception practised not only an offence in literature, but in morals. The glaring improbability of the story may indeed operate as a warning to the least suspicious reader, not to take too literally the promise of giving him only facts. But a stranger has no means of detecting falsehoods in the description of scenery or manners; and Don Esteban has taken at least as much liberty in this, as in the narrative part of his work.

ART. IX.—1. *The Progress of Opinion on the Subject of Contagion.* By William Macmichael, M.D. 1825.

2. *Report from the Select Committee on the Doctrine of Contagion in the Plague.* 1819.

3. *Second Report from the Select Committee appointed to consider of the Means of Improving and Maintaining the foreign Trade of the Country, Quarantine.* 1824.

DE FOE thought the events of the plague in London, in 1665, so full of fearful interest, that he wove them into a fictitious narrative, which does not however exceed in the distressing nature of its details the representations handed down to us by eye-witnesses. Dr. Hodges, who remained on the spot when Sydenham fled, and who, by appointment of the government, visited the sick from morning to night for many months, was clearly not a man of strong intellect, but he has left us an account of what he saw and heard, which, although rhetorical and affected in style, it is impossible to read without shuddering, and which we will not extract, because we might be accused of desiring to interest the feelings of our readers in the opening of a most important inquiry, when it is and ought to be our intention only to appeal to their judgments. This scourge of the human race has been believed, by the most judicious physicians who have witnessed its ravages, to be communicated from person to person, that is, to be contagious. Quarantine laws were therefore instituted. '*Before* this,' as Lord Holland has remarked, 'the plague frequently devastated every country in Europe; but *since* then its returns have been comparatively rare.' Before the year 1665, Sydenham remarked that the plague visited this country *only* once in forty or fifty years; since that calamitous year this happy land has known nothing of its ravages; and so many generations have lived and died in security, that the clause in the Litany which implores preservation 'from plague and pestilence,' has lost perhaps some of that intense earnestness with which it must once have pressed on the hearts of the congregation in prayer. In this blessed, yet dangerous ignorance of the public mind, certain persons have started up, who affirm that the wisest of their forefathers, and the most experienced of their contemporaries, have been, and are, all wrong upon the subject—that the plague is not contagious—that quarantine laws ought to be abolished; and the public, and even our legislators, seem inclined to believe them. In these critical circumstances it is a duty, which some one ought to perform, to give a true and faithful account of this momentous matter—to state the reasons which have satisfied the most competent judges that the plague is contagious—to expose the ignorance

ignorance of those who are attempting to mislead the public, and the indiscretion of those who are inclined to believe them.

Some diseases become prevalent because their causes are so diffused as to affect many persons in the same place at the same time; other diseases become prevalent because the bodies of the sick give out a noxious material, which excites them in the bodies of the healthy. The former are called epidemics, the latter contagious diseases. The causes of epidemic diseases may be either deficient food, as in a general scarcity; or heat, or cold, or great vicissitudes from one to the other; or noxious states of the atmosphere, which are not perceptible by our senses, thermometers, or barometers. Some of these are understood, as marsh exhalations; others are involved in great obscurity. The human constitution is a delicate instrument, and can perceive qualities which our philosophical instruments and chemical tests do not enable us to detect.

The noxious matters produced by the bodies of the sick, which propagate contagious diseases from person to person, may be either something visible and substantial, as that formed in the pustules of small-pox, or the vesicles of the cow-pock; or something invisible, the existence of which is known only by its effects, as in the measles, the scarlet-fever, the hooping-cough.

The only way in which we can distinguish those diseases which are prevalent from an extensive cause acting at the same time on a number of people, from those diseases which are prevalent because they are communicated from person to person, is by certain circumstances in the mode of their diffusion. Now the circumstances by which we know that a disease is propagated by contagion, are these; 1st, that those persons are most liable to the disease who approach those affected with it, and that in proportion to the nearness of the approach; 2dly, that those who avoid intercourse with persons affected with the disease, generally or always escape it, and that in proportion to the care with which they avoid them; 3dly, that the disease is communicable from one to another by inoculation. If all these circumstances can be ascertained in the diffusion of a disease, and each with clearness and distinctness, we have all the evidence, which we can have, for believing that the disease is propagated by contagion. The proof is as complete as the nature of the subject admits. But the evidence for the belief that a disease is propagated by contagion, varies very much in degree in different cases; it may amount only to that which creates a strong suspicion—or it may amount to that which creates an absolute certainty. The most decisive single proof that a disease is contagious, is inoculation. Yet there are several diseases the contagiousness

tagiousness of which is undoubted, notwithstanding the absence of this proof; as, for instance, the scarlet-fever and hooping-cough.

But there are occasions when it is necessary to act on the supposition that a disease is contagious, though the evidence for this opinion is far short of proof. The question is sometimes so difficult—life and health are so precious—and the precautions necessary to prevent the communication of the disease, if it should be contagious, comparatively such trifling evils; that a prudent physician will take care to be on the safe side, and use measures as if he was certain it was contagious, although to an indifferent person, weighing the evidence in the scales of mere speculation, it would appear only a bare possibility;—and here is the difference between a science, which makes its experiments on retorts and receivers, things of clay and glass, and a science, the subjects of which are flesh and blood, and health and life; that whereas in the former, the onus probandi lies on him who affirms the proposition, because the disbelief of it leads to no injurious consequence; in the latter, the onus probandi sometimes lies with him who denies it, because the disbelief would occasion the neglect of measures, which are harmless even if they be unnecessary, but the neglect of which may be fatal if they be essential.

Five-and-twenty years ago Dr. Wells published his belief that erysipelas was sometimes contagious. The following is one of several facts which led him to this opinion:—An elderly man died of erysipelas of the face. His nephew, who visited him during his illness, was soon afterwards attacked by, and died of, the same disease. The wife of the old man was seized with the same disease a few days after his death, and died in about a week. The landlady of the same house was next affected with it and then her nurse, who was sent to the workhouse, where she died. Dr. Wells mentioned his suspicion to several medical friends, among whom were Dr. Pitcairn and Dr. Baillie, and they related to him several circumstances which had led them to a similar opinion.

Lying-in women are subject to a disease called puerperal fever. In general it is of unfrequent occurrence, and out of large numbers scarcely one suffers from it. There are times, however, when this disease rages like an epidemic, and is very fatal. At these times circumstances sometimes occur which create a strong suspicion that the disorder may be communicated by a medical attendant or nurse from one lying-in woman to another. We give the following, out of many authentic instances:—A surgeon practising midwifery in a populous town, opened the body of a woman who died of puerperal fever, and thereby contracted an offensive smell in his clothes: nevertheless, surgeon-like, he continued to wear them

them, and to visit and deliver his patients in them. The first woman whom he attended after the dissection, was seized with, and died of, the same disease—the same happened to the second and the third. At length he was struck with the suspicion that puerperal fever might be contagious, and that he was carrying it from patient to patient in his offensive clothes;—he burnt them, and not another of his patients was affected.

These are incidents calculated to produce a deep impression on the minds of those who witness them, and to create a strong suspicion that these diseases are, under certain circumstances, contagious. Yet if such evidence as this be contrasted with incidents of an opposite kind, in which free communication has produced no such consequences, and be mixed up with the ordinary history of the diseases, the whole statement would produce little effect no indifferent persons—on cold judges like a committee of the House of Commons.

Few persons believe that consumption of the lungs is contagious; it is a question which requires for its solution long and well-used experience. A physician in early, and even in middle life, is an inadequate judge; but there are English physicians of the greatest experience, the highest eminence, and the least fanciful minds, who are convinced that this disease is sometimes communicated from a wife to a husband, or from a husband to a wife, during the long and close attendance which its lingering nature and strong affection sometimes occasion. It is an opinion, however, which he who entertains can never demonstrate to be true to him who rejects it; yet is it a reason for every precaution which does not interfere with the duties of the healthy to the sick.

In medicine, and all but the demonstrative sciences, there is often light enough to guide our conduct, when there is not enough to gratify our curiosity; and therefore it is that practical men are often compelled to act on evidence, which would sound unsatisfactory in the statement. There is no paradox in saying, that he who can give a striking reason for every measure which he adopts, is, for that very reason, a bad medical adviser; because he must neglect many which are necessary and useful, but the reasons for which at the outset are extremely obscure. We cannot give a stronger instance of the difference between the evidence which is required to satisfy incompetent judges, and that on which physicians are often obliged to act, than that which is detailed in Dr. P. M. Latham's excellent 'Account of the Disease lately prevalent at the General Penitentiary.'

Having thus considered the signs by which we distinguish a contagious disease—the different degrees of clearness with which these signs show themselves—and the necessity there often is to

act

act on the supposition that a disease is contagious, although the evidence for it is far short of demonstration—we may now go on to consider whether these signs are discoverable in the history of the plague in a sufficient degree to make it proper for us to act with respect to it on that supposition. Now whoever will carefully examine the accounts of the plague transmitted to us by those who have witnessed its ravages, will find ample evidence of the following truths:—1st. That it is most liable to affect those persons who approach patients affected with it, and that in proportion to the nearness of the approach: 2dly, that those who avoid all intercourse with persons affected with the plague, generally escape the disease, and that in proportion to the care with which they avoid it. There are few facts indeed in medical history for which there is such a mass of evidence as these; or on which the experience of past and present times is so uniform. The most remarkable examples are afforded by the introduction of the plague into countries which had long been free from it, in consequence of intercourse with places in which it was then raging. The clearness with which this intercourse has been often traced is truly wonderful, considering the many temptations which travellers or mariners coming from countries infected with the plague have to clandestine intercourse. Of such histories there are so many on record, that the difficulty is which to select: we will begin with the plague at Marseilles, in 1720.

For *seventy years* the plague had never visited this maritime city, when, on the 25th May, 1720, a vessel sailed into the harbour, under the following circumstances: She had left Seyde, in Syria, on the 31st of January, with a clean bill of health, but the plague had broken out a few days after her departure, and she had called at Tripoli, not far from Seyde, where she took in some Turkish passengers. During the passage, one of the Turks died, after an illness of a few days. Two sailors attempted to heave the corpse overboard, but before they had time to do so, the captain called them away, and ordered it to be done by the comrades of the deceased. In the course of a few days the two sailors who had touched the corpse fell sick, and speedily died. Soon after this, two others of the crew, one the surgeon of the vessel, who of course had attended the sick, were attacked with the same symptoms, and died. These occurrences so alarmed the captain, that he shut himself up in the poop during the rest of the voyage. Three other sailors subsequently fell ill in the same way, were put ashore at Leghorn, and died there; the physician and surgeons of the infirmary certifying that their disease had been a pestilential fever. The vessel arrived at Marseilles, and the crew and cargo were landed at the lazzaretto. Soon afterwards, the disease

disease (at first denied, but subsequently acknowledged to be the plague) attacked another of the crew—an officer put on board the vessel to superintend the quarantine—a boy belonging to the ship—two porters employed in unloading the merchandize—another porter similarly employed—three more porters employed about the merchandize—the priest who had administered the last sacrament to the sick—the surgeon of the lazzaretto—and his whole family. Notwithstanding these events, the passengers, having performed a short quarantine of less than twenty days, were allowed to take up their quarters in the town, and to carry with them their clothes and packages. There were anti-contagionists in those days at Marseilles, as there are now in England, and this conduct was the result of their advice. When passengers after a voyage of nearly four months, and a quarantine of nearly three weeks, are at length let loose in a large city, their first employment is to roam about the streets; they have things to sell and to buy, and to see; they come in contact in the streets and in the shops with persons whom they think no more about, and who think no more about them. It is not surprizing, therefore, that the exact traces of the disease should soon be lost, and that it should be often difficult, and even impossible, to follow it satisfactorily in every part of its progress. Of its origin and early advances in the town, the following account is given by M. Bertrand, a resident physician at Marseilles at the time.

'What is certain, is, that the plague was on board the ship of Captain Chataud; that it was communicated to the infirmary by the merchandize with which it was freighted; and that one of the first who fell sick in the city, had been passenger in the ship, and had only quitted the infirmary a few days, with his clothes and merchandize; and that among the very early victims of the distemper, were the family of a famous contraband trader, near the convent of the Carmes, and those of some other contraband traders, who resided in the Rue de l'Escale and its neighbourhood; that the suburb adjoining the Infirmary was attacked nearly at the same time with the Rue de l'Escale. I leave my readers to make the reflections naturally suggested by these facts.'

We pass over the terrific scenes which the subsequent progress of the plague occasioned in this ill-fated city; though they should be read by every one, if any such there be, who may have to legislate on this subject, and not be duly impressed with its fearful importance. We will not represent in detail the early doubts and obstinate denials that the disease was the plague; the fears of the magistrates to alarm the people; the unwillingness of the people to believe; their terror at its first announcement, and, after a short and deceptive calm, their drunken joy and mad confidence; the contests between the physicians and the magistrates; the insults

sults offered by the populace to the former; the scarcity of food; the bodies collected in the houses and in the streets, for want of persons to remove them; the fires lighted in the squares and market-places, and before the doors of every house, for the purpose of burning out the contagion, till the whole city was in a blaze; the flight of the people from the town; the immense graves; cart-loads of bodies tumbled into them in the utmost disorder; the shops and public places closed, and the deserted streets; all these form a picture which bewilders the mind by the number and horror of the objects; the mere recapitulation of them produces a sensation of giddiness and sickness.

But out of this confusion, we must select one or two incidents from which an inference may be drawn.

The Hôtel Dieu contained between three and four hundred foundlings of both sexes, besides the proper officers and attendants. At this hospital, a woman who had escaped from the Rue de l'Escale presented herself, stating that she was ill with a common fever. She was taken in and conducted to her bed by two maid-servants of the house; the next day the two maid-servants fell ill and died in a few hours. The day after, the matron, who, according to the duty of her situation, had visited the patient, fell ill, and died almost as suddenly. The disease spread with amazing rapidity; it destroyed all the children, together with every person belonging to the house—governors, confessors, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, officers, servants; except about thirty, and even these took the infection, but ultimately recovered.

One of the greatest difficulties was the removal and interment of the dead. At first, carts had been hired to carry them away, and beggars and vagabonds were employed in the service. These soon fell, and those who followed them in their offices, soon followed them in their fate. The magistrates then applied to the officers of the gallies, praying for convicts to carry away the dead—this prayer was granted, and the convicts were promised their liberty if they survived. The first supply amounted to 133; these perished in less than a week. Another hundred were granted. In the course of six days they were reduced to twelve; and thus in less than a fortnight, out of 233, 221 perished.

An official report, transmitted to the Regent, stated that the physicians and surgeons of Marseilles unanimously declared, 'that when one person in a family was attacked and died, the rest soon underwent the same fate, insomuch that there were instances of families entirely destroyed in that manner; and if any one of an infected family fled to another house, the contagion accompanied him, and proved fatal to the family where he had taken refuge.'

While

While these horrors were going on in the city, where intercourse was almost unrestrained, some places, in which precautions were used to prevent communication with the infected, escaped either in a great degree, or altogether. When the disease was admitted to be the plague, (and some useful time was lost before that admission was made) the gallies were detached from the shore, anchored in the middle of the port, and separated from the rest of the vessels by a barrier. There were two hospitals belonging to the gallies, one for the crews, the other for the convicts; the former was reserved for the infected, in case the disease should break out, the latter for patients under other diseases. There was a third or intermediate hospital, to which all doubtful cases were sent, until the nature of their disease manifested itself. The gallies were frequently visited by medical men, and on the slightest notice of indisposition, the patient was immediately removed to one of these hospitals. The plague, however, made its appearance, and continued in existence from the beginning of August to the beginning of March; the population of the gallies amounted to 10,000; yet 1,300 persons only were attacked, and about half recovered. We will not speculate on the many modes in which the precautions against intercourse with infected persons may have been evaded, though the particular instance has escaped detection; but we point our readers' attention to the singular difference between the numbers who took the disorder under one system on land, and under another at sea.

A certificate, given by the Bishop of Marseilles, states that 'the plague has not penetrated into the religious communities, who have had no communication with persons abroad, and who have used the precautions necessary to protect them.' Another, given by the first sheriff of Marseilles, states that 'the families which were shut up and had not communicated abroad, particularly the nunneries, had been protected from this scourge; which was introduced into some of them by communications with strange persons.'

Before the commencement of this plague, which certain physicians now call a *modification* of the typhus, the population of Marseilles was estimated at 90,000 persons. Of these, 40,000 perished; but it spread to Aix, Toulon, and various other places in Provence, and destroyed in all more than 80,000 persons. If the foregoing narrative does not satisfactorily prove that the disease was propagated from person to person, we know not what will. The contagiousness of the measles, scarlet-fever, and hooping-cough, certainly does not rest upon stronger evidence; and it will become impossible to prove any disease to be contagious

gious, excepting those which are capable of being communicated by inoculation.

The next plague, which we propose to notice, was that which visited Moscow in the year 1771, and of which a short but lucid history was given by Dr. de Mertens, a physician practising in that city, at the time of the visitation. The plague had not appeared at Moscow for *more than a century and a half*. In 1769 war commenced between the Russians and the Turks; the next year the plague appeared in Wallachia and Moldavia, and many Russians died of it in the city of Yassy. The following summer it entered Poland, and was conveyed to Kiow, where it carried off 4,000 people. At first all communication was cut off between that city and Moscow, and guards were stationed in the great roads. A colonel, attended by two soldiers, set off from Choczin where the plague was raging. The colonel died on the road, but the two soldiers pursued their way, arrived at Moscow, were taken ill at the military hospital, and died soon after their arrival. This was in November, 1770. Towards the end of this month the Demonstrator of Anatomy at this hospital was attacked by a putrid petechial fever of which he died on the third day. The male attendants of the hospital lived with their families in two chambers separated from the others. In one of these one person after another, to the number of eleven, fell ill with a putrid disease attended by petechiæ, and in some by bubos and carbuncles; most of them died between the third and the fifth day. The same disease attacked the attendants who resided in the other chamber. On the 22d December an official statement was made of these facts, and ten physicians, out of eleven, pronounced the disease to be the plague. The hospital, which was placed without the city, was closed, and a military guard interrupted all communication from without; the patients affected with the pestilence, together with their wives and children, were separated from the rest, and the clothes and moveables of those who had died of the disease, and those who were still ill with it, were burnt. The weather became intensely cold, and the traces of contagion being lost in the hospital and in the city, the people passed from a cautious fear to fearless security. The communications with the hospital were re-opened in February, but on the 11th of March, the physicians were again convoked, when Dr. Yagelsky stated that in a large building, a manufactory of military clothing, situated in the centre of the city, and where 3,000 individuals were employed, eight persons had been attacked with symptoms similar to those observed in the patients at the military hospital three months before; that is, with petechiæ, carbuncles, and bubos. The work-people likewise declared, that at the

the beginning of January, a woman who had a tumour in the cheek had gone to the home of one of the work-people who was her relation—that since this time the disease had spread in the manufactory, and 117 persons had died of it. The manufactory was closed and guarded; nevertheless several of the work-people escaped by the windows the following night. We pass over the precautions used to prevent the spreading of the disease, and its abatement—the relaxation of precautions, and the recurrence of the disease. Towards the end of July the mortality amounted to 200 daily—by the middle of August to 400—towards the end of the same month to 600—at the beginning of September to 700—some days afterwards to 800, and at length to 1,000. On the evening of the 5th of September the populace rose, broke open the hospitals, put an end to the quarantine, and restored the religious ceremonies used for the sick—the images of saints were carried with great pomp to the sick, and kissed by every one successively; the people, according to ancient custom, embraced the dead, and buried them within the city, declaring that human precautions were odious to the divinity—they hunted down the poor physicians, broke their furniture and sacked their houses. This riot lasted only a few days, but it was followed by an addition of two or three hundred to the daily mortality—almost all the priests perished. In October the disease began to decline, and at length ceased together with the year. The total mortality was estimated at more than 80,000 persons, exclusive of that in the towns and villages to which it had spread, which cannot have been less than 20,000. These places, however, suffered much less, because the inhabitants, taught by the miserable example of Moscow, readily permitted precautions to be used. Criminals were employed to bury the dead, and when these perished, the poor were hired to do it. To each were given a cloak, gloves, and mask of oil-cloth, and they were directed never to touch a corpse with naked hands, but they paid no attention to this advice. Most of them became ill about the fourth or fifth day, and great numbers perished. The plague committed its greatest ravages among the poor; the nobles, gentlemen, and merchants generally escaping. 'It was communicated,' says Dr. Mertens, 'only by the touch of infected persons or clothes; when we visited the sick we approached them within the distance of a foot, using no other precaution than this, never to touch their bodies, clothes, or beds.' The physicians, who only inspected the patients, generally escaped the disease; but of the surgeons, who were obliged to touch them, two died in the city, and a number of assistant-surgeons in the hospitals. While the disease was raging in the city, the Foundling Hospital afforded a signal example of the salutary effects of seclusion. It contained

1,000 children, and 400 adults. All communication with the people was cut off, and the plague never penetrated within the building. One night four attendants and as many soldiers escaped from the hospital. These, on their return, were attacked by the disease, but they were separated from the rest of the house, and it spread no farther. Compare the fate of this establishment with that of the Foundling Hospital at Marseilles; the contrast of the two cases is one of the most striking circumstances on record.

The last plague which we shall notice is that of Malta in the year 1813, of which the history has been given by Dr. Calvert in the Medico-Chirurgical Transactions, and by Sir Brook Faulkner, both of them eye-witnesses. Valetta had not been visited by the plague *for* 137 *years*, when a vessel, called the San Nicolo, having left Alexandria where the plague was prevalent, arrived at Malta on the 29th of March, 1813. During the voyage, two of the crew had died of a rapid disease, one with a black tumour on his neck. In consequence of these deaths the hatches were shut down, and the crew kept on deck during the rest of the voyage. Upon the arrival of the vessel, the crew were sent ashore to the lazzaretto, the captain and his servant being separated from the rest. The day after, the captain was seized with head-ache, giddiness, and other symptoms of the plague, and died in thirty-six hours. His servant, who had assisted the two sick men during the voyage, was seized with similar symptoms, and died in the same length of time. These circumstances created considerable alarm in Valetta, but the rest of the crew continuing well, and the San Nicolo having returned to Alexandria with a new crew, the apprehensions of the Maltese soon subsided. On the 19th of April, however, a Maltese physician was taken to visit a child of the name of Borg, which had been ill for five or six days, and was dying with a carbuncle on his breast. Off the 1st of May he was sent for to see the mother of the dead child, who was ill with fever and a painful tumour in the groin; she was pregnant; on the third day of her illness she was seized with premature labour, delivered of a seven months' child, which died directly, and died herself the next morning with another tumour in the other groin. During the illness of the mother, another of her children was taken ill, but recovered. On the 4th of May, Borg, the father of the family, was seized with fever, attended by glandular swellings in the axilla and groin. The physician now reported these circumstances to the deputation of health. Borg, his whole family, and those who were known to have communicated with them, were removed to the lazzaretto. The courts of justice, the theatre, and the public places were shut up, and the city was inspected by physicians. When Borg's wife was in labour,

bour, a midwife, who lived in another part of Valetta where there was no appearance of the plague, was sent for to attend her. She came, and having delivered her patient, returned to her home. Several days having passed without her appearance, one of her kinsmen went to her house and knocked at the door for some time, but no one answered. At length he broke it open, went in, and discovered her on her knees by her bed-side. She did not move, and on shaking her, he found that she was dead. It seems as if the poor creature, feeling the approach of death, had sought refuge in prayer, and had died in the very act and attitude. When the body was sent to the hospital, plague spots were found upon it. Her kinsman, on making this discovery, immediately ran to the committee of health, and stated what he had seen, on which he was not allowed to return to his family, but was sent to the lazzaretto, where, on the 17th of May, he was seized with the plague, and died in twenty-four hours. A girl, who was accustomed to sleep in the midwife's house, was taken ill with fever and glandular enlargements. Borg and his father died; another of his children became ill with it but recovered. Thus far the disease had been confined to the crew of the vessel which came from Alexandria, and to Borg's family and those who had communicated with them; but soon afterwards the disease began to appear in the town of Valetta. At first the medical men contended that it was not the plague—the people kept their sickness secret, for fear of being removed to the lazzaretto, clamoured against the precautions, and did all they could to thwart them. The disease spread not only through Valetta, Floriana, and the adjoining towns, but to many villages.

Whilst the plague was raging in Malta, the efficacy of strict seclusion was exhibited in some striking instances, as at Marseilles, and Moscow. The Augustine convent stands in an airy part of Valetta, near the top of one of the main streets, much above the level of the sea and the greater part of the city, and in a clean and open neighbourhood—its interior accommodations are spacious and airy. When the plague first broke out in Valetta, the strictest precautions were used by the inhabitants of this convent to prevent all communication with the town. At length, however, a servant, contrary to the regulations, went into a part of the town where the disease prevailed, and purchased clothes which were supposed to be infected. Soon after his return he confessed what he had done, on which he was immediately shut up, together with one of the brotherhood who volunteered to attend him. Both of them were taken ill and died of the disease, but no other person in the convent suffered. When the plague was at Malta in 1675, Cavallino, who described it,

states that all public establishments which cautiously shunned intercourse with the community enjoyed perfect exemption from the disease; as did the prisons and monasteries, besides all the vessels in the harbour. In the late plague it was the same—the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the prison, and several public offices, and private houses, which early adopted and steadily kept up a rigid system of insulation, were not less fortunate.

In a large building in the town, the ground floor was divided into seven separate apartments, occupied by as many Maltese families, while the upper stories were used as a military hospital for patients affected with common diseases. While the plague was raging in Malta, it penetrated into the ground floor, destroyed the inhabitants of four of these apartments, and in the other three, two only of each family escaped. While this was going on below, the sick tenants of the upper stories were shut in—all communication was cut off—and every individual among them escaped the disease, although it was raging in the habitations round about the hospital, and penetrating from the lower to the upper stories. Dr. Greaves, whose house was within a few feet of the hospital, and on whose authority this fact is stated, related it to Dr. M'Lean when he was at Valetta, and led him over the hospital; but no mention has been made of it by this *impartial* historian.

Thus (to return for a moment to the commencement of the plague) we find it attacking, first two sailors in a vessel which had come from a city where the plague was prevailing; and next, after her arrival, the captain of the same vessel, together with his servant—then the family of Borg, nominally a shoemaker, but really a smuggler—his children, his wife, himself, and his father—the midwife who attended his wife, whilst she was ill with the plague—a young woman who slept in her house—a kinsman who entered her chamber and touched her body—the child of the master of a wine-house near the quarantine harbour, where many persons resorted, and among others the servants of the Health Office who guarded the San Nicolo in the harbour—some of the guards of the San Nicolo themselves, with whom Borg the smuggler had frequent dealings. Whilst the plague was attacking successively the above-mentioned persons, it appears, by official statements, that there were no other individuals affected with it in any other part of Malta. Is the reader unsatisfied with this evidence? That there was any communication between the crew of the San Nicolo and the family of Borg there is no decisive and specific proof, nothing but a rumour, that a piece of cloth had been conveyed from the vessel to Borg's house. Great stress has been laid on this; and the belief that the San Nicolo communicated the plague to Malta, in spite of this defect in the chain

chain of evidence, has been loudly scoffed at as unphilosophical credulity. What evidence are we to expect under such circumstances as these? The parties, be it remembered, are a crew under quarantine, and a cunning smuggler—both, under penal restrictions which they daily and hourly, but of course secretly, elude by all sorts of frauds and falsehoods. What other evidence, we repeat, of communication between such people so circumstanced are we to expect, unless the Devil on Two Sticks had been employed as a spy, and from his lofty station at night had actually seen the piece of cloth conveyed from the San Nicolo into the boat, from the boat to the shore, from the shore over every inch of ground, till it arrived at Borg's house, and then observed the unfolding of the cloth, and the escape of the contagious vapour? As this is a point of considerable importance, because the same defect in the chain of evidence which is here complained of, will be found in the other histories of the plague which we have laid before our readers, we shall run the risk of tiring them with a few remarks.

We have always understood it to be sound philosophy to require no more evidence, in any case, than the best in degree, and the whole in quantity, which the nature of the proposition, and the circumstances, under which it is presented for examination, render possible to be given. Now suppose that a vessel with the plague among its crew arrives in the Thames, and comes up the river. There is a rumour, but no proof of communication with the shore; however a week afterwards the disease breaks out in the contiguous neighbourhood, in the house of a smuggler and in an ale-house frequented by sailors; and after spreading among the relations and friends of the first sufferers, as well as those who have had casual communication with them, is found in London, where it has not been for 160 years, gets into the houses of deluding doctors and deluded legislators, and carries off thousands and tens of thousands of the inhabitants; if such a calamity were speedily to follow the arrival of a vessel under such circumstances, who would doubt that the disease had been communicated from the vessel to the metropolis, because he could not track every footstep that it had taken; because, in other words, he could not do that, which common sense would inform any unbiassed person the lapse of a single week, a single day or hour, in carelessness and unsuspicion, would make it impossible to do? But although the case may strike us more by being brought nearer home, it is not really stronger than the introduction of the plague into Malta; for Malta had been free from it almost as long as London has. Let not the people of London hug themselves in their long im-

munity; Malta had been free for 137 years, and Moscow for nearly 170.

The plague at Malta, in 1813, either arose as an epidemic, from a noxious state of the air, or it was introduced by contagion imported by the San Nicolo. Now granting that there is some difficulty to be overcome in either supposition; which is the greater; to believe, that the crew of the San Nicolo had communication with the family in which the plague first appeared in Valetta, with which family the captain was intimate, although this communication cannot be proved; or that the air of Valetta, which had continued free from plague for nearly a century and a half, should on a sudden assume a pestilential condition and that by an accidental coincidence, about a week after the San Nicolo sailed into the harbour with the plague on board? To find a difficulty in believing the former, but none in believing the latter, is indeed to strain at a gnat and to swallow a camel.

The foregoing accounts afford ample proof of the two propositions which we set out by stating; and, consequently, that the plague is communicable from person to person; but they form not one-twentieth part of the evidence to this effect. It is impossible, in the space allotted to us, to do justice to this part of the subject. We might now content ourselves with stating, that every competent person who had had opportunity of observing this tremendous malady, had come to the conclusion that it was contagious, and that there had been fewer dissentient voices than might have been expected, considering the nature of the subject and the wanderings of the human intellect; but as general statements produce little impression, we shall trouble our readers with a few instances.

Doctor Murdoch Mackenzie resided at Constantinople and Smyrna for twenty years, in the middle of the last century. During this time scarcely a year passed in which there was not some appearance of the plague in one or both of these cities. In 1751 it broke out at Constantinople, raged with great violence, and carried off, as it was estimated, 150,000 people. His observations on this disease he communicated from time to time, by letters, to Dr. Clephane and Dr. Mead, which were read before the Royal Society, and are published in the 47th volume of the Philosophical Transactions. The following extract from these letters will show the facts which he observed, and the opinions which he formed on the causes of the plague:—

'I can't see any other apparent cause of the virulency of the disease, this year, beside the occasion of greater communication. In the months of February, March, April, and May last, the distemper was so strong at Cairo,

Cairo, as appears by letters from the English consul there, that no doors were opened for three months. In the mean time there arrived here, in May last, four ships loaden with Cairo goods; which goods and men being landed, spread the infection over all the city at once, after which one conveyed it to another, by contact. In the village where we lived, there died only sixty persons of the plague. The French ambassador's palace, next door to us, in the village, was infected; because five of his people went at midnight to a bawdy-house, where the father Demetry, the mother, and daughter at the same time had the plague, and died of it afterwards, all three; so that two of his excellency's servants were infected by them, one of whom died, and the other recovered, and is still living, after taking a vomit, some doses of the bark mixed with snake-root and Venice treacle, by my advice. We found this last time, and upon all such occasions, that whoever kept their doors shut, ran no risk, even if the plague were in the next house; and the contact was easily traced in all the accidents which happened among the Franks. Comte Castellane had, for three years running, persons attacked in the same room, in the months of July and August, notwithstanding all possible precaution used in cleansing the room, and even white-washing it. At last, by my own advice to his excellency, grounded upon the above theory, he built a slight counter-wall; since which there has been no accident in that room, now five years ago. I could give so many such examples as delassare valeant Fabium.'

Orræus, who was physician to Catherine, empress of Russia, and sent to advise during the plagues at Yassy and Moscow, states, that the most common mode of contracting the disease was by contact. Samoclowitz, surgeon to the military hospital at Moscow, who had also extensive experience of the plague in Poland, Moldavia, and Wallachia, before he witnessed its tremendous ravages in Moscow, says, in the preface to his Mémoire sur la Peste, 'it is certain that the plague is developed and propagated only by contact.' All the assistant-surgeons who were employed under him, (fifteen in number,) took the disease, and all died excepting three; while the physicians, who walked among the sick without touching them, generally escaped. When Mr. Howard, in the year 1785, went abroad to visit the principal lazzarettos in France and Italy, he carried with him a set of questions concerning the plague, drawn up by Drs. Aikin and Jebb, which were to be submitted to the most experienced practitioners in the places which he visited. When he returned, Dr. Aikin methodized and abridged the answers, and the result is given in the celebrated work on the lazzarettos of Europe. We have no room for it, and yet it deserves to be read by all those who are in search of information on the subject. 'They all,' says Mr. Howard, 'in the most explicit manner concur in representing the plague as a contagious disease, communicated by near approach to, or actual contact with infected persons or things.'

During

During the *late* war (as we used to call it) in Egypt, now a quarter of a century ago, the medical officers of both the French and English armies had ample opportunities of observing the plague, and they almost unanimously came to the conclusion, that it was a contagious disease. Dr. Edward Bancroft, a man of unquestionable learning and talent, yet prone enough to dissent from received opinions, accompanied the British army during part of the Egyptian campaign. His testimony is particularly important, because, by his essay on the yellow fever, which he believes not to be contagious, he had shown himself fully prepared to adopt a similar opinion about the plague, if he had met with sufficient proofs of it: he thus expresses himself:

'The facts which prove the necessity of actual contact with some infected person or thing to communicate the plague, are so numerous, and many of them so notorious, that it must be unnecessary for me to enter upon a detail of them, after what Dr. Russel and others have published, and after the experience of the British army in Egypt, which invariably demonstrated this necessity, by showing that all those who avoided contact, invariably escaped the disease, whilst those who did otherwise in suitable conditions, were very generally infected. Nor was there, so far as I have been able to discover, any instance, in the French Egyptian army, of a communication of the disease without contact, though the physicians to that army, who have written on the subject, do not, I believe, positively assert the impossibility of such communication.'

Mr., now Sir James M'Grigor, surgeon to the Indian army in Egypt, during the Egyptian campaign, in his medical sketches of that expedition, gives the following account of the arrangements at the pest-houses, and their result:

'In the pest-houses of the army thirteen medical gentlemen did duty, who in the Indian army might be said to have had the post of honour. They were Mr. Thomas, Mr. Price, Mr. Rice, Dr. Wayte, Mr. Grysadalé, Mr. Adrian, Mr. O'Farrel, Mr. Whyte, Mr. Dyson, Mr. Anglé, Mr. Moss, Dr. Buchan, and Dr. Henderson. In order to take from our medical gentlemen, in the pest-houses, some of the most dangerous part of the duty, it was my wish to procure some of the Greek doctors of the country to reside in the pest-houses, to feel the pulses there, draw blood, open and dress bubos, &c. The most diligent search was made for those people, and very high pay was promised to them, but we could tempt none of them to live in our pest-houses: a plain proof of the opinion which they entertain of the contagious nature of the disease. The thirteen gentlemen first mentioned, were those only that were directly in the way of contagion, for it became their duty to come into contact with the infected, and seven of them caught the infection, and four died. To the atmosphere of the disease, all the medical gentlemen of the army were exposed, as they saw and examined the cases in the first instance; but, except from actual contact, there never appeared to be any danger.'

The medical officers of the French army came to similar conclusions.

clusions. Desgenettes, chief physician to the French army in Egypt, in his 'Histoire Médicale de l'Armée d'Orient,' thus sums up his opinion on the subject of the plague:

'The plague is evidently contagious, but the conditions of the transmission of this contagion are not more exactly known than its specific nature. The dead body has not appeared to transmit it—the animal body in a heated state, and still more in a state of febrile moisture, has appeared to communicate it more easily; the contagion has been known to cease in passing from one river to another of the Nile; a simple trench made before a camp has been known to stop its ravages; and on observations of this kind is founded the useful insulation of the Franks, the practice of which has been sufficiently detailed by different travellers.'

Baron Larré, the principal surgeon to the French army, and the distinguished author of the Memoirs of Military Surgery, states a similar opinion:

'But however strong,' says he, 'may have been these affections, (moral,) their effects cannot be compared to those which resulted from the communication of the healthy with the sick, or to the effects of contact with contaminated objects. We may be convinced of this truth, by the ravages which the plague made in the year 9, (1801,) among the Fatalist Mussulmen; * * * it were to be wished that, on the first days of the invasion of the plague, its true character had been presented to the army. This would have diminished the number of victims, instead of which the soldier, imbued with the opinion which was at first propagated, that this disease was not pestilential, did not hesitate to seize and wear the effects of his companions dead of the plague. The pestilential germ developed itself in these individuals, who often sunk under the same fate. It was only when they had gained a perfect knowledge of this disease, that many preserved themselves by the precautions which were indicated.'

Dr. Sotira, another of the physicians of the French army in Egypt, relates the following striking circumstance:

'In the seventh year of the French republic, about eighty medical officers died of the plague. In consequence of this mortality, an order was issued to employ Turkish barbers in the pest-houses, to dress the patients, and to undertake all the medical treatment which required actual contact. The result was, that during the next two years, only twelve of the medical officers died of the plague, but half the Turkish barbers caught it.'

Thus far we have drawn our information from medical men, eye-witnesses of the facts which they relate. But as there are many persons whimsical enough to think that medical men are the worst judges, and that the less a man knows on a subject, the more likely is he to come to a right conclusion about it, we will give them the experience and the opinion of the late Sir Thomas Maitland, who witnessed the rise, progress, and cessation of four different

different plagues in the Mediterranean; those of Malta, Gozo, Corfu, and Cephalonia. In a letter to Lord Bathurst, dated Corfu, April, 1819, which is published at length in the Morning Herald of June 29th, 1825, and is remarkable for its practical good sense and manly spirit, he states it as his firm opinion, that the plague is taken only by contact. 'I have invariably found, (says he) that preventing contact, stops the disease, and that so long as contact is permitted, it uniformly increases. If the absence of contact stops the plague, the allowing of contact must be the cause of it.' On this belief he acted in organizing measures for the suppression of the disease. Although Sir Thomas Maitland was bred neither as a logician, nor as a physician, it would be difficult for the former to reason better, or for the latter to act more skilfully. In the system of police by which he invariably succeeded in suppressing the plague,

'the exclusive object of the troops was to prevent contact; every family was shut up in their own houses, fed at their own doors, and sent to the lazzaretto the moment the disease appeared. The soldiers employed in this service scarcely ever contracted the disease. In the few instances that occurred, and they were extremely few, it was uniformly observed, of each soldier that took the plague, that he was loose in his conduct, and neglectful of the necessary precautions. Those, on the contrary, who attended to these precautions, never took it. They were sent into several villages, many of them with streets but a few feet wide; they did the severest night-duties of all kinds, in these villages; they lived in exactly the same atmosphere as the inhabitants, yet they never caught the disease, though it was raging in the villages; they were stationed within a yard or two of camps and hospitals in which the plague was raging with great violence, and they never caught it; and lastly, they were exposed to all those hard duties, which in all infectious diseases are known to give a pre-disposition to the most violent and fatal type of the prevailing disease, and yet they never caught the plague.'

We pause for want of room, not for want of matter; for we have not produced one twentieth part of the trustworthy evidence on record. On this part of the subject there is a perfect glut of proof, in examining which the mind gets so enured to the most decisive facts, that its sense of evidence becomes blunted, and it often puts aside proofs, as feeble and inconclusive, which, on any other occasion, would strike with instantaneous conviction. But enough has been said under this head, we trust, to make out our two first propositions; namely, that those persons are most liable to the plague, who approach those affected with it, and that those generally escape the disease, who avoid those affected with it. This is enough to prove that it is communicable from person to person: we have no other proof of the contagiousness of hooping cough, scarlet-fever, and, in the experience of the present generation, of measles.

But

But we shall proceed to the third test of a contagious disease, inoculation, and inquire whether the plague can be communicated artificially, like the small-pox and cow-pox. Under this head we must not expect very abundant evidence. People consent to the inoculation of small-pox, because they can generally have it only once in their lives, and because, by so doing, they substitute a disease which is fatal only once in five hundred cases, for a disease which is fatal in one case out of four. There are not the same temptations to submit to the inoculation of the plague; for, even if experience should prove that inoculation diminished the fatal force of the plague as much as it diminishes that of small-pox, it would not afford security from subsequent attacks. We must not expect, therefore, that many persons should have been so rash as voluntarily to inflict this disease on themselves. But a few such there have been, and we proceed to relate their experiments.

During the campaign in Egypt, in 1801, the French troops were much depressed by their dread of the plague. To convince them that their alarms were unreasonable, Desgenettes attempted to inoculate himself with the disease, but to secure himself from the danger of the experiment, he washed the part with soap and water; we will give his own account of this experiment, from the failure of which such erroneous inferences have been drawn:—

'It was to restore the spirits and exhausted courage of the army, that, in the middle of the hospital, I dipped a lancet in the pus of a bubo belonging to a convalescent patient, and made a slight puncture in the groin and in the neighbourhood of the axilla, without using any other precaution than washing myself with soap and water. I had, for more than three weeks, two little points of inflammation, corresponding to the two punctures, and they were still very tender, when on my return from Acre, I bathed in the presence of the army, in the bath of Césarée. This incomplete experiment, of which I have been obliged to give some details, because of the noise it made, proves little, and does not refute the transmission of contagion, demonstrated by a thousand examples.'

Soon after this, Dr. Whyte, a medical officer in the English army, hearing that Desgenettes had made the experiment with impunity, but not hearing of the precaution which he had used, repeated the former, without the latter, in the pest house at El Hammed, on the 2d January, 1802. He was an anti-contagionist, and wished to verify his doctrine by showing that the disease could not be communicated by inoculation. The experiment and the result are thus related in a letter from Mr. Rice, then doing duty in the pest house at El Hammed, to Mr., now Sir James M'Grigor:—

'Dr. Whyte came here last night, January 2d, 1802: soon after he came in, he rubbed some matter, from the bubo of a woman, on the inside

inside of his thighs. The next morning he inoculated himself, in the wrists, with a lancet, with matter taken from the running bubo of a sepoy.

In subsequent letters Mr. Rice states, that 'Dr. Whyte continued in good health on the 5th, and all day on the 6th till the evening, when he was attacked with rigors and other febrile symptoms.' He continued to have shiverings, succeeded by heat and perspiration, much affection of the head, tremor of the limbs, a dry black tongue, great thirst; a full, hard, irregular pulse; great debility and great anxiety. 'He still persisted that the disease was not the plague, and would not allow his groin or arm-pits to be examined.' He became delirious on the 8th, and died on the 9th, in the afternoon.

Dr. Valli was an Italian physician, who resided for some time in Turkey. He distinguished himself by a work on the plague, and has since, we believe, died of yellow fever, to investigate which he went to the West Indies. During his residence at Constantinople, he is known to have made experiments on the inoculation of the plague, and in the Journal de Médecine, for May, 1811, we find the following statement, which the editor says he received from one of his correspondents. Valli diluted the pestilential matter with small-pock matter, or with the gastric juice of frogs, or with oil. This compound he called his pommade. If a Mussulman came to consult him for an ophthalmia, he ordered him some of his pommade, to rub upon his eyelids: if another came, complaining of pain in the bowels, he ordered some of his pommade, to rub upon his belly. In this way he gave the disease to thirty persons. These facts M. Valli is said to have communicated to the Medical Society at Geneva, 'and doubtless,' says the reporter, 'he *will one day publish them in detail!*' Valli, however, never did publish them, probably ashamed of the result; for it is said that these experiments went to such a mischievous extent that the Turkish government at length interfered, arrested the pharmacopolist who vended the pommade, burnt his drugs, and cut off his head.

We have now made out our three propositions; the two first by overwhelming evidence; and the last, by all the evidence which the nature of the proposition would lead us to expect, and of which the least that can be said is, that it furnishes strong ground for belief. We pause, therefore, and ask, whether there is not sufficient reason for believing that the plague is contagious, to justify us in acting upon this supposition—to make it unjustifiable to act upon any other. Considering the terrific nature of this disease, one would suppose that the bare possibility of its being contagious would induce us to act on that supposition, and

and that men would lay down as a maxim, 'Take it for granted that it is contagious, till you are certain that it is not.' But when we consider the immense mass of evidence for the foregoing propositions, the clearness and distinctness with which they are made out, the small number of dissentient voices, and the tremendous importance of the stake at issue, one would suppose it impossible that there should be men not merely incredulous enough to dissent from this opinion, but mad enough to wish to act on their dissent. Yet such is the fact.

'However indisputable the fact of the plague being contagious may be deemed by modern physicians, it may be remarked, that it has been strongly opposed as often as the subject of quarantine has fallen under the deliberation of the legislature; and the public, at such times, have been constantly pestered by an inundation of pamphlets, which, without advancing any thing new, merely retailed arguments which have long before been refuted.'

These are the words of Dr. Patrick Russell, physician to the British factory at Aleppo, about the year 1760, so applicable to the present state of things, that they might seem to have been written to-day and with express reference to it. The Levant Company, finding the quarantine laws inconvenient, resolved, a few years ago, to take a medical opinion upon the necessity of the restrictions which they imposed. They accordingly selected and sent to Constantinople a physician of the name of M'Lean, a gentleman well suited to their purpose, who, although he knew nothing of the disease by experience, was thoroughly convinced that it was not contagious, and consequently that the restrictions were as unnecessary as they were inconvenient. Going out with these previous opinions, which we suppose we must not presume to call prejudices, he found an experience of *seventeen days* sufficient to satisfy his mind, and he has ever since been incessantly active in propagating his belief. Zeal and activity are the virtues of a sect, and Dr. M'Lean with his few followers are entitled to the praise of possessing them; in the shape of petitions to parliament, articles in reviews, paragraphs in newspapers,* and speeches in parliament, they have kept their view of the subject incessantly before the public; and the result has been, that the

* It is amusing to notice the things on this subject produced in the daily papers. The Morning Chronicle for September 7th, of this year, which is now lying before us, contains an account of a sitting of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, in which a M. Lassis, an unbeliever in the contagiousness of the plague, is represented as saying that 'he denied the existence of contagion in every species of disease excepting only the measles and siphylis.'! Then the small-pox and cow-pox are not contagious,—diseases which we can propagate at will, by the point of a lancet, with matter which we can see and feel! Where will the folly of men stop?

legislature

gislature has been prevailed upon to reconsider the quarantine laws, and ultimately to consent to a modification of them.

We proceed therefore to inquire what reasons have been discovered sufficiently weighty to set aside the experience of so many generations, and so many witnesses, together with all the inferences and precautions to which they have led. These reasons are to be found in Dr. M'Lean's work 'on Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases,' in his evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, and in a dissertation on the subject by a writer in the Westminster Review.*

By way of introduction to the discussion it is first laid down that, on the question of contagion, medical men are the worst judges, and that the best are 'men of general science, whose minds are accustomed to weigh evidence,' but who are unacquainted with, and *consequently* unprejudiced on the subject. The only reason given for this remarkable but very convenient proposition is, that the students of medicine are the slaves of authority, which in after-life, as physicians, they seldom outgrow; but if it be common for the student to be oppressed by the authority of eminent teachers, we shall presently see that it is not impossible for the ignorant to be deceived by the mistatements of plausible reasoners. The question of contagion, like every other, requires two qualifications in those who are to pronounce a judgment upon it; a knowledge of the whole truth as to matters of fact, and a capability of reasoning rightly upon that knowledge:—it requires also something more—a knowledge of the whole truth as to matters of fact on certain analogous medical questions, as well as the reasonings upon which points once disputed in them have been finally settled; in order to compare the difficulties so settled, with difficulties still remaining in the way of any positive theory of contagion. It is obvious that men of science who know nothing of medicine can possess only one of these three qualifications; and a sufficient reason why they must be incompetent judges, is, that although they can appreciate what is neat in point of statement, and plausible or even accurate in point of reasoning, they are no judges whatever of what is true in point of fact. Hence, when they listen to a man who is little scrupulous about the accuracy of his facts, they are entirely at his mercy. It requires no great sagacity to perceive that the real motive for this appeal to those who are not physicians is, not because they are likely to be the best judges, but the most docile listeners—because they are less likely to detect the errors of their teachers.

* See Nos. V. and VI.

It

It is easy to argue triumphantly about law with a physician, about physic with a lawyer, about theology with either—in short, on any subject with any person who knows nothing about it.

From this introduction we pass to the first argument produced to prove that the plague is not contagious, which is, that it is not governed by the laws of contagious, but of epidemic diseases. This argument, which is announced with great parade, explained most elaborately, and referred to again and again, as the corner-stone of the system, is an attempt to lay down the laws by which contagious, and those by which epidemic diseases are governed, and then, having ascertained by what laws the plague is governed, to deduce whether it is epidemic or contagious. This is amazingly well suited to take in the 'men of general science,' the minds 'accustomed to weigh evidence,' for it has a logical air which they can readily appreciate, whilst it reposes upon facts of which they are entirely ignorant. If the reader will take the trouble to compress and comprehend it, he will find that it comes to this:—Contagious diseases (as small-pox, measles, and scarlet fever) are very uniform in their symptoms and duration—affect a person only once in his life—the patient under them is not subject to relapses, and they may be propagated at all times and seasons. On the contrary, epidemic diseases are very irregular in their symptoms and length—appear and disappear at certain times of the year—are most prevalent in certain countries, or even neighbourhoods—may affect a person repeatedly in life, and the sufferer is liable to relapses. Now, as the plague is very irregular in its symptoms and length—appears and disappears at certain seasons—is most prevalent in certain countries and even neighbourhoods—can affect a person repeatedly—and as relapses occur to the patient—as the plague has all these qualities in common with epidemic diseases, it is plain that it must be an epidemic and not a contagious disease. Now the first sophism discoverable in this argument is, that the contagious or non-contagious nature of a disease is here made a question of inference to be determined by reasoning, which in truth is a question of fact to be determined by experience. Let any man who has the smallest pretensions to understanding say *which* is the right mode of discovering whether or not a disease is contagious—to find out that it is uniform in its symptoms and progress—that it affects a person only once in life—that when convalescent he is not liable to relapse—and thence to *infer* that it is contagious—or to go among the sick, to observe and watch the way in which it spreads, and thus to *ascertain* whether it was contagious. When Gall first broached his craniological doctrines in Germany, they were ridiculed on the stage—a master is represented hiring his servants according to the shape of their skulls—he feels their

heads—finds the bumps which constitute a good servant—infers that they are sober, honest, and industrious—hires them *without characters*, and in the end finds them drones, profligates, and thieves. Now the mode of proceeding, which in this instance was only an imagined absurdity, is absolutely practised by Dr. [illegible] and his followers in judging of the contagiousness of diseases.

But not only is the question resolved by reasoning which ought to be resolved by experience, but even in the conduct of the reasoning there is a fresh sophism or rather blunder. One class of contagious diseases, the eruptive fevers, is assumed to be the only class—its laws are described, and every disease which is not governed by them is inferred not to be contagious; whereas the question at issue is, whether the eruptive fevers are the only contagious fevers. If to determine whether negroes were human beings, we were to take a particular people, as Europeans, and, describing among their qualities a fair complexion, were to infer that because negroes were not fair they were not human, would not this be begging the question? yet this is precisely the line we adopt when, in a dispute what are contagious fevers, we take the eruptive fevers as the only examples.

Another argument against the contagiousness of the plague is, that it breaks out at a certain season, lasts for a certain time, and then subsides and remains dormant till the favourable season returns. On the other hand we are told, that 'contagious diseases can be propagated at any time, and among any number of persons'—that a disease depending upon a specific contagion must prevail alike in all seasons, in a pure as well as in an impure atmosphere, amongst the rich as readily as amongst the poor; and that the only influence of these adventitious circumstances would be to render the disease more or less severe.' We could not produce a stronger instance how unsafe it is to trust these discussions into the hands of those who are ignorant of medicine; for no well educated physician could ever have penned such a statement, and no competent judge could ever for a moment have listened to it.

Take the diseases which are unquestionably contagious:—What is the fact with hydrophobia? Sometimes it is so rare, and excites so little attention, that dogs run about without restraint, and the public almost forget that there is such a disease. At other times it is so prevalent, and the bite of dogs is so often followed by this terrific disease in man, that the public are kept in perpetual alarm; the walls are placarded with orders to tie up the dogs, and their appearance in the streets occasions the timid to fly, and the mischievous to follow them with stones and clubs. As the contagion is always in existence, and the animals susceptible to it always

always alive, whence comes it that it is more active and diffusive at one time than at another? It is plain that, beside the specific contagion, there is a diffused cause which renders the disease more communicable at one time than at another. Whether it is a peculiar condition of the atmosphere, as is commonly believed, and if so, how it acts, whether by rendering the poison more active, or the bodies of animals more susceptible to it, it is unnecessary for our present purpose to inquire. It is enough to know that hydrophobia, which 'depends on a specific contagion,' is not 'propagated equally at all times,' and does not 'prevail alike in all seasons.' The same fact may be stated, and the same inference may be drawn with regard to the hooping-cough. Parents well know that at one time it is almost a forgotten disease, at another time they can scarcely go into a family without coming in contact with it; and experienced physicians know that it generally prevails in cold damp seasons, as the end of autumn and winter, and is little heard of in the warm dry days of summer. Measles are generally most rife in spring and disappear in summer.

'The scarlet fever,' says Sydenham, 'though it may happen at any time, yet it most commonly comes at the latter end of summer.' 'The measles of 1670,' says the same distinguished physician, 'began *very early*, that is, at the beginning of January, and, increasing daily, came to their height in March; afterwards they gradually decreased, and were quite extinguished in the following July.'

With regard to the small-pox and cow-pox, it is necessary to distinguish between the artificial and the natural propagation of contagious diseases. It is quite true that contagious diseases which are propagated by inoculation, can, generally speaking, be propagated in this way 'at any time, and among any number of persons;' but leave them to be propagated in the natural way, and it is quite notorious that they spread readily at one time, and scarcely at all at another. The small-pox has been so much restrained, first, by the introduction of inoculation, and secondly, by that of vaccination, that experimentally we of the present day know little of its natural course; but before the introduction of the one, and the discovery of the other, the small-pox used to lie dormant—then appear—rage for a time—and then subside—like epidemic diseases. Sydenham, who lived before the time of inoculation and vaccination describes the small-pox as at one time appearing rarely, or not at all; then beginning to show itself at the approach of the vernal equinox; spreading more and more every day, becoming epidemic about autumn, abating on the coming on of winter, returning again in the following spring, and prevailing till checked by the subsequent winter. The accounts

which this admirable physician gives of the small-pox in different years read exactly like accounts of an epidemic disease.

Boerhaave, speaking of the same disease, says, 'this disorder is generally epidemical, beginning early in the spring, increasing in summer, abating in autumn, ceasing almost entirely the following winter, to return in the spring, and reign again in the same order.' Van Swieten, who, though a commentator on Boerhaave, wrote from experience, after describing Sydenham's account of the rise, progress, and subsidence of small-pox, adds, 'I have seen many variolous epidemic constitutions, and they agreed in most things with the observations of Sydenham.' Sydenham, Boerhaave and Van Swieten saw the small-pox before inoculation was introduced, when it was propagated in the natural way, and we see that it used to run its course just like epidemic diseases.

Sydenham lived and was practising in London in the year 1665. He saw something of the dreadful plague of that year, and he had frequent opportunities of seeing the small-pox propagate itself in the natural way. Now it is curious, that so far from there being any striking difference between the progress of the plague, and the progress of contagious diseases, as the anti-contagionists assert, he selects these two as strikingly similar in their mode of appearing and disappearing.

'That such a disposition or texture happens to the mass of the air as occasions various diseases at different times is manifest to every one that but considers, that one and the same disease kills an infinite number of men at some certain seasons, and at another time seizes only here and there a man, and goes no farther; and this is very apparent in the small-pox, especially in the plague, the argument of this chapter.'

When Dr. Jenner first disclosed his discovery of vaccination, and every body was anxious to verify it by experiment, the London physicians could procure no matter, because, as they were told, the disease was extinct.

'Unfortunately,' says Dr. Woodville, (the physician to the Small-pox hospital,) 'at the time Dr. Jenner's publication appeared, no cow-pox matter could be procured, for the disease had then become extinct, nor was it expected to return till the spring, the period at which it usually affects the cows. Towards the latter end of January last, I was informed that the cow-pox had appeared among several of the milch cows kept in Gray's Inn Lane, and about four fifths of them were eventually infected.'

This circumstance is not peculiar to London; in Germany the cow-pox is apparently so extinct at one time, and so prevalent at another, that it is the belief of scientific men that it is newly originated; and Pilger, a veterinary surgeon, who is good authority for the purpose for which we cite him, says, 'that in Russia the disease

disease arises among the cattle when they are driven from Kasan to Moscow.'*

It appears, therefore, that contagious diseases prevail much at one time and little at another, and, consequently, that two things are requisite for their ready propagation; the one, the contagious matter itself, the other, a diffused cause, supposed to be a state of the atmosphere favourable to its action. Let it never be forgotten, that this is the case with diseases unquestionably and notoriously contagious, and therefore that when it is found to be the case with the plague it can be no objection to the belief of its being also contagious. Are the anti-contagionists ignorant of these facts? In this, and other instances which we shall have occasion to notice, the error is so extraordinary, that it is really difficult to refer it to ignorance; ignorance so dense is almost incredible. But we go on.

The anti-contagionists, describing epidemic diseases, say,

'People are attacked, not in proportion as the inhabitants of the affected mix with those of the unaffected places; but, in proportion as the inhabitants of unaffected expose themselves to the *air* of affected places. The visits of the sick to unaffected places is [are] followed by no increase of disease; the visits of the inhabitants of an unaffected, to an affected place, is [are] attended with a certain increase of sickness. On their removal from a noxious to a pure air, the sick often rapidly recover; but they do not communicate the disease to the inhabitants of a pure atmosphere; in the history of all the epidemics which have ever prevailed, in all parts of the earth, there is not on record a single example of the communication of the disease from the sick to the healthy in a pure atmosphere.'—*West. Rev.* No. V. p. 145.

Here are, put only in several forms, two propositions: First, that when the people of healthy districts visit the affected districts, they take the disease not from the sick, but from the air. Secondly, that when the sick move from an affected to a healthy district, they speedily recover, and do not give the disease to others. Let us take these propositions, and try them in their application to the plague. If those who come out of a healthy into an affected district, took the disease not from the sick, but from the air, then those who avoided the sick, would be as liable to the disease as those who approached and touched them. Is this the fact with the plague? so notoriously the contrary, that all modern observers have come to the conclusion that absolute contact, either with infected persons or infected clothes, is necessary for the communication of the disease. Hence the security of those who, while the plague is raging, shut themselves up in the very town in which it is raging, and avoid all intercourse with the sick. Why did the

* Handbuch der Veterinäwissenschaft.

religious communities at Marseilles, which practised this seclusion, escape? Why did the Foundling Hospital at Moscow, which was strictly shut up, escape, while the Foundling Hospital at Marseilles, which admitted a patient with the plague, was swept of its population? Why at Malta, in 1813, was the plague kept out of the Military Hospital, although it was raging in the ground floor, while in the houses in the immediate neighbourhood, the disease was not only getting access to the ground floors, but climbing to the very garrets? Why did the French medical officers in Egypt die in crowds, whilst they dressed the patients, and as soon as the task of touching and dressing them was put upon the Turkish barbers, why was the mortality transferred from the surgeons to the barbers? Why did the troops, employed by Sir Thomas Maitland to suppress the plague at Malta, escape the disease, although they were, not only in the same district, but in the same streets in which it was raging? In short, for we might have saved ourselves this recitation of facts, why is the practice of seclusion, or shutting up, as it is called, practised by the European factories in places liable to the plague, an effectual preventive of the disease? If it is said that those persons keep aloof in the healthy districts, then are the healthy and sick districts often separated by a distance only of a few feet—then is the definition of a healthy district, a place in which the healthy shut themselves up?—then is a man able to plant himself in the midst of a sick district, draw round him a magic wand, and say to the noxious atmosphere, so far shalt thou come, and no farther? Moses's out-stretched hand had not more power over the waters of the Red Sea, than is here attributed to human volition over a contaminated atmosphere.

Now for the second proposition, that

'the visits of the sick to unaffected places is [are] followed by no increase of disease. In the history of all the epidemics which have ever prevailed in all parts of the earth, there is not on record a single example of the communication of the disease from the sick to the healthy in a pure atmosphere.'

Our readers will bear in mind that the writer's own description of a pure atmosphere is, the atmosphere of unaffected places; otherwise, if, when the visits of the sick to unaffected places are followed by the propagation of the disease, that fact be taken as a proof of the impurity of the atmosphere, it would be reasoning in a circle—a mere juggle, instead of an argument. Now, taking the proposition in this sense, a more daring and outrageous mistatement was never penned. Excepting only places where the disease is endemic, nearly all the plagues which have ever devastated the world, have followed the visits of the sick to unaffected places—the only difficulty in producing 'a single example,' is

the

the difficulty of choosing among a multitude. The plague of Malta, in 1813, followed the visit of the sick, in the San Nicolo from Alexandria, an affected place, to Malta, an unaffected place, unaffected for 137 years. The plague at Gozo followed a visit from Valetta, an affected place, to Gozo, an unaffected place,—an elevated, little island, only a few miles long. The plague at Marseilles, in 1720, followed the visits of the sick from Seyde in Syria, and from Tripoli, affected places, to Marseilles, an unaffected place, unaffected for more than half a century. The plague of Moscow, in 1771, followed the visit of the sick from Choczin, an affected place, to Moscow, an unaffected place, unaffected for more than a century and a half. So far from being in want of a single instance, we have no room for the number which press on us; but we will give one which may serve better than any on a larger scale, and in more populous districts, because no stress can be laid on the impurity of the air. When the plague was raging in London, in the year 1665, the visit, not of the sick, but of the clothes of the sick from London, an affected place, to a village on the Peak of Derbyshire, an unaffected place, was followed by the appearance of the disease in the pure air of that remote and elevated spot. Dr. Macmichael has given a full account of this striking fact in his very interesting Pamphlet; but we find the following short mention of it by Mr. Howard, in his account of the principal lazzarettos of Europe.

'When the plague raged in London, in the year 1665, the infection was conveyed by means of a parcel of clothes to the remote village of Eyam near Tidewell, in the Peak of Derbyshire. In this place it broke out in September, 1665, and continued its ravages upwards of a year, when 260 of the inhabitants had died of it. The worthy rector, Mr. Mompesson, whose name may rank with those of Cardinal Borromeo of Milan, and the good Bishop of Marseilles, at its breaking out, resolved not to quit his parishioners, but used every argument to prevail with his wife to leave the infected spot. She, however, refused to forsake her husband, and is supposed to have died of the plague. They sent away their children. Mr. Mompesson constantly employed himself during the dreadful visitation, in his pastoral office, and preached to his flock in a field where nature had formed a sort of alcove in a rock, which place still retains the appellation of a church. He survived, and the entries in the parish register relative to this calamity are in his hand-writing. In the fields surrounding the town are many remains denoting the places where tents were pitched; and tombs are still existing of large families entirely swept away by this devouring pestilence.'—p. 24.*

The

* The anti-contagionists have been in the habit of affirming that the plague had never penetrated into Arabia. We have received the following communication from Dr. Benjamin Babington, who came over land from India, and in whom the soundest sense, and the most cautious observation, are hereditary qualifications. It bears immediately on this part of the subject.—'The plague had never been in Arabia till the

The statement then is utterly false; but that is not all; it is equally inconclusive; if we were to admit that the removal of the sick to places unaffected with the plague is often followed by speedy recovery, and by no spread of the disorder, we should only admit what is true with regard to diseases unquestionably contagious, as the small-pox. Van Swieten, who saw the small-pox when it was propagated only in the natural way, writes thus:

'I have sometimes observed large towns to be free from the small-pox, whilst it raged epidemically in the neighbouring villages; and, on the contrary, some large towns universally visited by the complaint, whilst the villages in the neighbourhood remained in health, though the inhabitants of both mixed daily with each other. I also perfectly remember, that I once removed two patients of mine from a place where the small-pox raged to a large town, without propagating the contagion there; and many excellent physicians, with whom I have cultivated a friendly commerce with respect to medical knowledge, testify, that they have observed the same thing.'

A similar fact is mentioned by Sir John Pringle, in his Account of Diseases of the Army, where it is stated that 'the small-pox, being carried into a camp by some new raised recruits, quickly disappeared without becoming general, although it is notorious that other camp-diseases are but too apt quickly to spread themselves.' Again, the late and learned Dr. Odier, in a letter from Geneva to Dr. Haggarth, says,

'we have frequently inoculated at Geneva a great number of children in the years during which the small-pox was not epidemic; these children have gone out every day, even after the eruption had broken out; they have been in the streets, and in the public walks; they have communicated freely with other children susceptible of the infection, and, not only the small-pox did not spread, but there did not occur, to my knowledge, any distinct instance of the communication of the disease from one individual to another in the streets or promenades.'

When Sir James M'Grigor was at Bombay, the small-pox was raging in the houses contiguous to the barracks, yet not one adult or child in the regiment was affected by it. In Africa, when the Harmattan blows, no contagion is active, not even that by inoculation of the small-pox.

We pass on to an observation which deserves more attention, be-

middle of 1815, when Mahomed Ali Pasha of Egypt, sent his troops across the desert into Arabia on an expedition against the Wahabees. On this occasion it visited Yambo and Jedda, and crept down the coast as low as Gamfada. Each of these towns lost nearly half its population. When I was at Milo, in the end of 1815, a vessel came into the port having one person on board ill with the plague. This vessel was ordered by the Greek authorities to quit the harbour. She put into Mitylene, where those in command being less cautious, allowed the sailors to land, several of whom had by this time become infected. The disease immediately afterwards broke out among the Islanders, and many fell victims to it.'

cause

cause it is not founded in mistatement; it is this: that the plague, when raging violently, sometimes suddenly abates at the very time when the supposed sources of infection, contaminated persons, or contaminated things, are most numerous. In the great plague of London, in 1665, Sydenham states, that 'the number of deaths which had increased to some thousands in one week in August, decreased and almost stopped at the latter end of November.' It must be obvious to the thoughtful reader, that this circumstance, on which so much stress is laid, is only another instance of a general accident of contagious diseases which we have already weighed and considered, viz. that they are propagated readily at one time and with difficulty at another. This has generally been explained by the supposed existence or non-existence of some quality in the atmosphere favourable to the propagation; if the atmosphere can suddenly assume such a quality, it is easy to understand how it may as suddenly lose it. If some changes are capable of increasing, other changes may be capable of diminishing the prevalence of a disease. There is no more mystery in the sudden diminution than there is in the sudden increase in the number of the sick, and there is no mystery in either to one who duly considers that two things are required for the ready diffusion of a contagious disease; the one, the contagious matter or effluvium; the other, a particular state of the atmosphere favourable to its action.

Other circumstances may contribute to the decline of contagious diseases. A man must have had little experience in medicine who does not know that some persons are more susceptible of disease than others. When a contagious disease first breaks out, it of course seizes the most susceptible subjects—they are the tinder, which take fire readily and burn rapidly. The disease spreads easily and widely as long as this combustible matter is abundant, but as soon as it is consumed the fire burns dimly, and at length goes out. Something too may depend on this, that the contagion may lose its pungency by passing through many individuals, and at length wear out. The vaccine matter fresh from the cow produces a more painful disorder than after it has passed for some time through the human subject by inoculation; and if vaccination be now less effectual than formerly as a preventive of small-pox, it may be because we have neglected too long to vaccinate with matter taken immediately from the animal. When siphylis was first brought from America to Europe, it was so virulent and so terrible, that we can hardly recognize in the descriptions left of it by our ancestors, the comparatively mild and tractable disease of the present day.

The last argument of the anti-contagionists which we think entitled to any notice, is the circumstance, that when the plague is prevalent,

prevalent, so many persons are exposed to the contagion without being affected. This argument is founded upon the supposition, that because almost every body is susceptible to the contagion of small-pox, measles, and scarlet fever, therefore almost every body must be susceptible to the contagion of the plague if it be contagious; in other words, that the laws which govern the eruptive contagious fevers must be the same as govern all contagious fevers. This argument we have already destroyed, by observing that it takes for granted the very point in dispute, that the eruptive contagious fevers are the only contagious fevers. If because many who are exposed to the contagion of the plague escape it, we are to infer that the exposure is not the cause of the plague in those who take it, let us see to what conclusions we shall arrive. Of those who are bitten by a rabid animal, many are not affected by hydrophobia; therefore the bite of a rabid animal is not the cause of hydrophobia. Of those exposed to a cold and variable season, many are not affected with pulmonary inflammations; therefore cold and variable weather is not the cause of pulmonary inflammations. Of those oppressed by the intense heat of the season, many are not seized with the cholera; therefore a hot season is not the cause of cholera. But a truce to this—the causes of disease are not things which invariably produce them, but which produce them sufficiently often to leave no doubt that they are to be considered their causes. Every body is susceptible to small-pox, measles, and scarlet fever; but then, having had them once, he never has them again. Many people are not susceptible, at least for a time, to the plague; but then, having had it once, they may have it repeatedly—singleness of attack is a compensation for universal susceptibility—frequent insusceptibility is a compensation for the liability to repeated attacks. Nature, or rather Providence, abounds in these compensations.

We might now leave the subject, but there are a few statements of the anti-contagionists which it will be useful to notice, not as important in themselves, but as showing the structure of the minds of those who advance them, how little they are to be trusted even in the statement of a fact, and how unfit they are as guides on so momentous a subject. A writer in Blackwood's Magazine, alluding to the anonymous expositor of Dr. M'Lean's whims, says, 'it is true I know *nothing of the subject*, but the Article appears to me to be *quite conclusive*.' It is impossible to put it more happily—the exposition does appear quite conclusive to one who knows nothing of the subject. The most potent arguments are facts, and when the teacher cares little, and the student is totally ignorant, whether they are accurate or no, the business of conviction is an easy task. An instance or two will show what we mean.

'The

'The small-pox secretes a contagious matter which is contained in its pustules—the measles secretes a contagious matter which is contained *in its vesicles.* Apply a portion of the fluid contained in the pustules of the one and *the vesicles of the other* to a healthy person, it will excite in the latter the same train of symptoms as existed in the individual in whom the contagious matter was secreted.'—*West. Rev.* No. V. p. 138. And again—'the small-pox is never without its pustules, the measles is never without its vesicles.'—*Ibid.* p. 139.

The writer has good reason for his distaste for medical authorities, and his preference of men of general science for his judges; for here is a fact, one of the main pillars of his argument, which such judges would receive without suspicion, but which every medical man on earth knows to be utterly false. The truth is, that though vesicles *sometimes* occur during the progress of measles, they are by no means the essential or characteristic eruption of the disease; the characteristic eruption of measles is a rash, containing no matter to inoculate with, and no one ever thought of producing the measles 'by applying a portion of the fluid contained in its vesicles.' Dr. Francis Home, of Edinburgh, who, in the year 1759, attempted to inoculate the measles, expressly says, 'there was no matter,' and therefore he was obliged to employ the blood. Again,

'Were epidemic diseases really propagated by contagion, it could not possibly be a matter of controversy; the facts establishing the truth would be so clear, so numerous, so overwhelming, as to place it beyond all question. *No one can doubt, no one ever did doubt, that the small-pox is contagious.* This alone must be sufficient to decide the matter in the judgment of every philosophical mind.'—*Ibid.* p. 147.

Now we beg leave to inform the 'philosophical minds' to whom an appeal is here made, that some one did doubt that the small-pox was contagious; no less a person than the greatest physician England ever produced, Sydenham. He saw the small-pox when its natural mode of diffusion was not interrupted by inoculation or vaccination, as it now is, and yet this great man had no suspicion that it was contagious. In his time a belief in the non-contagiousness of small-pox was not only the medical, but the popular opinion. Gadbury, the astrologer, in his 'London's Deliverance Predicted,' published in the year 1665, says, 'I say then, it (the plague) ought not to be deemed infectious at all, at least not more infectious than *small-pox*, scurvy, pleurisy, ague, gout.'

Mistatements, however, of the kind which we have just noticed, are not matter of surprize, for the argument is not addressed to medical men; it appeals from their judgment to that of men of general science acquainted with the laws of evidence. We come now to a different class, and we suspect that for the future even a knowledge

knowledge of the laws of evidence may be found an inconvenient qualification in the men of science who are to decide the question. For example we are told that

'it is the custom in Turkey for the relations of those who died of the plague, to wear the clothes of the deceased, or to sell them at the public bazaar; they are never destroyed, they are invariably either worn by the relatives or sold at the public market; *there is no instance on record of the disease being communicated by these means.* The persons who deal in the clothes are not infected, the persons who wear them remain free from the disease.'—*West. Rev.* No. V. p. 160.

A naturalist who had affirmed that domesticated hogs were infested with a species of vermin which did not infest wild hogs, was asked how he knew it; whether he had combed all the wild hogs in the world? So we may ask whether the anti-contagionists have traced all the old clothes which are worn by the relatives or sold at the bazaar?

When Dr. M'Lean was examined before the Committee on contagion, he said,

'I used to walk into the city of Constantinople, even after I had the disease, and go through the thickest of the people, visiting the coffee-houses and other frequented places; nor was the disease by that means propagated.'

How does he know? did he inquire into the fate of all the people whom he had jostled in the streets, and sat by in the coffee-houses?

If we admit the fact that many people are exposed to the clothes of the sick without catching the disease, it proves no more than the fact that many are exposed to the sick themselves without catching it; and this we have already considered. It is not even of this value to the anti-contagionists, till they have satisfied inquirers on a few preliminary points in each case, which seem to have escaped them as of no importance. Were the clothes of the dead worn during their illness? Were they worn during that stage of the disease which is infectious? To what extent have they been exposed to the air since the death of their owner? A lancet dipped in vaccine matter kept for a few days in the pocket, and then used for vaccination, with all the advantages of intentional immersion in the contagious fluid, and careful insertion under the skin in the act of vaccination, is more likely to fail than to succeed in giving the disease; and hence the importance of bringing together the person to be vaccinated with the person from whom he is to be vaccinated, and performing the operation with fresh matter.

So much for the evidence in support of this sweeping statement that 'there is no instance on record of the communication of the disease

disease by these means;' and now let us hear a little evidence against it.

'It is a notion,' says Dr. Russell, 'prevalent at Aleppo, that a plague cannot subsist in the city any considerable time without being imparted to the Jews. Many of that nation are employed as brokers and pedlars in most parts of the town, and numbers who deal in old clothes daily pass through the streets, purchasing their wares from all ranks of people. In this manner it is supposed the distemper is transported to the Jewish district.'

And again, says Dr. Russell,

'*if substances tainted by the sick should be conveyed into secluded retreats, and persons happen to be seized with the distemper*, can it be ascribed not to contagion, but to terror? and *the instances here alluded to are not the creation of fancy, but strictly consonant to repeated experience in Turkey.*'

In another place Dr. Russell says,

'I met with *many* instances of the disease being communicated by coverlids, carpets, and apparel purchased from infected houses.'

Dr. Pugnet, who was with the French army in Egypt, states that at Jaffa, an apothecary dying of the plague, his neck-handkerchiefs were divided among, and worn by, fourteen persons: *all these* were seized with the plague, and had bubos in their necks.

The anti-contagionists assert that the plague never was in Holland, although the Dutch have no quarantine laws. That singular but laborious writer Noah Webster has collected accounts of no less than fourteen plagues which ravaged Flanders and Holland at various periods, in one of which, at Delft, in the year 1557, the dead bodies were so numerous that the people fought for the coffins. As to the absence of quarantine laws, if this were true, how happens it that, as soon as England only relaxes her's, and thereby approaches the state of law said to exist in Holland, the several powers of the Mediterranean turn round upon her, and compel every vessel from her ports to perform quarantine before entering their ports?—a conduct which they do not observe towards the vessels of Holland, which undergo no quarantine at all. On inquiring of the Dutch authorities in this country, we learn that the Dutch have quarantine laws, but that, when a vessel arrives from the Levant with a clean bill of health, they are not always strictly enforced. Dr. Granville, who seems to have taken much pains to ascertain the fact, gives the following as the result of his inquiries, in his letter on this subject to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Dutch trade in the Mediterranean, in former times, suffered much from the Algerine cruizers; in consequence of which the Dutch merchantmen trading in the Mediterranean were, from the early ages of the Republic, directed to assemble at Leghorn,

Leghorn, from which port they sailed under convoy to Holland. This arrangement leads to considerable detention at Leghorn, which, although originally intended as a security against pirates, served in point of fact the purpose of a quarantine, Leghorn being, as is well known, the port of all others in which the quarantine regulations were the most perfect, and most rigidly observed. In addition to this, whenever any Dutch vessel quitted a port where the plague was raging, the Dutch consul at that port refused her a '*passe-port de mer*,' without which she was not safe in sailing through the Mediterranean, nor was she admitted into Holland.

It would be an endless task to go through what may be called the collateral absurdities in the reasoning of the anti-contagionists —yet we must mention one or two instances. Thus it is said that the doctrine of contagion is selfish and inhuman, and prevents the due performance of the duties of the healthy to the sick; while the doctrine of epidemic diseases remedies the evil. Yet the same persons say,

'People are attacked (with the plague) in proportion as the inhabitants of unaffected expose themselves to the air of affected places. The visits of the inhabitants of an unaffected to an affected place is [are] attended with a *certain* increase of sickness.'—*West. Rev.* No. V. p. 145.

Is it possible that they should not see that their objection applies more strongly against this doctrine than against that of contagion; for if the latter teaches us to avoid the *sick*, the former teaches us to avoid the *very air* which surrounds the sick. The latter says *only*, do not touch a patient affected with the plague, or the clothes which he has worn; you may go within a certain distance of him—observe his symptoms—prescribe for him—carry him medicine and refreshment. But the latter says, if you go into the chamber, or the house, or the very neighbourhood in which the disease is raging, you expose yourself to danger.

Another absurdity is, that the doctrine of contagion was a popish trick, and never heard of before the year 1547, when it was invented by Pope Paul III. as an excuse for removing the Council of Trent to Bologna. Two learned foreigners, Dr. C. F. H. Mark and Dr. Omodei, of Milan, have just published most satisfactory refutations of this statement. That of the former is entitled Origines Contagii; that of the latter is contained in the twenty-second volume of the Milan Annals of Medicine; of both an elaborate analysis is given in the Edinburgh Medical Journal. It was hardly necessary to expend so much talent and learning, as these gentlemen have displayed, upon a notion unworthy of serious refutation. As far back as Thucydides and Aristotle, through a long succession of historians and poets down

down to Boccaccio, the notion is traced that pestilential diseases are contracted by communication with the sick. Dr. M'Lean is a little sore on this subject, and he has a curious mode of defending himself. When reminded in the Committee of Boccaccio's account of the plague at Florence in 1348, in which the healthy are represented as flying from the sick, to avoid catching the disease, he says,

'It is necessary to ascertain the precise date of its being printed, in order to appreciate the authenticity of the doctrines as being those of the writer, or as being introduced by interpolation of editors or commentators.'

What must be the condition of that man's mind who could suspect interpolation on such a subject?

When Dr. M'Lean was examined by the Committee on the doctrine of contagion, he told them that his opinions were founded on an experience of *seventeen days;* but requested them 'to recollect how little the value of experience might be commensurate with its duration—that the plague was generally fatal in nine cases out of ten—but that he could cure it in *four cases out of five.* When asked to what extent he had tried this triumphant mode of treatment, he said upon *one* patient, and that was himself. When reminded that Dr. Whyte had inoculated himself with the plague, and had died of it, he said 'that he took it' *by a coincidence.* When told that the Turks, who used no precautions to avoid the plague, suffer much more from it than the Christians, who avoid it, he said that he did *not believe it, because he did not see the grounds for it.* When asked upon what grounds he concluded that the Turks and Mahometans suffered less than the Christians, he said, *not from actual observation,* but from *the nature of things, and because there was no evidence to the contrary.* He said, he would not believe that a person had the small-pox twice, even if he were to witness it; *he should distrust the evidence of his own eyes.* When asked at what periods of the year the plague at Moscow in 1771 had prevailed and declined, he answered, that his impression was that it began *at the usual epidemic season in northern latitudes, and ceased at the usual time.* Being thereupon asked what he called the epidemic season at Moscow, he rejoined that it was the same, or nearly the same, as in this country, *judging from the pestilence in* 1771. So that the plague at Moscow was epidemic because it raged at the epidemic season; and that was the epidemic season, because the plague raged at that time; there is no circle in Euclid, which it would be more difficult to square than this. He denied that Thucydides describes the plague at Athens as contagious; it is true that this is in express defiance not only of that author's positive assertion, but of some details,

details, occasioned by the contagious nature of the disorder; we infer, indeed, from Dr. M'Lean's cautiously worded answer that he would find a difficulty in reading the original; probably, however, he knows Latin, and as he professes to have formed his opinion from a *comparison of interpretations*, we would ask him whether he has ever stumbled on rather a spirited and yet faithful translation of that part of Thucydides by Lucretius; or, if his Latinity be confined to the Pharmacopeia, whether he ever looked at the best English translation by one Thomas Hobbes of Malmsbury. These were a few of the precious statements with which Dr. M'Lean favoured the Contagion Committee, and we know not which to wonder at most, the mind of the man who uttered them, or the patience of the Committee who could listen to them. This gentleman has been described, by an enlightened member of parliament, as one of those extraordinary persons who will be pointed out by the finger of the future historian! History has two fingers, which she employs for different purposes in pointing out individuals to the notice of their fellow-men; which of the two she will use, if ever she happen to notice Dr. M'Lean, we will not venture to predict. Judging by his writings and his actions we conclude that he is a man of great self-confidence, zeal, and perseverance; these qualities, when combined with ability, judgment, and knowledge, form the improvers of science, the master-spirits of their age, the benefactors of their species; but when combined, as they often are, with wrong-headedness, and a heap of inaccurate and ill-digested knowledge, they form very absurd, and often very mischievous men. Every age affords examples of both; the latter are not uncommonly mistaken for the former; but time corrects the blunder.

We are tired of refuting errors and exposing absurdities which would require no refutation nor exposure if those who are to decide, were well acquainted with the facts of the question. We call on our legislators, however, before they consent to abolish the system of quarantine, to pause and reflect on the tremendous importance of the stake; to consider that these barriers were built up by our experienced ancestors, and that we have no experience, who are about to pull them down; that the experienced powers of the Mediterranean behold with astonishment the opinions which have been broached in England on the subject, and in consequence of the relaxations to which our government has already consented, have refused to admit our vessels into their ports without a previous quarantine. We beg them to remember how often, in their own families, they act on the supposition of contagion when the evidence amounts only to a probability; and we entreat them to legislate for the nation on the same principles of wise and humane

humane caution which they observe in the regulation of their own establishments. If in the details of the present amended system there be any thing vexatious or unnecessarily dilatory, and we are far from saying that there is nothing such, let it receive a still farther consideration, and any remedy be applied, which may appear to be adequate and proper; but we earnestly hope that no individual inconvenience, nor any ingenious speculations, however strongly the one may be pressed, or however plausibly the other stated, will induce our legislature to abandon the *principle* of quarantine, or introduce any system founded on the belief that the plague is not a contagious disease.

Dr. M'Lean must excuse the freedom with which we have examined his theory, his arguments, and his pretensions. We have written nothing in personal ill will against a man of whom we know nothing except on this question; but this is too important a matter to allow us to weigh any pain, which we may unavoidably inflict on him, against the cause of the public and of truth. His hobby, or his delusion, be it which it may, is not a harmless one, and he must not be indulged in it. We remember, a few years since, a newspaper story, with which, as not an inapt illustration of his proceedings, we will conclude. An odd fellow, a chemist, appeared before the Lord Mayor, begging leave to show experimentally, that detonating balls were quite harmless; and drew half a pound of gunpowder out of his pocket, in which he meant to explode the balls; the Lord Mayor exclaimed loudly against the experiment; but at length, on his earnest entreaty and strong assurances, permitted him to try it with a small quantity of powder. To the chemist's utter discomfiture the powder exploded, he protesting that it *ought not* to have done so.

If parliament will but enact the part of the yielding Lord Mayor, the plague will not be slow to represent, very adequately, that of the detonating balls; Dr. M'Lean cannot indeed, like the chemist, limit the quantity of his gunpowder, but he will protest most solemnly, and most consolingly over the dead and the dying, that the disease *ought not* to have spread amongst them.

ART. X.—*Letter to Mr. Brougham on the Subject of a London University, together with Suggestions respecting the Plan.* By T. Campbell, Esq. London. 1825.

IT is difficult, in a country in which public opinion bears a decided sway, to discuss any measure, that is likely to have a wide influence upon society, with feelings altogether unbiassed, or with a tone perfectly sedate and impartial. So many established principles and modes of thinking are shaken by any new method of

acting upon the public mind, so many vested interests are liable to be injured by plans remotely advantageous to the whole community, there is so much risk of losing what we know to be good, in the pursuit of something which we only hope will be better, that almost all experienced and prudent people take the same side, and present, if not an active and declared opposition, yet a sort of inert resistance to the proposed innovation. Neither is this ungracious reception even of schemes decidedly beneficial, and the slow progress they make through a reluctant medium of prejudice, altogether to be lamented. If founded upon just principles, and not springing from ephemeral fashion or from causes of a transient nature, they are sure to make their way under a free government, and the difference of a few years, sooner or later, in the execution, is a trifling consideration, when set against the advantage derived from this cautious procedure; while the credit and confidence which the friends of the measure gradually acquire by temperately persevering in a design, to which the public attention is candidly invited, amply indemnifies them for a little procrastination of success.

We have, in fact, been so often deceived by specious names adopted to mask the most mischievous intentions, that great allowance is to be made for those who disregard the titles and the first prospectus of new institutions, professing to wait for fuller evidence of their nature before they venture to give them any countenance, and taking no pains in the mean time to conceal their suspicions, or even their positive hostility.

The ordinary practice, indeed, in all such cases, is to argue the point with the vehemence and exaggeration of forensic pleading: a task infinitely more easy as well as more fruitful of applause, than the sober comparison of good and evil, instituted under a calm resolution of supporting that side on which the good shall appear to preponderate. Thus the whole rhetorical armoury is commonly ransacked for weapons both of offence and defence. Not content with exhibiting a portrait of his case as flattering as art can make it, leaving out what is dubious, and boldly denying what is adverse, the advocate proceeds to charge all opposition to his claims with interested motives, or with a mean spirit of rivalship and jealousy, which would sacrifice the public good to private and mercenary views. Panegyric and invective soon supply the place of argument: or if argument be employed, it is of that unmeasured headstrong kind which, reckless of consequences, as having nothing at stake, aims only at immediate triumph. In the mean time all the nicer and more laborious processes of balancing contrary evidence, of calculating the necessary aberrations of practice from pure theory, and of reconciling abstract principles with

with the entangled interests of real life, in which the whole difficulty of the argument actually consist, and upon which the whole merit of the proposition turns, are utterly disregarded.

The natural consequence of this proceeding is to excite a spirit of party on the other side; to call forth all the trite topics of declamation against innovators, and theorists, and agitators of the public mind. The subject of contention commonly partakes more or less of the character of some political division which runs through the nation; and, in proportion to the eagerness and heat which the discussion generates, is absorbed into it: and then farewell to the hope of candour and moderation.

'Omnia tunc pariter vento nimbisque videbis
Fervere.'

When this strife of elements has once begun, it is the part of wisdom to retreat to its shelter, and to wait for happier days before the plan of improvement is again submitted to the public attention.

We are far from imputing to the authors of the plan for founding a London University, designs hostile to existing establishments, or that intemperance of language which either supposes or makes an enemy of every one who suspends his approbation of the measure. Hitherto the cause has been recommended by the moderate and judicious conduct of its friends. Even in Parliament the greatest care has been taken to avoid every topic of offence, to disclaim all competition with our ancient and flourishing Universities, to conciliate favour rather than to demand assistance, and to represent the scheme as naturally growing out of the existing state of society, instead of anticipating important changes to be wrought upon society by its powerful operation. With the exception of one contemporary publication, which, notwithstanding the shameful discomfiture of its former efforts, has again disgraced itself by a strain of low scurrility against the English Universities, as dull in manner as it is false in fact, and fallacious in argument, the rest have been distinguished by an unassuming and dispassionate tone, earnest indeed but calm, and free from all the bitterness of contention.

The author of the little tract before us, in particular, who may also be considered as the prime author of the design itself, has done himself much credit by the manner in which he has explained the outline of his plan; and, although addressing himself to a political partisan of no ordinary vehemence, by disclaiming and dissuading all connexion with politics, and all ideas of comparison with the English Universities, as well as any attempt to censure their proceedings. He assumes only the great advantages that must arise from increase of knowledge; he endeavours to rouse

the Londoners to a sense of these advantages; and he points out the means they possess of making them their own, in a much higher degree than any in which they have ever yet enjoyed them.

Without calling in question the fundamental position, that increase of knowledge is a necessary good, a question, be it observed, essentially practical, we shall have occasion presently to offer some remarks upon the important error (for so we must take leave to call it) of resolving EDUCATION into the mere acquisition of knowledge, or of applying that term at all to the single branch of it which is unconnected with religious instruction, and with the formation of manners and character. '*Names* are *things*' was a current maxim during the turbulence of the French revolution; and Mr. Campbell has already shown himself well aware, by the importance he attaches to the title University, of the extensive influence which a word may have over the opinions and feelings of men. But to this topic we shall again advert, after having presented our readers with a sketch of that university proposed for the instruction of the metropolis.

'The plan which I suggest,' says Mr. Campbell, 'is a great London university. Not a place for lecturing to people of both sexes, (except as an appendage to the establishment,) but for effectually and multifariously teaching, examining, exercising, and rewarding with honours, in the liberal arts and sciences, the youth of our middling rich people, between the age of fifteen or sixteen, or twenty, or later, if you please. By the middling rich, I mean all between mechanics and the enormously rich.'—p. 3.

We omit a reflection which follows upon the frailties of this highest class, perfectly uncalled for, and perfectly unjust as characteristic of that class; and we take this opportunity of expressing our regret that one or two flippancies of this kind which are in thoroughly bad taste, should have been allowed to mar the general tone of sobriety and good sense which pervades the pamphlet.

Of lecturing institutions Mr. Campbell speaks with some contempt. 'They are,' he says, 'too theatrical, and youth is not to be so taught. A hundred institutions without examinations would not educate our youth.' He then proceeds to answer some objections alleged on the score of health and morals, and gives the following summary of an academical day spent according to the exemplar present to his own imagination.

'On the days of study, they might breakfast early at home, and return, after receiving instruction for several hours, always by daylight, to their parents' houses. As they could not study for six hours at College without intermission, the chief difficulty would be to find a place for their resort during the intervals; and this circumstance would require the university to have roomy, and therefore expensive premises. But if public spirit were once awakened, all difficulties and expenses would be surmounted.

surmounted. All that would be necessary would be, to have some porticoes and large halls, independent of the lecture-rooms, to which they might resort for relaxation; and although these were close to the places of teaching, yet, by proper means, all noisy recreations might be prohibited. They would thus have to perambulate London *only twice a day*, and that during daylight. *Their parents might know how every minute of every day of their life was employed.*'—p. 3.

After making every allowance for the partiality which an author naturally feels for his own plan, we cannot but think that Mr. Campbell has erred egregiously in underrating the practical difficulties arising from the want of controul and inspection necessarily involved in it. The concluding sentence, indeed, of the passage last cited, appears to indicate a total want of experience in the management of young men, and is to us perfectly unintelligible. But not to dwell upon these defects, lest we should seem desirous of obstructing the project, which is not our intention, let us proceed to consider in what respects such a plan falls short of the idea which an university education in England generally implies. And we enter upon this point the more readily, because much misconception seems to prevail as to the original constitution and progressive history of those bodies, which have certainly exerted a powerful influence upon our national character, and to which we are inclined to attribute no small share of that superiority which the frame of society in this country has long maintained over that of all other nations, some of them more refined, perhaps, more ingenious, or even more deeply learned than ourselves.

The composition and the early state of these bodies appears to have been nearly the same all over Europe, and except in the instance of the two English universities, has not undergone any material change, although in the subject matter of their studies, as well as in the proof required from the students of their proficiency, a total revolution has in process of time taken place. The object, however, was in the main the same then as it is now; to provide for the three great professions of theology, law, and physic, not only the best instruction in those departments, but that common basis of liberal information which might exercise and enlarge the mind before its attention was confined to the particular business of those several callings; and at the same time to afford ingenious men an opportunity of displaying their talents in teaching or improving the several arts and sciences which comprehended all that was thought most important in human knowledge. In this Encyclopædia were usually included ethics, physics, and metaphysics, (to which three heads the title of philosophy was especially given,) and as a preparatory discipline, grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, astronomy, and history, to which the

study of the Greek language was, as early as the latter part of the fifteenth century, commonly added.

In the paucity of books these matters were taught by public lecturers, who harangued a large audience, and who, according to their renown, which was not confined to one university or one nation, migrated from place to place, as they were invited by the patrons of learning, or as they coveted applause and promotion. The proficiency of scholars was tried not by examination, but by public disputations, frequently held, and watched by numerous bystanders with all the eagerness and anxiety which a trial of skill between practised combatants in any line never fails to excite: a method which is liable to many sound objections, and which we never desire to see revived in place of the modern substitute, interrogatory examination. But the efficacy of the method ought not to be judged of by those meagre and degenerate forms into which the practice had dwindled long before its final extinction. It was, in fact, by far the most powerful test of intelligence and promptitude joined to a familiar acquaintance with the subject matter in debate, that could be applied; and during the exercise, when performed under an able moderator, who was always an essential character in the drama, not only was talent elicited, but instruction was afforded to the bystanders in the laws of just reasoning; and sometimes, but much more rarely, solid information was conveyed by the arguments which the contending parties brought to bear upon the question. These advantages, however, were grievously overbalanced by the evils which spring from a habit of disputation. We speak not now of the mistaken principles which were assumed as the *dogmata* of the schools, which checked free inquiry, and opposed an effectual bar to the advancement of natural science. The process itself of maintaining an argument for victory only and not for truth, must needs be pernicious to the mind. It must form it to a settled habit of discovering what is specious and plausible in place of what is intrinsically sound and true. Nay, it naturally leads a vain and ambitious person to love and prefer the support of what is paradoxical. Truth is strong in its own resources; and little glory is to be acquired by maintaining that which approves itself to the unsophisticated judgment of men: but to bolster up a false hypothesis, to fasten upon the weak points of an adversary's case, and represent them as being its strong holds, to mask a fallacy well, to darken and perplex where the light would betray our purpose, and to succeed in forcing conviction upon an opponent who entered the lists with the established opinion on his side, was a triumph the more flattering, in proportion to the greatness of the difficulties surmounted in achieving it.

Such, however, was the universal method of academical study

in

in former times. The towns in which the most celebrated professors taught were the resort of swarms of students, anxious to qualify themselves either for some of the numerous stations of the church and the law, or from a dislike of the common business of life, to take the chance of making their fortune by acquiring eminence in the learning and philosophy of the age. They lodged as they could in tradesmen's houses, or formed themselves into small societies living under the same roof, and acknowledging one superior or principal, elected from among themselves for mutual convenience. Of these inns, or receptacles of scholars, not less than 400 are enumerated by the Oxford antiquary Wood, within that city alone. The early annals, however, afford abundant proof of the turbulence and dissolute manners which that mode of life engendered; evils, which are exemplified in a greater or less degree to this day in those continental towns to which there is the greatest conflux of students attracted by the fame of a professor, and of which we have lately had some lively descriptions given us by an observer of no ordinary talent.* Perfectly free from moral coercion, except when offending against the laws of the country, and deprived of that salutary restraint which domestic habits and affections, or the opinion of a neighbourhood impose, it could not but happen that a loose rein would be given by the generality of young men to vicious indulgence, and that a coarseness of manners, and a sort of privileged *fierté* should be assumed, especially when backed by numbers, and secure from personal responsibility in the ordinary details of common life.

The first effectual check to this licentiousness in the English Universities was given by the foundation of separate societies, upon a large scale, combining the dignity and independence of a corporate body with the discipline and personal controul of domestic residence. These colleges were in general the work of private munificence. The declared purpose was to constitute select bodies of students, distinct from the general mass, living under a more regular discipline, and enjoying the advantages of instruction and exercise within their own walls, besides that of the public lectures, which were open alike to all. The benefits of this method soon became so apparent, that the first experiment was quickly followed by others of the same kind, and a sort of emulation in this career of munificence was felt by many of the most powerful and wealthy individuals, especially among the prelates, insomuch that in the course of two or three centuries the whole aspect of the universities underwent a material change. From the time that a large majority of the collective body had

* See Russell's Travels in Germany.

been moulded into this new form, may be dated the cessation of those tumultuous scenes of riot which stain their earlier annals, and the introduction not only of order and decorum in public intercourse, but of decency and improved taste and elevation of carriage in private life; which soon came to be regarded as the proper qualities of a scholar, quite as much as in a former age men had been accustomed to associate vulgarity of manners and licentious morals with that character.

This improvement in the system of academical life induced many of the nobility and of the higher class of gentry to place their sons, during that period when they are as yet unfit for entering upon the active duties proper to their sphere, in the bosom of societies where their conduct would be controuled, their religious opinions formed, and their moral habits influenced, as well as their minds exercised in the studies then principally encouraged. In peaceful times this class of students became very numerous; and with the diffusion of wealth, and under the genius of a constitution always favourable to the civil professions in preference to that of arms, increased so far as, after the reformation of religion, nearly to equal the number of those destined to supply the service of the church. For the inferior departments in the faculties of medicine and law, it does not appear to have been ever the practice to lay this foundation of academical studies. The higher ranks of both those professions, the generality of the clergy, and the large and increasing class of independent proprietors, who either aspired at public employment, or intended to lead retired but useful lives on their own estates, looked upon a few years residence in such societies, as necessary to complete the course of liberal education.

And here it is that the term Education, supposing the ideal pattern to have been tolerably observed in practice, properly applies. A mode of life in which a young man's character is gradually and almost imperceptibly formed by daily intercourse with individuals of similar pursuits and similar prospects in life; in which he is required to conform to certain regulations, not of study and religious exercises only, but even of dress and behaviour; liable to be called to account for irregularities, and knowing that the character he acquires in this narrower sphere will, in a certain degree, affect his future reputation and interests; in short, a voluntary association of gentlemen, in which a gradation of authority is maintained, where a close personal connexion subsists between each younger member and some one more advanced in years, while all are united in a common bond of attachment to the whole community:—it is by the cultivation of literature and science under such circumstances that a man may truly be

be said to have had the advantages of liberal *education;* advantages by no means confined to the degree of proficiency he may have reached in those studies, but which are exemplified in a thousand ways, incapable of exact measurement, in the opinions, the habits, the tastes and feelings of the individual so trained.

It must indeed be allowed that, together with the change thus gradually introduced into the composition of our academical bodies, a material change also took place in the character of their public lectures. From the time that private instruction within the walls of a college was regularly imparted, and the number of those societies was so far increased as to justify the rule that all students in the University should be enrolled as members in one or other of them, the importance of the public professor began to decline. No longer supporting, as before, the credit of the whole university, nor regarded as the main source of knowledge from which all the minor cisterns were to be supplied, his throng of hearers began sensibly to be diminished; or to give rather a compulsory than a willing attendance. Indeed, elementary information was obviously so much better communicated in small private classes, and the multiplication of books had so much facilitated the means of acquiring knowledge, that one cannot wonder that men possessed of these united advantages should less prize a mode of teaching adapted to an earlier and a ruder age, or to places of education less provided with these facilities. While the form therefore of public lecturing still remained, the life-blood of the system was silently transfused into new channels, and continued to circulate health and vigour through the frame, although a careless or a prejudiced observer might interpret this partial decay as a symptom of approaching decrepitude.

Accordingly, in such universities the mode of teaching by public lecture became almost obsolete, except in those subjects which require experiments and ocular demonstration. In literature, and the studies essentially dependent upon literature, the professor could only hope to interest his hearers by occasional dissertations, containing the result of his private researches, correcting errors of former systems, throwing light upon obscure points, enlarging, or improving, or enriching some department of science or philology, and even then he looked rather to the press as the ultimate medium of useful instruction, than to the single recital of his composition before a crowded audience. The lectures thus composed were, in fact, designed for a class of auditors beyond the age of elementary instruction, presupposing that general acquaintance with [illegible] ject which could alone qualify them as judges of the matter laid before them.

It

It is worthy of remark, and, as we think, strongly corroborative of our main position, that, in those universities which are still kept together by the fame of public lectures, the constant object of the professor is to aim at some striking novelty, either in the arrangement of his materials, or in the leading principles of the subject which he professes to explain. He cannot expect to secure the attention of his class, except by some contrivance of this kind. And hence a perpetual vacillation of doctrine is observable, whether in morals, in metaphysics, or in religion, according to the frequency of change in the professorial chair. It may seem invidious to appeal for evidence of this to the universities of a sister kingdom, in which the first object of a new professor commonly is to refute the fundamental positions of his predecessor; we will only advert to the notorious fact, that the German schools of theology teem with speculations of the boldest and most licentious kind, offered to the reception of hearers who cannot possibly judge of the soundness of those opinions which are propounded for the first time, and which, on that very account, are sure to attract the greatest notice.

Now, in the face of all that sarcasm and contempt which is expressed for the beaten track of English education, we will venture to affirm that a place of education is the least of all proper to be made the arena of disputable and untried doctrine: and further, that the system of public instruction which excites a thirst for novelty, which tempts the instructor to pamper this appetite, and to engraft upon it his own hopes of fame and emolument, is vicious and corrupt in the highest degree. In the first place, it is one of the most prevailing infirmities of our nature to attach an undue importance to the mere fact of novelty in any improvement or discovery which attracts the public attention; and a considerable interval of time is often necessary before the new acquisition settles down into its native dimensions, and takes its place almost unobserved among the crowd of facts and principles already in our possession. Doubtless, many wise and salutary ends are promoted by this instinctive propensity of our nature. It is to this we are probably indebted in no small degree for every improvement of art and science which the world has ever witnessed. Just as the exalted idea men are apt to form of the value of their own pursuit or profession stimulates to exertion, and leads powerfully both to the zealous performance of duties, and to the advancement of knowledge, so does the fascination of novelty and the disproportionate applause which discoveries generally for a time enjoy, set in activity much of that intelligence and spirit of enterprize which would lie dormant if it were known how small a value the world will hereafter set upon the fruit of its labours. To

the

the discovery of a dreary waste of rock and snow, of a few undescribed plants or insects, of the course of an unfrequented stream, what sacrifices have been made of time, of toil, of suffering, of life itself, in the expectation of that reward which never fails to accompany success, the exaggerated estimate at first formed of the value of such acquisitions: whereas, after a few years, the only effect is found to be the filling up of some small blank in the map of human knowledge, hardly perceptible in comparison of the mass of long ascertained and recorded information which surrounds it. Thus it has ever been, and thus probably it ever will be, with the generality of mankind. The latest invention is always the greatest. The newest saint is the favourite of the whole calendar, and heaven as well as earth is in commotion to do him honour.

——'Ipse tibi jam brachia contrahit ardens
Scorpius, et cœli justâ plus parte reliquit.'

It is not then that we would damp the ardour of pursuit, by denying the meed even of extravagant applause to the successful discoverer, but we contend that a youthful assembly, brought together for systematic and sound instruction, is the last subject on which the delusion, wise and beneficial as it often is in its indirect results, should be practised. It cannot fail of giving a wrong bias to the attention, of throwing upon the several objects false lights and false colours, of raising distorted and preposterous images in the learner's mind, in place of that orderly and proportionate arrangement which is the only solid foundation of useful knowledge.

But if the tendency of novelty upon youthful minds, even when combined with truth, is to mislead by raising an exaggerated idea of its importance, still more objectionable is the ambitious display of it before such an audience, simply because they are least of all competent to judge of its claims to their assent. Much, we know, of that which was once hailed as an accession to science has not only been overrated at the first, but has been rejected after closer examination, and has yielded its place either to that which it for a while supplanted, or to some happier discovery of later time. The effect of a new theory undoubtedly is to provoke discussion and controversy; and, from the action of many minds upon the same ground of inquiry, a common result is at length obtained, winnowed and sifted, and reduced into a form more perfect than could belong to it in its crude and nascent state. It is the duty of the lecturer to incorporate from time to time with the established system, whatever truth has stood the test of this discussion, and to add it to the stock of knowledge of which he is the appointed dispenser. But to mix in the subordi-

nate

nate details of debate upon some question hitherto undecided, to take an eager part in the controversy, and to kindle the like disposition in his hearers, is to act like those injudicious *amateurs* in agriculture, who neglect the general cultivation of their farms for the sake of some curious and doubtful experiment. There is surely enough of what is undoubtedly true, and yet unknown to the learner, to occupy his mind while these discoveries are going on. And it cannot be too often insisted upon that the private study of the scholar and the laboratory of the chemist, not the lecture-room of either, are the proper theatres for the investigation of subjects hitherto unexplored or imperfectly examined.

To some of our readers we may seem to have dwelt with needless anxiety upon this point, because Mr. Campbell's plan is of an humbler and more sober cast. He does not amuse his imagination with a picture of eloquent professors pronouncing harangues before an admiring audience, but supposes them engaged in the more homely task of enabling their scholars to acquire new languages, to read with advantage elegant and learned and argumentative works, and to digest the elements of science. He would recommend 'the system of teachers lecturing an hour every day, for nine months in the year, and examining the students for two hours daily:' a method of instruction, effectual indeed if duly performed, but involving a labour so irksome on the part of the teacher, that few minds can long submit to it, unless stimulated by a feeling of personal regard for the parties examined; and which, if the class be numerous, usually terminates in the selection of a few of the readiest scholars for examination, by whom the exercise is, in fact, least needed.

We are, however, willing to give him due credit for the good sense manifested in thus limiting his views. But the difficulty here lies in the supply of adequate motives for regular and effective attendance; even supposing, (what is at first perhaps not improbable) that a considerable number of persons in the middling departments of trade will consent to grant their sons three or four years of the prime of life, to be spent in studies that have no bearing upon their future occupation; and, what is more important, in studies which are not unlikely to breed a disgust in many minds for the less liberal employments to which they are in after-life destined.

The provision made against this difficulty by Mr. Campbell is to be found in the prospect held out of honours and rewards. 'I 'would advise,' says he, 'an annual distribution of prizes; and such 'an august spectacle in a London University would light up a 'generous emulation in every youthful breast, and stamp an im-'proved character on the rising generation.' This is not so well said as it might have been, and partakes a little of the style of rhodomontade,

rhodomontade, from which the pamphlet is in general tolerably free. The distribution of prizes is doubtless a powerful incentive to those who expect by means of them to promote their interests in life, or to recommend themselves to employment, or, if placed beyond the necessity of employment, to acquire a reputation and an influence in the higher departments of society. They are of great utility also in schools, because a school is a world within itself; it constitutes the entire horizon, and is itself the sole business or profession of each boy while he belongs to it. But to be detained several years from entering upon active life in order to struggle for a prize by means of studies which have no connexion with the calling that awaits them, and when it is manifest that not one in fifty can actually succeed, is rather incongruous with the spirit of sober calculation by which trade prospers, and must cause many an industrious and unambitious parent to hesitate, before he barters the solid advantages of gain for the contingency of 'empty praise.'

If, on the other hand, the excitement be such as to breed an ardent love of literature, the danger undoubtedly is not to be overlooked of unsettling the minds of many, who cannot aspire to live by it, nor hope to obtain situations in virtue of this qualification. We are not starting vulgar and unphilosophical objections when we say this. They are such at least as occurred to the mind of one, whose zeal for the advancement of learning was only equalled by the enlarged view he also took of the moral, social, and political interests of mankind.

'Concerning the advancement of learning,' says Lord Bacon, 'I do subscribe to the opinion of one of the wisest and greatest men of your kingdom: That for grammar-schools there are already too many, and therefore no providence to add where there is excess: for the great number of schools which are in your highness's realm doth cause a want, and doth cause likewise an overflow; both of them inconvenient, and one of them dangerous. For by means thereof they find want in the country and towns, both of servants for husbandry, and apprentices for trade: and, on the other side, there being more scholars bred than the state can prefer and employ, and the active part of that life not bearing a proportion to the preparative, it must needs fall out, that many persons will be bred unfit for other vocations, and unprofitable for that in which they are brought up: which fills the realm full of indigent, idle, and wanton people, which are but *materia rerum novarum*.'—*Advice to the King touching Mr. Sutton's Estate.*

Still we are ready to admit that the lapse of two centuries has materially altered the case, especially in this country. We are become a nation of readers, as well as a commercial and an industrious nation. The enjoyment of English literature at least, is within the reach of every tradesman's family, as it actually forms the

the recreation of many of them in large towns; and it certainly has not come within our knowledge that such families are less attentive to their interests or less successful in business than others. But the education requisite to qualify men for this pleasure is not of the lengthened or systematic kind here contemplated. Authors, as well as readers, are to be the production of this nursery: and of those individuals who aim at distinction the majority must naturally incline to the profession of letters.

All these considerations, although they do not outweigh the arguments for affording greater facilities for instruction to the youth of the metropolis, yet ought to check the romantic hopes which seem to be entertained of a new character about to be impressed upon the population of London by this institution. Our object is not to suggest difficulties which may obstruct the undertaking, but to caution its friends against attempting too much, and by this error exciting a prejudice inimical to the whole design. Let that design be submitted to the judgment of the country, in its true lineaments, with no rhetorical ornament, and no exaggerated anticipations. Let it consist of a provision for instructing in certain branches of science and literature, those young men whose parents can spare two or three years for that purpose, previous to the life of business on which they must soon enter, but who cannot afford to support them at a distance from home as the associates of a class destined to fill the higher ranks and the more liberal employments of life.

If the name of UNIVERSITY be coveted, as likely to give dignity to the plan, as well as to promote its prosperity, we would not refuse the title, although it must often tend to mislead those who are acquainted only with the constitution of an English university: for in several of the most essential characters of such a body it is wholly wanting. There is, in fact, no *character* that can properly be said to belong to it: no predominant cast of features or complexion: nothing which can be expected to form the manners, the morals, or the religious opinions of its members —points which are most indispensable to complete the idea of a generous education.

The 'moral influence of home,' in which a remedy is suggested for all these deficiencies, is indeed of the most salutary and endearing kind. But this influence will not be greater under the proposed system than it is at the present moment. Nay, from the necessary absence of a young man throughout the day among a crowd of fellow students, in the midst of a large city, the control of domestic authority must needs be weakened in all cases, if not altogether evaded by any one who may be so inclined; and to this unavoidable evil we have only to oppose the hope that a taste

a taste for mental improvement will counteract the temptations of opportunity and bad example.

A weightier objection still remains against the assumed title of education, in the omission of that large and diversified and all important province of it, religion. It is not enough to say that in this respect the students will be as well off as they were before; that all the churches and conventicles of London are open to them; that this is an affair between each individual and his own conscience; and that the times are gone by, when, unless men agree in certain articles of faith, they ought to be debarred from the benefits of intellectual improvement. We are not contending for such a barrier. But the absence of that whole chapter is another lamentable blank in a work pretending to so complete a title.

It is, indeed, in this particular, more decidedly than in the want of a training to moral and social habits, that the inferiority is marked, as compared with the established system of English education. Religious knowledge is not merely a code of *agenda* and *credenda*, a summary of articles, or a manual of devotion. It is intimately connected with the whole course of ancient history, with philology and criticism, with the study of the learned languages, with moral and metaphysical philosophy. It runs parallel with the progress of the human mind in every liberal pursuit. The peasant may be as wise as his condition requires him to be, without the light of learning or philosophy; but the information which is sufficient for the peasant is beneath the claims which such a subject has upon the scholar and the gentleman. If, indeed, the mind be carefully instructed in every other branch of liberal knowledge, without a corresponding acquaintance with that which is the most momentous of all, an undue bias must be given to the judgment: the topic which is not expanded in proportion to the rest, will virtually shrink into insignificance and be despised; its track will be forsaken, its treasures undiscovered, its domain uncultivated. We cannot, therefore, too earnestly insist upon the incompleteness of any system of education in which this main ingredient is wanting. And we are disposed to attribute much of that enlightened religious principle, which, with all our faults, certainly exerts a powerful influence upon the educated part of the English nation, to the close union maintained in our principal seats of education between classical and religious learning. The *exclusive* cultivation of polite literature has often degenerated into a frivolous and *dilettante* character, or, according to the political humour of the times, has given birth to crude and wild schemes of civil commotion; but, held in that sacred bond, it is the parent of generous thought and of well regulated ambition. The serious and manly tone which is thus diffused over classical pursuits

pursuits imparts a dignity and elevation which carry them beyond the mere region of taste, and fit them for the most exalted as well as the most useful purposes.

> ' So may'st thou be translated to the skies,
> And give resounding grace to all heaven's harmonics.'

We shall be told, however, that complete and generous as the English system is, the places in which it has principally fixed its abode are not sufficient for the increased population of the country, or for that growing desire of intellectual cultivation, which is the natural result of peace, and wealth, and freedom, and national greatness. The complaint is probably not without foundation: and if the æra of private munificence be past away, which in former times ministered to this want, there is no subject more deserving the attention of a prudent and enlightened government than this. Our universities have grown up along with our constitution and with our national character. Let us still seek to preserve the union unbroken from which such happy effects have been experienced; and let us anxiously inquire both into the actual extent of the evil complained of, and into the remedies which are most suitable, and of easiest execution.

Before any attempt is made to multiply their number, a measure which has been often agitated, and which we are far from saying may not sooner or later be found expedient, the first inquiry should obviously be, whether their present capacity does not admit of enlargement, and whether by some interior regulations adapted to the change of times, increased provision might not be made for the reception of those, who heretofore never failed of obtaining admission, but who have lately in many instances found it difficult to enter, or have even been altogether excluded.

We are far, indeed, from wishing to institute that sort of investigation which was some time ago recommended in Parliament, but which was happily warded off from our universities, although it was allowed to embrace all the minor foundations, and all the charities of the kingdom. An inquiry founded upon the narrow and technical principles there prescribed can issue in no beneficial result, except in the discovery and correction of fraud. To demand a sight of the original deeds; to compare the actual state and practice of an ancient foundation with the directions specified in these early records; to mark every discrepancy as an abuse, and to require a return as far as is practicable to the letter of its charter, is a process so far from being of a healing nature, that, in most instances, its tendency would be to defeat the very purpose of the institution.

Many of the most munificent and conscientious founders took extraordinary pains, by framing minute regulations, to guard, as they

they thought, against the negligence or caprice of future ages; ignorantly supposing that they could arrest the progress of human affairs, and fix that perpetual flow of change to which all things mortal are destined, by a few sentences of Latin and some shreds of parchment. But, as if to baffle the vain endeavours of man to extend his empire beyond the period of his own generation, it is invariably found, that where the greatest anxiety has been shown to legislate in detail, the greatest departure is exhibited, after the lapse of a few centuries, from the real design of the benefactor, and that too not only in due accordance with the language of the deed, as in law it must needs be interpreted, but frequently in consequence of that very phraseology which was adopted for a widely different purpose. Like the principle of life in organized beings, the spirit of an institution is of too subtle and delicate a nature to be confined by any palpable ties. The outward form may have remained unchanged, while all the finer essence has escaped. The only sure preservative is to maintain, within the body itself, an independent and virtuous principle of action; a feeling among the members that they are bound in honour and in conscience to execute the will of their founder *substantially*, under all the variations of manners and circumstances which the 'great innovator Time' is incessantly producing. This purpose should be carried into effect with as close an adherence to the prescribed form and order as possible; and no deviation should be sanctioned but such as an ingenuous and enlightened mind would at once acknowledge that the first author of the institution must, if he could be consulted, himself approve.

Under a principle such as this, a principle which no visiting commissioners can take cognizance of, and which no form of law can secure, a perpetual youth and vigour might be infused into our oldest institutions: and the more flexible the nature of each, the more readily it yielded to the pressure and exigences of the times, the more durable in fact would the work of early munificence be; the more protracted the existence even of that form which its authors fondly designed to give it as a memorial of themselves, and which, in this silent adaptation to the circumstances around it, only follows the analogy of nature in all her living productions.

Our hopes of such a remedy for the difficulties above alluded to, must be founded in the progress of liberal opinion, in the more enlarged view which men daily take of their social interests and their social duties, and still more perhaps in that enlightened religion of the heart, which forbids them to seek, in a pretended veneration for statutes, a real screen for their own indulgence. This, indeed, is the last excuse with which we are disposed to

come to any compromise, pleaded as it sometimes is by those who well know that a hundred rules are in fact daily dispensed with, and wisely too, because the observance of them would be burdensome to the present individuals, as well as useless to the public, and yet scruple to sacrifice others of the same kind to the public good, because their own ease or comfort is promoted by their continuance.

It is needless for us, after the evidence we have long given of our attachment to the establishments of which we speak, to deprecate all imputation of hostile or disrespectful feelings towards them, or of that flimsy and heartless philosophy, which would substitute the cant of metaphysics for those natural and varied springs of action, which exist in our social habits and affections. Next to the domestic tie, there is hardly to be found a more virtuous or a more useful sentiment, than that which unites men to the scene of their early studies and friendships, and to the community into which it was once their pride to be adopted. The character of identity thus given to a numerous and long established society is the source of many a lively emotion, and implants within us a new set of hopes and recollections, of interests and pleasures. It connects us with the transactions of former days, with the scholars, the divines, the patriots of whom we are most proud, with many an illustrious and revered name that will never be forgotten. Like the generous pride of ancestry, it kindles in the breast of succeeding representatives a flame bright but harmless, and strengthens all the ordinary motives to exertion, by the consciousness it creates, that the honour of our deeds will be cherished as a common possession, and be reflected, in some degree, upon our associates and our friends.

Let it never then be suspected that we wish to undermine this hallowed affection, or to loosen the hold which such ties naturally have upon us. Rather would we seek to rivet them more firmly, by removing defects which must weaken the interest of honourable minds in the preservation of these bodies; which must raise something like an emotion of shame at the comparison of their actual state with their earlier history—a comparison which wants only the spirited resolution of a few leading men to turn the scale decidedly in their own favour. Surely, if the throng of students which once wore life away in academical exercises be no longer required to people these walls, the space ought to be filled by others who now press in vain for admission: nor can it be doubted by any unprejudiced mind, that the same munificence which change of manners has thus rendered abortive, would instantly be transferred, if the hand of the benefactor were again warm with life, to the encouragement of studies in that mode which

which is alone adapted to the present age. It is by such a continual adaptation only, that the dignity of these institutions, and the hold they have upon public opinion, can be maintained. The powerful arm of English law may indeed long secure their existence; but how much more enviable is that stability which is firmly rooted in the public esteem; the strength of which lies in the love and the honour not in the fears of men, and which visibly repays the protection of law by a more than adequate return of public benefits.

Note.—In our review of Mr. Biddulph's treatise on the Operation of the Holy Spirit, in our 61st Number, we had occasion to mention Dr. Knox's 'Christian Philosophy,' and in page 124 noticed an *inaccurate* translation of the words 'Apostolicis literis.' We find that we were wrong in attributing the mistake to Dr. Knox. At the time of writing we were unable to consult the copy of 'Christian Philosophy' in which we believed that we had read it.

In page 125 we remarked that some valuable matter had been omitted in the edition of 'Christian Philosophy,' which forms part of the Collection of Dr. Knox's works, and that, except this had been done in compliance with the wishes of Dr. Knox, the editor had taken an improper liberty. This remark was made under a mistake arising from the circumstance of a spurious edition, printed about the same time, (which, for obvious reasons, followed the first edition,) having, by accident, fallen into our hands. We are informed that the genuine edition is reprinted from the last that was published in the lifetime of the author.

It has been observed, that the doctrine 'that Socrates was made wisdom and righteousness to the Grecian people not less than Jesus' was in reality maintained by Bishop Warburton, and was not censured by him as part of the 'paganized christianity' which he condemns. It has been also represented to us that our charge against Dr. Knox of misrepresenting that prelate upon this point arose from not carefully considering the import of Dr. Knox's note. In page 124 we extracted the passage on which our opinion was founded. We refer our readers to book iii. c. 3. of Warburton's Doctrine of Grace from which it was taken. If indeed they should extend their perusal to the whole of the third book, they will, we are sure, feel amply rewarded for their trouble.

NEW

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

AGRICULTURE.

An Encyclopædia of Agriculture; comprising the theory and practice of the valuation, transfer, laying out, improvement, and management of landed property; and the cultivation and economy of the animal and vegetable productions of agriculture. By J. C. Loudon, F. L. S. 8vo. With 800 Engravings. 2l. 10s.

ALMANACKS AND ANNUAL WORKS.

Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1826. 7s.
Almanach des Dames pour 1826. 9s.
Time's Telescope; or the Astronomer's, Botanist's, and Naturalist's Guide, for 1826. 12mo. 9s.
Forget-Me-Not; a Christmas Present, or New Year's Gift for 1826. 18mo. 12s.
The Amulet; or, Christian and Literary Remembrancer for 1826. 18mo. 12s.
The Sporting Almanack, and Olympic Ephemeris for 1826. 3s.
The Literary Souvenir; or, Cabinet of Poetry and Romance for 1826. 18mo. 12s.
Friendship's Offering for 1826. 18mo. 12s.
Dr. Kitchener's Housekeepers' Ledger for 1826. 3s.

ARCHITECTURE AND THE FINE ARTS.

The Architecture of Vitruvius. By J. Gwilt. 4to. 1l. 16s.
Improvements in Civil Architecture. By J. L. Burridge. 8vo. 2s.
Engraved Specimens of the Architectural Antiquities of Normandy. By J. and H. Le Keux, after Drawings by Pugin. Part I. 4to. 1l. 11s. 6d.; large paper, 2l. 12s. 6d.
Chronological and Historical Illustrations of the Ancient Architecture of Great Britain. By John Britton. Part X. 4to. 12s.; imperial 4to. 1l.
The Cathedral Antiquities of England. By John Britton. No. 36. 4to. 12s.; imperial 4to. 1l.
Gems of Art. Vol. I. containing 30 Plates, engraved by W. B. Cooke, from Pictures of acknowledged excellency, beauty and variety. 4to, 6l. Proofs 9l.; on India paper, 11l. 8s.
Beauties of Claude Lorraine. Part I. containing 12 Plates, engraved by W. B. Cooke. 4to.
Ancient Castles. By J. Woolnoth. 2 vols. 8vo. 5l. 4s. to 7l. 8s.
The School of Athens, executed in imitative Cameo, as a Companion to the Last Supper. 10s. 6d. plain; 1l. 1s. shaded.
Love at First Sight—Married To-Morrow—the Glow-Worm, and the Frosty Morning. The above painted by W. M. Sharp, Esq. and engraved by Turner, Ward, Jun., and Dawes, &c. Prints, 7s. 6d.; proofs, 15s.
The Connoisseur's Repertorium; or, a Universal, Historical Record of Artists and their Works. By Thomas Dodd. Part II. 7s. 6d.
Views in London and its Environs, engraved by C. Heath, from Drawings by Dewint, Westall, and Mackenzie. No. 7. Imperial 8vo. 9s.; proofs on royal 4to. 14s.; on India paper, 1l.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of Paul Jones. post 8vo. 7s. 6d.
The Life of the Rt. Hon. R. B. Sheridan. By Thomas Moore, Esq. 4to. 3l. 3s.
Reminiscences of Michael Kelly, of the King's Theatre, and Theatre Royal Drury Lane, Abroad and at Home. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 8s.
Memoirs of the Countess de Genlis. Written by herself. Vols. V. and VI. 16s.; French 14s.
The Military Exploits, &c. of the Empecinado. Translated from the Spanish, by a General Officer. 8vo. 7s.
Memoirs of Miss C. E. Carey. 3 vols. 8vo. 2l. 2s.
Memoirs of the Court of France, from 1684 to 1720, from the Diary of the Marquis de Dangeau. 2 vols. 8vo.
The Subaltern Officer; a Narrative. By Capt. G. Wood. 8vo. 21s.
Memoirs of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia, daughter of King James I. By Miss Benger. 2 vols. post 8vo. 1l. 4s.
"Some Passages" in the Life of Egomet Bon-mot, Esq. 2s.
Memoirs of Miss Mullinger. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

Walton's

Walton's Lives. 12mo. portraits, 18s. bds. Post 8vo. portraits, 2l. 2s. bds.
The Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey. With a Memoir by R. H. Nicholas, Esq. Post 8vo. 7s. 6d.; royal 8vo. 15s.
The Adventures of Don Ulloa. 12mo, 7s.

CLASSICAL LITERATURE.

Epigramma tae puriοribus Græcæ Anthologiæ Fontibus hausit; Annotationibus Jacobsii, De Bosch et aliorum instruxit: suas subinde Notulas et Tabulam Scriptorum Chronologicam adjunxit Joannes Edwards, A. M. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
Selections from the Latin Poets. Part I. 6s. Part II. 4s. 6d.
Demosthenis Opera Omnia, Gr. et Lat. Curante Schaefer. Vol. V. 8vo. 12s.
T. Livii Patavini Historiarum ab Urbe Condita Libri qui supersunt omnes, ex recensione Arn. Drakenborchii. Accedunt Notæ Integræ ex editionibus J. B. L. Crevierii, cum Indice rerum locupletissimo. 4 vols. 8vo. 36s.
Stirling's Juvenal, edited by Dr. Nuttall. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
Platonis Phædo, a Bekkero. 8vo. 9s.

DRAMA.

The Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare, with Notes, Critical, Historical, and Explanatory; selected from the most Eminent Commentators: to which is prefixed, a Life of the Author. By the Rev. Wm. Harness, A. M. 6 vols. 8vo. 4l. 4s.; fine paper, 6l. 6s.
The Plays of William Shakspeare, accurately printed from the Text of the corrected Copies, left by the late George Steevens, Esq., and Edmond Malone, Esq. With Mr. Malone's various Readings; a Selection of Explanatory and Historical Notes from the most eminent Commentators; a History of the Stage; and a Life of Shakspeare. By Alexander Chalmers, F.S.A. 8 volumes 8vo. with portrait, 3l. 12s. with plates, 5l. 4s.
William Tell; a Drama. Translated from the German of Schiller. 8vo. 6s.
The Plays of Clara Gazul, a Spanish Comedian. 8vo. 9s.
John Baliol; a Drama. By W. Tennant, Esq. 8vo. 6s.

EDUCATION.

A Series of Outline Maps, neatly engraved from designs by Joseph Woods, Architect. The Maps, neatly coloured, with keys, 2s. each; or, the set complete, 16s.
The Theory and Practice of the Terrestrial and Celestial Globes, elucidated by numerous Examples, and adapted to the new modes of Tuition. By John Matheson. 1s. 6d.
Dr. Grey's Memoria Technica; or, Method of Artificial Memory applied to, and exemplified in, the Sciences of History and Chronology; together with a New Appendix and Index Verborum. Revised, abridged, and adapted to general Use by John Henry Todd. Foolscap 8vo. 4s. 6d.
Hints to Parents. First Exercises in Forms. Intuition and Denomination of the most simple Relations of Forms, their Position and Magnitude, in the Spirit of Pestalozzi's Method. No. 4. 1s.
An Introduction to Book-keeping; consisting of Twelve short Rules for keeping Merchants' Accounts by Double Entry. To which is added, a Set of Books, by way of Example. By Richard Roe, Author of a "New System of Short-hand." 12mo. 3s. 6d.
The Principal Roots of the Latin Language, simplified by a Display of their Incorporation into the English Tongue, with Copious Notes. Royal 8vo. 10s. 6d.
Dictionnaire Grec Moderne, et Français, contenant les diverses acceptions des Mots, leur Etymologie, ancienne ou moderne, et tous les Temps irréguliers des Verbes. Par M. Dehèque. 16mo. 12s.
Chronology of the Kings of England; in easy Rhyme. By the Rev. E. Butcher; with an engraving of each king. 2s.
The Analytical part of Principia Hebraica, with introductory Lessons. By T. Keywerth. 8s.

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

The Edinburgh Geographical and Historical Atlas. Royal folio. Part I. 2s. 6d.
Rivington's Annual Register for the Year 1824. 8vo. 18s.

The

The Session of Parliament for 1825, containing a full and faithful delineation of every thing done by, or relating to, the British Senate during that most interesting period. 8vo. 16s.

The History of Chivalry, or Knighthood and its Times. By Charles Mills, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s.

East India Company's Records; founded on Official Documents, showing a view of the Past and Present State of the British Possessions in India, as to their Revenue, Expenditure, Debts, Assets, Trade, and Navigation. By Cesar Moreau, French Vice-Consul in London. 1l. 1s.

LAW.

Elements of Hindu Law. By J. Stranger. 2 vols. royal 8vo. 1l. 15s.

Questions on the Practice of the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas. By J. Impey. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

A Practical Treatise on the Law of Partnership. By Niel Gow, Esq. Second Edition, with Alterations and Additions. Royal 8vo. 1l. 3s.

Annual Abstract of the Statutes passed 6 Geo. IV. By T. W. Williams. 8vo. 14s.

A Treatise on the Law of Actions relating to Real Property. By Thomas Roscoe, Esq. Jun. 2 vols. royal 8vo. 1l. 16s.

The Trial, at Hereford, of Judge *v.* Berkeley, and others. 8vo 3s. 6d.

Freeman's (R.) Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, principally between the Years 1660 and 1706. Second Edition; with Notes and References. By E. Smirke, Esq. of the Inner Temple. Royal 8vo. 1l. 6s. bds.

MATHEMATICS AND THE MILITARY SCIENCE.

Mathematics for Practical Men. By Olinthus Gregory, LL.D. F.R.S. of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. 8vo. 34s.

The Elements of the Differential and Integral Calculus. By the Rev. Dionisius Lardner, of the University of Dublin 8vo. 21s. bds.

Instructions for the Field Service of Cavalry. Translated from the German of General Count Bismark, by Captain Ludlow Beamish, 4th Dragoon Guards. Dedicated by Permission to H. R. H. the Duke of York. Small 12mo. 5s.

MEDICINE.

The Works of the late Matthew Baillie, M.D., to which is prefixed, an Account of his Life. By James Wardrop. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 5s.

Medico-Chirurgical Transactions. Published by the Medical and Chirurgical Society of London. Vol. 13. Part I. 8vo. 12s. bds.

A Century of Surgical Observations on Gonorrhœa, and on Strictures of the Urethra. 12mo. 7s.

An Address to the Members of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, on the injurious conduct and defective state of that corporation with reference to professional rights, medical science, and the public health. By John Armstrong, M.D. 1s.

The Dissector's Manual. By T. F. South. 8vo. 12s.

An Exposition of the Principles of Pathology, and the Treatment of Diseases. By Daniel Pering, M.D. 8vo. 14s.

Illustrations of the Inquiry respecting Tuberculous Diseases. By John Baron, M.D. 8vo. 15s.

An Introductory Volume to 'Collections from the unpublished Medical Writings of the late Dr. Parry.' By Charles Henry Parry, M.D. 10s.

Medical Researches on the Effects of Iodine, in Bronchocele, Paralysis, Chorea, &c. By A. Manson, M.D. 8vo. 12s.

Observations on Tetanus; illustrated by cases in which a new and successful mode of Treatment has been adopted. By Henry Ward, Surgeon. 5s.

Conversations on the Physiological System of Medicine of Professor Broussais. 8vo. 9s.

The Economy of the Eyes. Part II. of Telescopes. Being the result of Thirty Years Experiments with Fifty-one Telescopes, of from One to nine Inches in Diameter, in the possession of William Kitchiner, M.D. To which are added, 'An Abstract of the Practical Parts of Sir William Herschel's Writings on Telescopes and Double Stars, &c.; some Observations thereon, and Original Letters from Eminent Opticians.' 12mo. Price 9s. bds.

MIS-

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Encyclopædia Metropolitana. Part XVI. 4to. 1l. 1s.
The East India Register, Corrected to August 16, 1825. 12mo. 8s. 6d.
Typographia. By T. C. Hansard. 3l. 3s.
Instructions to Young Sportsmen in all that relates to Guns and Shooting. By Lieut. Col. P. Hawker. 4th Edition, med. 8vo. 18s.
The Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century; or, the Master-Key of Futurity, and Guide to Ancient Mysteries. 8vo. 1l. 1s.
The Duties of a Lady's Maid. Foolscap 8vo. 7s.
Floral Emblems. By Henry Phillips, F.L.S. With Plates. 8vo. 21s. coloured 1l. 10s.
The Club; a Series of Essays, originally published in the Manchester Iris. 18mo. 3s. 6d.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Antediluvian Phytology, illustrated by the Fossil Remains of Plants peculiar to the Coal Formations. By Edmund Tyrrell Artis. Royal 4to. 2l. 10s.
The English Flora. By Sir James E. Smith. 8vo. Vol. III. 12s.
The Natural History of the Bible, or a Description of all the Quadrupeds, Birds, Fishes, Reptiles, and Insects, Trees, Plants, Flowers, Gems, and precious Stones, mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures. Collected from the best Authorities, and alphabetically arranged. By T. M. Harris, D. D. New Edition. 12mo. 8s.
A Manual of the Elements of Natural History. By J. F. Blumenbach. Translated from the German, by R. T. Gore. 8vo. 14s.
Flora Conspicua. No. III. containing four coloured figures. 3s. 6d.

NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

O'Halloran; or the Insurgent Chief. An Irish historical Novel of 1798. 4s. 6d.
The Contrast, or Scotland in 1745 and 1825. 12mo. 5s.
Endless Entertainment, or Comic, Terrific, and Legendary Tales. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
Illustrations to Boccaccio's Il Decamerone da Ugo Foscolo. By Stothard, 8vo. 1l. 4to. 2l.; on India paper, 3l.
The Camisard, or the Protestants of Languedoc. A Tale. 3 vols. 12mo. 21s.
The Antiquary's Portfolio. By J. S. Forsyth. 2 vols. 8vo. 18s.
Attic Fragments. By the Author of the "Modern Times." Post 8vo. 10s. 6d.
Memoirs of Monkeys, &c. &c. Fcap. 8vo. 6s.

POETRY.

La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri, con Comento Analitico di Gabriele Rossetti. vol. i. 8vo.
Le Corsaire. Poëme en trois chants; traduit de l'Anglais de Lord Byron, en vers Français. 8vo. 5s. 6d.
Thoughts on an Illustrious Exile; occasioned by the Persecutions of the Protestants in 1815. With other Poems. By Hugh Stuart Boyd, Esq. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
Lady Byron's Reply to her Lord's Farewell. 6s.
The Poems of William Cowper, Esq. with Designs by Westall. 3 vols. 16mo. 16s.6d.
The Blessings of Friendship, and other Poems. 12mo. 5s. 6d.
The Cheltenham Anthology; comprising original Poems, and Translations from the Greek, Latin, Spanish, Portugueze, Italian, and French Poets. Edited by W. H. Halpin. Foolscap 8vo. 5s.
The Holy War, a Vision; a Poem in Five Books. To which is added, the Holy War, in Prose. With an Appendix, containing the Substance of the Speeches on the Catholic Question, in the House of Lords, &c. By John Bunyan Redivivus. 4s. 6d.
Herban, a Poem, in Four Cantos. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

POLITICS AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

The Speeches of the Right Hon. George Canning. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
The Slave Colonies of Great Britain, or a Picture of Negro Slavery. 4s. 6d.
Review of the Evidence taken before the Irish Committees of both Houses of Parliament. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
England, Ireland, America, and the Roman Catholics. A Series of Letters to a Friend, on the State of Ireland, the Roman Catholic Question, and the Merits of Constitutional Religious Distinctions. By E. A. Kendall, Esq. F. S. A. 8vo. 14s.

A Charge

THEOLOGY.

A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester, at the Visitation by the Right Rev. Charles James Blomfield, D.D. Lord Bishop of Chester. 4to. 2s.

An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. By T. H. Horne, M.A. Fifth Edition. Corrected, and Illustrated with numerous Maps and Fac-similes of Biblical Manuscripts. In 4 large Vols. 8vo. 3l. 3s.

A Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke. By Dr. Frederick Schleiermacher. With an Introduction, containing an Account of the Controversy respecting the Origin of the Three First Gospels, since Bishop Marsh's Dissertation. 8vo. 13s.

The Christian Sabbath; or an Inquiry into the Obligation of keeping holy One Day in Seven. By the Rev. George Holden, A.M. 8vo. 12s.

A Course of Catechetical Instruction, or the Life, Doctrines, Death and Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ. By the Rev. H. Marriott, Rector of Claverton. 12mo.

Biblical Questions. By the Rev. Harvey Marriott. 12mo

The Works of James Arminius, D.D. Translated from the Latin. By J. Nichols. 16s.

The Prophets and Apostles Compared. Crown 8vo. 4s

Two Sermons, occasioned by Mr. Brougham's inaugural Discourse. By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D. 8vo. 3s.

The State of the Protestant Religion in Germany, in a Series of Discourses, preached before the University of Cambridge. By the Rev. H. J. Rose, M.A. 8vo. 8s.

Cottage Comforts. By Mrs Hewlett. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

The Holy Inquisition, being an Historical Statement of the Origin, Progress, Decline, and Fall of that Infamous Tribunal, with an Account of its Laws and Institutions; Jesuitical Examinations, excruciating Tortures, and heartless Decrees. In Parts. 3s. each.

The Poor Man's Preservative against Popery. By the Rev. Blanco White. 3s. 6d.; or a cheap Edition, 1s. 6d., or 16s. per dozen.

TOPOGRAPHY.

The Beauties of Wiltshire, displayed in statistical, historical, and descriptive Sketches; interspersed with Anecdotes of the Arts. By John Britton, F.S.A. Vol. III., with a Map and 15 Plates. 8vo 1l. 1s., large paper, 1l. 16s

The History of Lymington and its immediate Neighbourhood, with a brief Account of its Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral Productions, &c &c. By David Garrow. 8vo.

Walks in Edinburgh. 18mo. 2s.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

A Voyage towards the South Pole, performed in the Years 1822-24; containing an Examination of the Antarctic Sea to the 71th Degree of Latitude; and a Visit to Terra del Fuego, with a particular Account of the Inhabitants. To which is added, much useful information on the Coasting Navigation of Cape Horn and the adjacent Lands. By James Weddell, Esq. With Maps and Plates. 8vo. 18s.

Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan, including some Account of the Countries to the North-east of Persia, with Remarks upon the National Character, Government, and Resources of that Kingdom. By James B. Fraser, Esq. Author of a Tour in the Himala Mountains, &c. With a New Map, by Arrowsmith. 4to.

Wanderings in South America, the North-west of the United States, and the Antilles, from 1812 to 1825. By Charles Waterton, Esq. 4to. 1l. 11s 6d.

The English in Italy. By a distinguished Resident 3 vols. post 8vo. 30s.

Useful Hints to Travellers. By an Englishman. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

Five Years Residence in the Canadas. By E. A. Talbot, Esq. of the Talbot Settlement, Upper Canada. 3 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years' Residence in South America. 3 vols. 8vo.

An Account, Historical, Political, and Statistical, of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata. Translated from the Spanish. 8vo. 12s.

A Picturesque and Descriptive Tour in the Mountains of the High Pyrenees; comprising Twenty-four Views of the most interesting Scenes from original Drawings taken on the Spot. By J. Hardy, Esq Royal 8vo. 30s.

Historical and Literary Tour of a Foreigner in England and Scotland; with Anecdotes of celebrated Persons visited by the Author, (Dr. Pichot.) 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 8s.

London: Printed by C. Roworth, Bell-Yard, Temple-bar.

THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—*Memoirs of Samuel Pepys, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary to the Admiralty in the Reigns of Charles II. and James II. comprising his Diary from 1659 to 1669, deciphered by the Rev. John Smith, A. B. of St. John's College, Cambridge, from the original short-hand MS. in the Pepysian Library, and a Selection from his Private Correspondence.* Edited by Richard, Lord Braybrooke. In Two Volumes. London. 1825.

THERE is a curiosity implanted in our nature which receives much gratification from prying into the actions, feelings, and sentiments of our fellow creatures. The same spirit, though very differently modified and directed, which renders a female gossip eager to know what is doing among her neighbours over the way, induces the reader for information, as well as him who makes his studies his amusement, to turn willingly to those volumes which promise to lay bare the motives of the writer's actions, and the secret opinions of his heart. We are not satisfied with what we see and hear of the conqueror on the field of battle, or the great statesman in the senate; we desire to have the privilege of the valet-de-chambre to follow the politician into his dressing closet, and to see the hero in those private relations where he is a hero no longer.

Many have thought that this curiosity is most amply gratified by the correspondence of eminent individuals, which, therefore, is often published to throw light upon their history and character. Unquestionably much information is thus obtained, especially in the more rare cases where the Scipio has found a Lelius,—some friend in whom he can fear no rival, and to whose unalterable attachment he can commit even his foibles without risking loss of esteem or diminution of affection. But in general letters are written upon a different principle, and exhibit the writers less as they really are, than as they desire their friends should believe them to be. Thus it may be observed that the man who wishes for profit or advancement usually writes in a style of bullying independence—the flag which he quickly strikes to the prospect of advantage; the selfish individual, on the other hand, fortifies his predominant frailty by an affectation of sensibility; the angry and irritable man attends with peculiar strictness to the formal and ceremonial style of well-bred society; the dissolute assume on paper an air of morality; and the letters of the prodigal are found

found to abound with maxims of prudence not a whit the worse for the author's own wear.

These discrepancies between epistolary sentiments and the real character of the writer, become of course more marked when the letters, like those of Pope, are written with a secret consciousness that they may one day or other come before the public. It is then that each sentence is polished, each sentiment correct; and that a letter, ostensibly addressed to one private friend, is compiled with the same sedulous assiduity as if it were to come one day flying abroad on all the wings of the press.

The conclusion is that there can be little reliance placed on the sincerity of letter-writers in general, and that in estimating the mass of strange matter which is preserved in contemporary correspondence, the reader ought curiously to investigate the character, situation, and temper of the principal correspondent, ere he can presume to guess how many of his sentiments are real; how much is designed as a gentle *placebo* to propitiate the feelings of the party whom he addresses; how much intended to mislead future readers into a favourable estimate of the writer's capacity and disposition. We have found ourselves guilty a hundred times of returning thanks to ingenious individuals, who have sent for our acceptance very handsome hot-pressed volumes of poetry and of prose, with a warmth which might to the ordinary acceptation have included much applause; whereas, on our part, the civil words were merely intended to extinguish the debt imposed on us, and to give some value for the certain number of shillings which we must have been out of pocket had we been rash enough to purchase the works on our own account. But in our professional capacity, however the man may have been softened, the critic, like he of Tilbury fort, stands resolved.

Thus much for the faith of familiar letters, which, from the days of Howell downwards we believe, will be found to contain as regular and rateable a proportion of falsehood as the same quantity of given conversation. In private Diaries, like that now upon our table, we come several steps nearer to the reality of a man's sentiments. The journalist approaches to the situation of the soliloquist in the nursery rhyme.

As I walked by myself,
I talked to myself,
And thus myself said to me.

It is no doubt certain that in this species of self intercourse we put many tricks upon our actual and our moral self, and often endeavour to dress deeds, enacted by the former on very egotistical principles, in such a garb as may in some degree place them favourably before the other's contemplation. Still there must be

be more fair dealing betwixt ourself and our conscience, than ourself and any one else;—*here* there is much which can neither be denied or extenuated, *Magna est veritas et prevalebit.* Indeed such seems the force of the principle of sincerity in this sort of self-communing as renders it wonderful how much such records contain of what is actually discreditable to the writers. These confessions may have been made either because the trick was cleverly done, (as many a Newgate knave indites a narrative of his rogueries that at the same time he may preserve some remembrance of his talents,) or because the moral sense of the party in the confessional has become dull and blunted, and insensible of the manner in which his tale is likely to be regarded by men whose sense of right and wrong is undepraved, or, finally, (that case perhaps occurs seldomest of any,) because the narrator feels his secret mind oppressed beneath the same weighty burthen of solitary consciousness which sometimes drives malefactors of a different class to speak out more than had even been laid to their charge. Owing to these and other motives we have ourselves listened to unsolicited avowals made in general society of such a character as served to strike with dismay, and eventually to disperse a gay and unscrupulous company, who shrunk away in disgust, and left the too candid narrator to spend the rest of the evening in reflecting on the consequences of untimely confidence. Those who make such admissions in society are still more ready to record them in their diaries. Nothing indeed can be more natural than the conduct of the barber of king Midas, who relieved his mind of a burthensome secret by communicating to a bundle of reeds the fact that the worthy prince whom he served had the ears of an ass. In modern times a memorandum and a goose-quill would have naturally been the barber's resource, nor are we at all certain that the committing his mystery to the treacherous reeds meant any thing more than that the court-barber of king Midas kept a diary, which fell into the hands of some reviewer of the times.

If there is any one to whom we can ascribe perfect good faith in the composition of his diary, it is certainly the author of that which lies before us. Mr. Pepys was in the fortunate situation that he had no crimes to conceal, and no very important vices to apologise for. We think we can determine to what class the latter belonged; and yet they are so very well glossed over, that we can easily believe the frank gentleman was prevented by the blinding influence of that witch, Vanity, from accurately considering the feelings likely to be excited in the minds of others by certain matters which he has faithfully recorded.

There was an additional ground of security in Mr. Pepys's case;

he had, to keep up the parallel of king Midas's barber, dug his pit extremely deep, and secured his record against easy consultation or rapid transcription. His diary was written in a peculiar short-hand or cipher, which he had practised from an early period of life. Undoubtedly he laid considerable stress on this circumstance in considering the possibility of his journal falling into unfriendly hands during his life, or being too rashly communicated to the public after his death. At least it is certain that when he gave up, with much regret, the keeping this daily register of his private thoughts and remarks, it was in consequence of his eyesight being for a time in such a state that he no longer retained the power of writing his cipher.

'And thus ends all that I doubt I shall ever be able to do with my journall, I being not able to do it any longer, having done now so long as to undo my eyes almost every time that I take a pen in my hand; and therefore, whatever comes of it, I must forbear: and therefore resolve from this time forward to have it kept by my people in long-hand, and must be contented to set down no more than is fit for them and all the world to know; or if there be any thing, I must endeavour to keep a margin in my book open, to add here and there a note in short-hand with my own hand. And so I betake myself to that course, which is almost as much as to see myself go into my grave: for which, and all the discomforts that will accompany my being blind, the good God prepare me!'—vol. ii. p. 347.

From this touching passage, as indeed from the whole tenor of the diary, it is evident that Mr. Pepys wrote under a feeling of security, and therefore with a frankness not often to be found amongst diarists, who have not the same resources against the risk of inconvenience from malicious or impertinent scrutiny into their private lucubrations. Why, when his eyes recovered (as they must soon have done) their usual strength, he did not resume the diary, no hint is given. Is it quite impossible that he may have done so, and that other volumes may hereafter be discovered?

In the meantime it is to Lord Braybrooke that we owe the possession of these two curious volumes, containing, as we hope presently to show, much that is interesting to the historian and to the antiquary, as well as a treasure of amusing facts for the benefit of the general reader. The Noble Editor has also favoured us with a sketch of his author's life and some notes: but in both of these we regret to say there is considerable confusion, especially in regard to titles and dates.*

Samuel

* For example, Lord Braybrooke talks of Sir William Congreve as 'a Commissioner of the Admiralty,' when the office of High Admiral was not in commission; Sir William's office was that of Secretary to the Admiralty under the Duke of York. A more serious evil is that Lord Braybrooke by no means distinguishes sufficiently between the widely different

Samuel Pepys was born in 1632, of a family which had some pretensions to gentility, though he himself confesses his secret belief that they had never been 'very considerable.' His father followed for some time the creditable, certainly, but not exalted calling of a tailor, and we may hereafter notice the influence which this genealogy seems to have exercised over the style and sentiments of his son's diary. He was educated regularly at St. Paul's school, and afterwards at the University of Cambridge, and probably went through his studies with success. Early in life he took one of those decided steps which tend, according to circumstances, to a man's marring or making. He appears to have married a beautiful girl of fifteen, when he himself was only about twenty-three. The patronage of his relation Sir Edward Montagu, afterwards first Earl of Sandwich, prevented the ill consequences with which such a step might naturally have been attended, and young Pepys's talents for business soon came to render him useful. The distresses of the young couple at this period were subjects of pleasant reflection during their prosperity, for 25th February, 1667, we find this entry in the diary.

'Lay long in bed, talking with pleasure with my poor wife, how she used to make coal fires, and wash my foul clothes with her own hand for me, poor wretch! in our little room at my Lord Sandwich's; for which I ought for ever to love and admire her, and do; and persuade myself she would do the same thing again, if God should reduce us to it.'—vol. ii. p. 21.

But better times were approaching Mr. Pepys; he accompanied Sir Edward Montagu upon his expedition to the Sound, in March, 1658, and upon his return obtained some species of clerkship in the Exchequer. Here the Restoration found him, poor but active, and well befriended by a patron who, having had no small share in the great event which had changed the fate of England, reaped his own proportion of the rewards bestowed by the Monarch amongst those who had favoured his restoration.

Through the interest of the Earl of Sandwich we find Mr. Pepys nominated Clerk of the Acts, by which style one of the Commissioners of the Navy board continued within our own time to be distinguished. This was the commencement of his connection with a great national establishment, to which in the sequel his diligence and acuteness were of the highest service. 'From the mass of his Papers still extant, it may be inferred, that he never lost sight of the public good, and took infinite

different offices connected with the navy, which Pepys himself successively held, and is thus led to speak often of the Diarist in terms applicable to him only at a period of his life long subsequent to the close of the diary.

paths to check the rapacity of the contractors, by whom the naval stores were then supplied, and to establish such regulations in the dock-yards as might be productive of order and economy. He was also most anxious for the promotion of the old established officers of the navy, uniformly striving to counteract the superior influence of the court favourites, which too often prevailed in that unprincipled government over every claim of merit or service, and resisting to the utmost the infamous system of selling places, practised at that period, in every department of the state, in the most open and unblushing manner.'—*Life*, p. xviii—xix.

In the course of those dreadful afflictions, the Plague and the Fire of London, Pepys remained at his post, and behaved with a calm and deliberate courage more rare, and perhaps more valuable, also, than that which is merely constitutional, or which stimulates only to sudden and occasional efforts. The Duke of York being Lord High Admiral, the diligent and useful Pepys was by degrees drawn into a close personal connection with his Royal Highness, and, as he enjoyed his good opinion, he had also the misfortune to experience some part of the calumnies with which he was loaded during the cruel and infamous persecution commonly called 'The Popish Plot,' when a vertigo seemed suddenly to possess the heads of the people of England, rendering them incapable of distinguishing truth from falsehood, justice from oppression, or common sense from the grossest absurdity. The Earl of Shaftesbury, the foster-father of that most wicked delusion, showed a great desire to implicate Pepys in a charge of Catholicism, and even, it would seem, went so far as to spread a report, for it could be traced to no other quarter, that the Clerk of the Acts had in his house an altar and a crucifix.* The absence of every thing like evidence, or even ground of suspicion, did not prevent Mr. Pepys being committed to the Tower on the charge of being an aider and abettor of the plot, and he was, for a time, removed from the navy board. He was soon replaced in a situation where his skill and experience could not be well dispensed with, by the special commands of Charles II.; and rose afterwards to be Secretary of the Admiralty, which office he retained till the Revolution. It is remarkable, that James II. was sitting to Sir Godfrey Kneller for a portrait designed as a present to Pepys, when the news of the landing of the Prince of Orange was brought to that unhappy monarch. The king commanded the painter to proceed and finish the por-

* These were the days, when a noble lord declared in parliament he would not have so much as a popish dog or a popish cat to fawn or pur about the court.

trait,

trait, that his good friend might not be disappointed. In a prince, whose ideas of the danger were justly formed, and who was prepared to meet it by corresponding efforts, this would have been equanimity;—in James we must term it apathy. Pepys had been too much personally connected with the king (who had been so long at the head of the admiralty) to retain his situation under the new government; and he retired into private life accordingly, but without being followed thither, either by persecution or ill-will. He died in May, 1703, a victim, in part, to the stone, which was hereditary in his constitution, and to the increase of that malady in the course of a laborious and sedentary life.

The Diary now published comprehends the ten first years of Mr. Pepys's official life, extending from January 1659-60 to May 1669. Lord Braybrooke informs us, that as Mr. Pepys was 'in the habit of recording the most trifling actions of his life, it became absolutely necessary to curtail the MS. materially, and, in many instances, to condense the matter, but the greatest care has been taken to preserve the original meaning.' It would be unreasonable to find fault with this freedom, nor are we disposed to suspect that it has, in any respect, been misused. On the contrary, judging from the peculiar character of Pepys, so uniformly sustained through the whole diary, we feel perfect conviction that the pruning knife has been exercised with that utmost caution necessary for preserving the shape and appearance of the tree in its original state. It may, besides, be accounted very superfluous to wish for a larger share of Mr. Pepys's private thoughts and confidences, than are to be found in that space of some five or six hundred pages of royal quarto. But when will antiquarian eyes be entirely satisfied with seeing? The idea of a work being imperfect, from whatever cause, the restless suspicion that something has been kept back, which would have rendered the whole more piquant, though perhaps less instructive, will always, in spite of us, haunt the curious indagator after the minute curiosities of literature.

'That cruel something unpossessed
Corrodes and leavens all the rest.'

But we will push these observations no further at present, than just to observe that where contemporary documents are published for the use of the antiquary or historian, we think the editor will, generally speaking, best attain his purpose by giving a literal transcript of the papers in his hands; whatever falls short of this, diminishes, to a certain degree, our confidence in the genuine character of his materials—it is giving us not the actual speech of the orator, but the substance of what was spoken. When

there exists no moral reason for suppression of particular passages, we are not fond of abridgments or castrations—especially in cases like the present, where, after all, the matter communicated is not always so interesting as the peculiar mode in which it is told. Nay, even when decency or delicacy may appear on the one hand to demand omissions, it comes to be, on the other, a matter of very serious consideration in how far such demands can be complied with, without actual injustice to the characters handled by the author, the self-supplied key to whose own character and dispositions is thus mutilated and impaired.

We must follow some species of arrangement in the view which we are about to give the reader of the contents of these volumes, and perhaps it will be as natural as any other, first, to consider those passages which affect Mr. Pepys personally, and introduce us to a knowledge of his character; and here we are compelled in some measure to draw a comparison betwixt our journalist and his contemporary Evelyn, who has left a similar, and, at least, equally valuable record referring to the same period.

Evelyn and Pepys were friends, and it is to the credit of the latter that he enjoyed the good opinion of the former. Both were men of sound sense, both were attached to science and the fine arts, both were, generally speaking, of sober and studious habits, both were attached to the crown from principle, and both were grieved and mortified by the unkingly mode in which it was worn by the 'merry monarch, scandalous, and poor,' under whose authority it was their fate to live, and by whom they were, each in his degree, held in estimation. Both writers were, moreover, shrewd and sharp critics of the abuses of the times, had seen the reign of fanaticism and hypocrisy succeeded by that of open profligacy and irreligion, and were mortified and grieved spectators of an extent of licentiousness to which no other age, perhaps, could in England produce a parallel.

But yet the characters of the two diarists were essentially different, and the distinction, it must be owned, is not in favour of Pepys. This may, in some measure, be owing to the difference of their relative situations. Evelyn, highly born and independent in fortune, had been bred up in the principles of the cavaliers, and has been justly said to constitute one of the best and most dignified specimens of the old English country gentleman. The restoration found him in his own place; he had nothing to repent of, nothing to sue for; was willing to view the conduct of his master with lenient eyes, but, having nothing to fear from the resentment of king or minister, was not obliged to wink at such vices as his conscience called on him to condemn. Pepys's original political opinions, on the other hand, though they must be considered

sidered as those of a boy, did not quite fit the great change which took place at the restoration;—of which he himself gives us the following naive instance. 'Here dined with us two or three more country gentlemen; among the rest Mr. Christmas, my old school-fellow, with whom I had much talk. He did remember that I was a great roundhead when I was a boy, and I was much afraid that he would have remembered the words that I said the day the king was beheaded (that, were I to preach upon him, my text should be—"The memory of the wicked shall rot"); but I found afterwards that he did go away from school before that time.'—vol. i. p. 82. Again, when Sir John Bunch upbraided him that 'it was a fine time for such as he who had been for Oliver to be full of employment, while the old cavaliers got none,' he frankly owns that he answered nothing to the reproach, for fear of making bad worse. This alteration of opinion, which led Pepys to dread the tenacity of his old schoolfellow's memory, may serve to indicate a little versatility of principle foreign to the character and practice of Evelyn. We must not, indeed, forget that he began life poor, the son of a mechanic, dependent upon a powerful relative, and was obliged for his own rise to use the prevailing arts of corruption, (for so the giving presents to his superiors must be termed,) and thus early tempted to judge with less severity even vices which he disapproved of, when practised by those on whose efficient services his advance in life must depend. But there was by nature, as well as by situation and habit, a loftier tone about the character and virtues of Evelyn than Pepys seems to aspire to. He was, like Sully at the court of Henry IV., a contemner of the frivolities and foibles exhibited by the king and courtiers. Pepys's abhorrence of vice and of the dissipations of fashion was not of a character so decisive. Like Old Gobbo, he did 'somewhat *smack*, somewhat *draw to*,'—he had a certain degree of indulgence towards the 'upper abuses' of the times, which prevents the full effect of his censures, and would sometimes half persuade us that a quiet secret sip from the cup of Circe was a cordial *haud alienum a Scævolæ studiis.* Thus, we find he kept occasional company with Harry Killigrew, young Newport and others, wild rogues as any about town, whose mad talk made his heart ache. And although he tells us this was only for once, to know the nature of their life and conversation, yet the air of Vauxhall is not very favourable to rigid virtue when breathed in such society, and the question will occur, whether it is for gravity to play at cherry-pit with Satan.'—Again, a decent degree of censure is no doubt bestowed on those 'Light o' Loves,' who adorned the court and disputed the good graces

of

of Charles, but their beauty is at the same time extolled in such terms as show the journalist's admiration of their persons had sometimes balanced, if not outweighed, his virtuous indignation at their improprieties.

Perhaps a contrast between the different modes in which those two journalists saw similar scenes, will be the best illustration of our meaning. And first remark the severe dignity with which Evelyn passes censure on the witty and worthless sovereign, for the levity of his conduct in public towards our old acquaintance Nell Gwyn. 'I thence walked through St. James's Parke to the garden, where I both saw and heard a very familiar discourse between [the king] and Mrs. *Nellie* as they called an impudent comedian; she looking out of her garden on a terrace at the top of the wall, and [the king] standing on the green walke under it. I was heartily sorry at this scene. Thence the king walked to the Dutchess of Cleaveland, another lady of pleasure, and curse of our nation.'*

The following is a similar passage of grave reprehension.

'This evening I was at the entertainment of the Morocco Ambassador at the Dutchess of Portsmouth's glorious apartments at Whitehall, where was a greate banquet of sweetemeates and musiq, but at which both the ambassador and his retinue behaved themselves with extraordinary moderation and modesty, though placed about a long table, a lady between two Moores, and amongst these were the king's natural children, viz. Lady Lichfield and Sussex, the Dutchess of Portsmouth, Nelly, &c. concubines and cattle of that sort, as splendid as jewels and excesse of bravery could make them.'

We must yet make room for another passage of Evelyn, the most striking of all, from the scene it records happening so soon before the death of the royal libertine.

'I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profanenesse, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfulnesse of God, (it being Sunday evening) which this day s'ennight I was witness of, the king sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleaveland, and Mazarine, &c. a French boy, singing love songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the greate courtiers and other dissolute persons were at *Basset* round a large table, a bank of at least £2000 in gold before them, upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflexions with astonishment. Six days after was all in the dust!'†

Our friend Pepys did not aspire at quite so high a strain of moral feeling as is expressed by Evelyn, although he seems to have come the length of listening with much edification to a learned divine, who proved, 'like a wise man, that righteousness is a surer moral way of being rich, than sin and villany.' He did not approve

* Evelyn, vol. i. p. 412.

† Id. vol. i. p. 506. 549.

of

of the naughty doings of the time, but he appears to have been fully sensible of the seductions which Evelyn held so cheaply. It is true that he seems to have sympathized with Evelyn, when in communing together concerning the 'badness of the government, where nothing but wickedness and wicked men and women command the king,' and concurred in thanking providence that it had put some stop to the prodigalities of Charles in the matter of Lady Byron, the merry king's 'seventeenth mistress,' who had had an order for £4000 of plate to be made for her, 'but by delays, thanks be to God, she died before she had it.' Pepys could, no doubt, speak scholarly and wisely upon these subjects with Evelyn, and his journal echoes back many of the complaints which are to be found in the diary of his more dignified friend. But still, if he did not turn aside to listen to the songs of the Syrens, no more did he stop his ears absolutely against them. Lady Castlemaine appears to have attracted his particular admiration, though Mrs. Stuart (La Belle Stuart of Count Anthony Hamilton) at times seems to have, in his estimation, disputed the palm of beauty. The following are curious entries selected from many others. The first is a court scene, where both the rival beauties are introduced.

'By and by the king and queene, who looked in this dress (a white laced waistcoate and a crimson short pettycoate, and her hair dressed à la negligence) might pretty; and the king rode hand in hand with her. Here was also my Lady Castlemaine rode amonst the rest of the ladies; but the king took, methought, no notice of her; nor when she light, did any body press (as she seemed to expect, and staid for it) to take her down, but was taken down by her own gentlemen. She looked mighty out of humour, and had a yellow plume in her hat, (which all took notice of,) and yet is very handsome, but very melancholy: nor did any body speak to her, or she so much as smile or speak to any body. I followed them up into White Hall, and into the Queene's presence, where all the ladies walked, talking and fiddling with their hats and feathers, and changing and trying one another's by one another's heads, and laughing. But it was the finest sight to me, considering their great beautys and dress, that ever I did see in all my life. But, above all, Mrs. Stewart in this dresse, with her hat cocked and a red plume, with her sweet eye, little Roman nose, and excellent taille, is now the greatest beauty I ever saw, I think, in my life; and, if ever woman can, do exceed my Lady Castlemaine, at least in this dress. nor do I wonder if the king changes, which I verily believe is the reason of his coldness to my Lady Castlemaine.'—*Diary*, vol. i. p. 238.

'Here I saw Mrs. Stewart this afternoon, methought the beautifullest creature that ever I saw in my life, more than ever I thought her, so often as I have seen her; and I do begin to think do exceed my Lady Castlemaine, at least now.'—*Id.* p. 485.

But

But albeit the charms of the beautiful Stuart might have power at times to shake Mr. Pepys's allegiance, he seems on the whole to have been loyally devoted to the supremacy of the reigning favourite. To a true knight all emblems and appurtenances of the lady of his admiration are rendered invaluable by their connexion with the idol. Thus, good Mr. Pepys dotes upon certain articles of Lady Castlemaine's dress as well as upon her picture. 'In the Privy-garden saw the finest smocks and linnen petticoats of my Lady Castlemaine's, laced with rich lace at the bottom, that ever I saw; and did me good to look at them.'—(vol. i. p. 142.)—On the subject of her picture, our zealous admirer is scarcely less enthusiastic than on that of her petticoats. He saw, at Mr. (afterwards Sir Peter) Lely's, among other portraits, the 'so-much-desired-by-me picture of Lady Castlemaine, which is a most blessed picture, and one that I must have a copy of.' Upon another occasion he is in extasies with her beauty, when talking with 'a person booted and spurred,' the king, doubtless, 'she being in her hair put on his hat, which was but an ordinary one, to keep the wind off, which became her mightily, as every thing else does.' Yet with all his admiration of Lady Castelmaine, Pepys regretted the king's doting folly in his conduct towards her. He is scandalized at learning that Charles had bestowed on her all the Christmas presents made by the peers, and that at the great ball she appeared richer in jewels than the queen and princesses both together. (vol. i. p. 204.) In another passage he mentions her removal to Whitehall, where she occupied an apartment next to that of the king, which, says he, 'I am sorry to hear, though I love her much.' (p. 212.)

If posterity are curious to know what other fascination Lady Castlemaine possessed besides that of beauty, we can only say she was shrewish, violent, and vulgar. The king on one occasion came to sup with her—'When there being a chine of beef to roast, and the tide rising into their kitchen that it could not be roasted there, and the cook telling her of it, she answered, "Zounds! she must set the house on fire but it should be roasted!" So it was carried to Mrs. Sarah's husband's, and there it was roasted.'—vol. i. p. 253.

This was only vulgar and unreasonable, but the manner in which she appears to have treated Charles, shows a temper more ferociously termagant. On one occasion, affirming herself to be with child, she swore

'The king shall own it; and she will have it christened in the chapel at White Hall so, and owned for the king's, as other kings have done; or she will bring it into White Hall gallery, and dash the brains of it out before the king's face.'—vol. ii. p. 99.

Her

Her character for general profligacy is generally known, and yet by this woman Charles was in a great measure guided during the course of his unhonoured reign.

Pepys in his love of wit and admiration of beauty finds room to love and admire Nell Gwyn, whose name still carries an odd fascination with it after so many generations, and who had certainly, to atone for her misgovernance, talents and principles to which Lady Castlemaine was a stranger. She best pleaded her own case when, in a quarrel with Beck Marshal, a frail sister of the stage, she stated the nature of her parentage and education. When the latter, who was the daughter of Stephen Marshal, the great Presbyterian preacher, upbraided Nell with being Lord Buckhurst's mistress, 'Nell answered her, "I was but one man's mistress, though I was brought up in a brothel to fill strong water to the gentlemen; and you are a mistress to three or four, though a Presbyter's praying daughter!" '—(vol. ii. p. 149.) Pepys admired her particularly in the part of Florimell, in the Maiden Queen of Dryden, 'both as a mad girl and when she acts a young gallant;' she is in other places 'pretty witty Nelly.' He goes behind the scenes, and though not much pleased with the manners and society he finds there, yet when he comes to the women's shift (dressing-room), where Nell was dressing for her part, he finds her 'very pretty, prettier than he had thought.' On the whole, we think it quite as well that Mrs. Pepys happened to be present at such a scene as follows, which it seems was his introduction to Nelly.

'A most pretty woman, who acted the great part Cœlia to-day, very fine, and did it pretty well: I kissed her, and so did my wife; and a mighty pretty soul she is.'—vol. ii. p. 8.

We learn from Pepys's authority, notwithstanding his general partiality, that Nell played serious characters very ill; and this makes him express his wonder at her excellence in mad characters, which certainly approach the tragic. The truth is, our friend was a general admirer of rank and personal accomplishments in men and women, and appears to have joyed in all circumstances which brought him into close connection with persons so endowed. Thus, he does not conceal his satisfaction when presented to the Duchess of York.—'It was the first time I did ever, or did see any body else, kiss her hand, and it was a most fine white and fat hand.' On the other hand, Pepys was severe in his remarks on those who neglected personal appearance. He declares himself ashamed to walk with an old friend, Mr. Pechel, otherwise a good humoured man, 'on account of his red nose.'—(vol. ii. p. 52). He will have his brother put into canonical

nonical habiliments that he may be fit to walk with him in the streets; and he marvels at and censures the Treasurer of the Navy for not pairing his nails, when we are of opinion he ought, in those days, to have been quite satisfied with the admitted cleanness of his palms.

It followed, of course, that attentive as he was to beauty and gay attire elsewhere, he was not negligent of those qualities at home, and Mrs. Pepys enjoyed, as was fitting, no small share of his attention and admiration. The following articles are curious, both as they illustrate the temper of the writer, and the customs of the age. Among all the beauties present at Nan Hartlibb's wedding, we learn his wife was thought the greatest. He found her particularly pretty on having allowed her to wear a black patch, and is pleased with two peruques of hair brought for her use by La Belle Pearce. 'They are,' he vauntingly says, 'of his wife's own hair, or else he would not have endured them.'—(vol. i. p. 136.) Many other little intimations there are of his pride in Mrs. Pepys's beauty and the dominion which he exercised over her wardrobe; and in the following passage he acquiesces with peculiar dignity in the increase of that species of paraphernalia with which women are usually most gratified.

'This evening my wife did with great pleasure shew me her stock of jewells, encreased by the ring she hath made lately as my Valentine's gift this year, a Turkey stone set with diamonds: and with this, and what she had, she reckons that she hath above 150*l.* worth of jewells of one kind or other; and I am glad of it, for it is fit the wretch should have something to content herself with.'—vol. ii. p. 199.

He is extremely interested as a husband equally and an amateur in the progress of Mrs. Pepys's picture; scarce the by-him-so-much-desired portraiture of Lady Castlemaine seems to have interested the worthy man more. We hope and trust there were few serious interruptions of the happiness of this kind couple; and have little doubt that they had cause upon each anniversary of their marriage, as upon the ninth, to 'bless God for their long lives and loves and healths together, and pray to God for the continuance of their mutual affection.'—(vol. i. p. 374.)

Nevertheless, he that touches pitch runs a risk of being defiled, and we observe our friend Pepys, for a good and grave man, was rather too fond of frolicsome society, and of conversation that was more entertaining than edifying. Pepys was a poet too, and composed his own songs; an amateur, and sung them to his own music. This task seems to have rendered female assistance necessary to make out a sort of concert, in which Mrs. Mercer, Mrs. Pepys's maid, displayed some talents

for

for music, which Mr. Pepys in all honesty judged worthy of further cultivation. This seems to have displeased Mrs. Pepys, and her husband records the incident and his own defence.

'Thence home; and to sing with my wife and Mercer in the garden; and coming in I find my wife plainly dissatisfied with me, that I can spend so much time with Mercer, teaching her to sing, and could never take the pains with her. Which I acknowledge; but it is because that the girl do take musick mighty readily, and she do not, and musick is the thing of the world that I love most, and all the pleasure almost that I can now take. So to bed in some little discontent, but no words from me.'—vol. i. p. 435.

On our part, we are by no means so jealous of Mrs. Mercer as of a certain slut called Knipp, an actress of some celebrity, and apparently as much to Mr. Pepys's taste as her merry comrade Nell Gwyn. The figure she makes in the Diary is somewhat alarming, as for example—'Comes Mrs. Knipp to see my wife, and I spent all the night talking with this baggage, and teaching her my song of "Beauty retire," which she sings and makes go most rarely, and a very fine song it seems to be. She also entertained me with repeating many of her own and others parts of the play-house, which she do most excellently; and tells me the whole practices of the play-house and players, and is in every respect most excellent company.'—vol. i. p 393. He sets out with Knipp to be merry at Chelsea too—and she praises (cunning one) his vein of poetry, telling him his song of 'Beauty retire' is mightily cried up, 'which I am not a little proud of,' says Pepys simply, 'and do think I have done "It is decreed" better, but I have not finished it.' He meets at the theatre 'One dressed like a country-maid with a straw hat on,' and at first I could not tell who it was, though I expected Knipp: but it was she coming off the stage just as she acted this day in "The Goblins;" a merry jade.'—vol. ii. p. 8. Moreover the celebrated Tom Killigrew seems to have found out the Clerk of the Acts' blind side, when he said 'Knipp was going to become the best actor upon the stage.' Upon the whole, we are afraid his friend Evelyn would have shaken his head at some of these and similar entries, and so much pleasure does the secretary express in the society of this 'merry jade,' that we cannot but fear the worthy woman, his wife, may have had cause for uneasiness. But—Honi soit qui mal y pense.

In fact Mr. Pepys, like many more, had an acquired character very different from his natural one. Early necessity had made Pepys laborious, studious and careful. But his natural propensities were those of a man of pleasure. He appears to have been ardent in quest of amusement, especially

cially where any thing odd or uncommon was to be witnessed. Thus he expresses, on one occasion, his regret at not being able to join a crowd of boys and girls, in following the crack-brained Duchess of Newcastle, who reached home before he could get up to her. But he gravely promises he will find a time to see her (vol. ii. p. 59). To this thirst after novelty, the consequence of which has given great and varied interest to his diary, Pepys added a love of public amusements which he himself seems to have considered as excessive, and which he endeavoured to check by a vow—not against seeing plays, but against paying for admission to them. This singular composition between taste and principle had this further advantage, that it brought his economy, which appears to have been pretty rigid, in aid of his resolution (p. 308.) He appears to have been much disconcerted by a young gallant who carried him to the theatre under pretence of treating him, whereas in the event Pepys was obliged to pay for them both, leading him thus at once into a breach of his vow and an expense double the usual entrance-money. His vow, however, does not seem to have excluded him from the Bear-garden, the Cockpit, and other places of popular resort, of which he gives some amusing descriptions, and where he was wont to attend with his cloak drawn round his face, to prevent his being detected. Our grave gentleman in office took the same precaution at the theatre, being 'in mighty pain lest he should be seen by any body to be at a play.'—(vol. i. p. 489.) Mr. Pepys's vow against wine, the inordinate use of which was one of the greatest vices of the period, was formed with the same flexible power of accommodating itself occasionally to the inclinations which it was intended to curb. Being at a city feast at Guildhall,—'We went into the Buttry, and there stayed and talked, and then into the Hall again: and there wine was offered and they drunk, I only drinking some hypocras, which do not break my vowe, it being, to the best of my present judgment, only a mixed compound drink, and *not any wine*. If I am mistaken, God forgive me! but I hope and do think I am not.'—(vol. i. p. 256.) Assuredly his piece of bacchanalian casuistry can only be matched by that of Fielding's chaplain of Newgate, who preferred punch to wine, because the former was a liquor no where spoken against in scripture.

We cannot drop our sketch of Mr. Pepys's character without noticing his respect and veneration for fine clothes; and the harmless, [illegible] vanity which dwells with such mechanical [illegible] variety of garment wherewith he regales the [illegible] his is so very prominent a point of his character [illegible] of the *humour* of one of Ben Jonson's

Jonson's characters, who estimates the quantity of damage done in a duel, not by wounds sustained in the flesh of the combatants, but by the slits and cuts inflicted on their finery. We cannot help thinking this singularly strong propensity was derived by inheritance from his father's shop-board, and that amidst all his grandeur and all his wisdom the Clerk of the Acts could not, unhappily, *sink the tailor.*

The reader becomes as well acquainted with Pepys's wardrobe, as Prince Henry was with that of Poins, and nothing can be more amusing than the little touches of self-love mingled with the catalogue of coats, cloaks, breeches, and stockings, which of themselves are curious to the antiquary. The minuteness of the description, the petty swelling of the heart which could record with complacence every piece of gaudy pageantry which he adopted, savours strongly of the *parvenu.* But though Pepys had valuable qualities, dignity made no part of his character, any more than stoical or severe morality. On the 3d December, 1660-1, casting his roundhead, he appeared, for the first time, in the dress of a cavalier, with coat and sword; which last, we are happy to say, did not get between his legs, as was to have been expected, for if it had, he would certainly have recorded it. After this happy commencement the spirit of gentility seems to have risen rapidly in his ambitious bosom;

'Put on my first new lace-band; and so neat it is, that I am resolved my great expense shall be lace-bands, and it will set off any thing else the more.'—vol. i. p. 171.

At another time he puts on 'his new scallop, which is very fine.' And again, we are called upon to admire 'his new shaggy purple gown, with gold buttons and loop line;' or the more sober elegance 'of a black cloth suit, with white linings under all to appear under the breeches.' But this, it may be said, is the mere vanity of the man of fashion, the dandy of his time. True; but there is combined in Pepys's case a sense of the importance of fine clothes, with a prudent attention to the cost; the first bespeaking the consciousness of personal vanity proper to the purchaser; the latter, peculiar to one who has regarded the other side of the account, and, no question, derived from the good master fashioner, the father, whose ultimate end in creating fine garments was to make money by them. It would be easy to multiply examples; but we rest the gist of our evidence on this notable entry, which we think intimates a degree of interest in the res vestiaria, which could not have survived the second generation from the actual tailor, whose blood must have contended strongly with the acquired feelings of the courtier to in-

duce him to bemoan a cloak, which lost its lustre in a cause so flattering.

'This day in the afternoon, stepping with the Duke of York into St. James's Park, it rained; and I was forced to lend the Duke of York my cloak, which he wore through the Park.'—vol. ii. p. 219.

If this does not prove our assertion, one more quotation, and we have done.

'This day I got a little rent in my new fine camlett cloak with the latch of Sir G. Carteret's door; but it is darned up at my tailor's, that it will be no great blemish to it; but it troubled me.'—vol. ii. p. 173.

We must not omit the journalist's delight the first time he saw himself written *Esquire* on the address of a letter—the 'great pride' with which on the 30th June, 1662, 'he led the Lady Carteret through the crowd by the hand, she being very fine, and her page carrying up her train;' nor, better still, the triumph with which he, for the first time, finds himself entertaining a select company of people of rank at dinner.

'I had six noble dishes for them, dressed by a man cook, and commended, as indeed they deserved, for exceeding well done. We eat with great pleasure, and I enjoyed myself in it; eating in silver plates, and all things mighty rich and handsome about me. Till dark at dinner, and then broke up with great pleasure.'—vol. i. p. 486.

There may be something a little childish in all this exultation, but still, as no one is surprised at an individual sacrificing ease, health, and comfort, for the sole purpose of obtaining the means of supporting such a display, it is always some comfort in finding he actually enjoys that which he has laboured so hard to gain. And after all Mr. Pepys was probably not more vain than was natural to any man who had attained wealth and distinction by his own exertions—he was only trusting to the cipher he used, and more candid than people are used to be in communicating his real feelings.

These humours of the journalist seem to us so diverting, that we cannot but carry on the same tracing out of petty vanity into another source of action, especially as it seems to correct an opinion which many grave authors have entertained, namely, that the most important period to human vanity occurs when the boy draws on his first pair of boots. We suspect that the stoutest adherents of that hypothesis must feel shaken, as they contemplate, in the person of Mr. Clerk of the Acts, the ague fits of hope, doubt, and tremulous exultation which attend starting a carriage for the first time. There is a fine gradation between the inchoated conception and the completed purpose, which we must necessarily mark out for our reader's benefit, as the intervention

vention of other matters breaks in the diary itself the continuity of the progress of this solemn event.

At an early period (but we have lost the reference), our lucky aspirant begins to testify some unwillingness to be seen under the humble shelter of a hackney coach. At a later date, the recorded discovery that a friend had procured an equipage at the moderate price of £35, intimates, to those who know the human heart, the latent purpose which was hatching in the bosom of the diarist. On the 20th October, 1668, it appears that Mr. and Mrs. Pepys had been long thinking about an equipage, and Mr. Pepys actually took heart of grace, and bid £50 for a coach. Shortly after he gives a livery, the first he had, green lined with red; and upon the 30th November, 2d and 3d December, occur the following characteristic entries.

'My wife after dinner went the first time abroad in her coach, calling on Roger Pepys, and visiting Mrs. Creed and my cosen Turner. Thus ended this month with very good content, but most expenceful to my purse on things of pleasure, having furnished my wife's closet, and the best chamber, and a coach and horses, that ever I knew in the world; and I am put into the greatest condition of outward state that ever I was in, or hope ever to be, or desired.'—vol. ii. p. 282.

'Abroad with my wife, the first time that ever I rode in my own coach, which do make my heart rejoice and praise God, and pray him to bless it to me and continue it.'—vol. ii. p. 283.

'And so home, it being mighty pleasure to go alone with my poor wife in a coach of our own to a play, and makes us appear mighty great, I think, in the world; at least, greater than ever I could, or my friends for me, have once expected; or, I think, than ever any of my family ever yet lived in my memory, but my cosen Pepys in Salisbury Court.'—vol. ii. p. 283.

Every white will have its black,
And every sweet its sour;—

And even the pleasure of riding in one's own coach has, it seems, its own disadvantages. It occurred to Mr. Pepys, something of the latest, that though rainy weather, in the literal sense, was the natural time to take coach in, yet he might be censured by his superiors for such a superfluous piece of state, commenced when the political horizon around them chanced to look gloomy. The spirit therefore of doubt prevails in the following memorandum of 10th April, 1669.

'Thence to the park, my wife and I; and here Sir W. Coventry did first see me and my wife in a coach of our own; and so did also this night the Duke of York, who did eye my wife mightily. But I begin to doubt that my being so much seen in my own coach at this time may be observed to my prejudice; but I must venture it now.'—vol. i. p. 329.

At length—after many visits to the coachyard, and gratuities to

the coachmaker's men, and after seeing with their own eyes the carriage cleaned, and oiled, and cased, after the best manner, comes disappointment like a winter cloud, and the grand and decisive launch of their coach in Hyde Park reminds us of the days of happiness proposed to himself by Seged, Emperor of Ethiopia.

'Up betimes. My wife extraordinary fine with her flowered tabby gown that she made two years ago, now laced exceeding pretty; and indeed was fine all over. And mighty earnest to go, though the day was very lowering; and she would have me put on my fine suit, which I did. And so anon we went alone through the town with our new liveries of serge, and the horses' manes and tails tied with red ribbons, and the standards thus gilt with varnish, and all clean, and green reines, that people did mightily look upon us; and the truth is, I did not see any coach more pretty, though more gay, than ours all the day; the day being unpleasing, though the Park full of coaches, but dusty, and windy, and cold, and now and then a little dribbling of rain; and what made it worse, there were so many hackney coaches as spoiled the sight of *the gentlemen's;* and *so we had little pleasure.*'—vol. ii. p. 337, 8.

This it is to put trust in chariots and horses!

There are sundry other odd littlenesses about Pepys which injure him in comparison with his friend Evelyn. He was too sensible of the influence of the great, and too ready to truckle to it, though we believe honest and fair in his own department. In the course of offence taken against him by the celebrated Lord Chancellor Clarendon, on account of his having marked out some ornamental trees in Clarendon Park for the use of the navy, both he and his principal, Lord Sandwich, retreat vilely from what they seem to have (however absurdly) conceived to be a high public duty—with this humiliating confession on the part of Pepys; 'Lord, to see how we poor wretches dare not do the King good service for fear of the greatness of these men!' During an interview, in which he uses all the evasions and excuses which might deprecate the Chancellor's displeasure, he labours under an occasional suspicion that Clarendon is seriously disposed 'to try his fidelity to his king.' The Chancellor disliked, as any other gentleman would do, having fine trees cut down close to his house: but the Clerk of the Acts magnifies the matter most ridiculously. Elsewhere Pepys seems, at least, fully sensible of the necessity of propitiating the great, but the following is a curious instance of the dread he entertained in failing in the least etiquette towards them. He met, it seems, the Duke of York coming along 'the Pell Mell;'

'In our walk over the Parke, one of the Duke's footmen come running behind us, and come looking just in our faces to see who we were, and went

went back again. What his meaning is I know not, but was fearful that I might not go far enough with my hat off.'---vol. i. p. 243.

Our diarist must not be too severely judged. He lived in a time when the worst examples abounded, a time of court intrigue and state revolution, when nothing was certain for a moment, and when all who were possessed of any opportunity to make profit, used it with the most shameless avidity, lest the golden minutes should pass away unimproved. It was said of Charles himself, that he did by Tangiers as Lord Caernarvon said of wood, which he termed 'an excrescence of the earth, provided by God for the payment of debts.' The same might at that time have been said of most of the great employments in England, which were considered by those who filled them, not with reference to the public right and interest, but merely as they could be rendered available to their own private emolument. It is no mean praise, that we find Pepys, at such a period of general abuse, labouring successfully to introduce order and discountenance abuses in his own department. He received many hints to the following purpose, which, with his observations and answers, give a more favourable idea of his character than that which might be derived from the foibles and fopperies we have been noticing.

'He tells me also, as a friend, the great injury that he thinks I do myself by being so severe in the yards, and contracting the ill-will of the whole Navy for those offices, singly upon myself. Now I discharge a good conscience therein, and I tell him that no man can (nor do he say any say it) charge me with doing wrong; but rather do as many good offices as any man. They think, he says, that I have a mind to get a good name with the King and Duke, who he tells me do not consider any such thing; but I shall have as good thanks to let all alone, and do as the rest. But I believe the contrary; and yet I told him I never go to the Duke alone, as others do, to talk of my own services. However, I will make use of his council, and take some course to prevent having the single ill-will of the office.'—vol. i. p. 244.

Indeed it is highly necessary to keep in mind that Mr. Pepys was only thirty-seven years of age when he closed this diary in 1669, and that of the far more important half of his life this record furnishes no account whatever. The Secretary of the Admiralty under James II. was, no doubt, a different man in many particulars from the Clerk of the Acts, whose comparatively humble career we have been surveying. The high character of Pepys in his ultimate official station is well known; nor can it be denied that the unfortunate Prince he served deserves credit for having uniformly sheltered so faithful and useful a public servant as the Secretary against the ill will which he incurred

by his unremitting attention to the interests of the King and kingdom. The various disadvantages with which Pepys had throughout his public life to contend were of a kind which would have broken down the patience of a less zealous and industrious officer. When he first came into office under Lord Sandwich's patronage, there was nothing but destruction and confusion in the affairs of the navy. (vol. ii. p. 471.) The fleet in such order, as to discipline, as if the devil had commanded it. (ib.) Ships cast away by mere rashness and drunken humour of the captains, who swore if the pilots did not carry them where they were pleased to order, they would run them through; and the profligacy of all ranks increased to the utmost height. Some of the flag-officers themselves were so ignorant of seamanship as not to know which tack lost the wind or kept it. The vessels did not support each other in battle, and fell out of the line upon receiving the smallest damage, under pretence of refitting. The men, ill-fed and unpaid, deserted whenever the humour seized them, or besieged the Navy-office, so that no business could be done, 'because of the horrible croud, and lamentable moans of the poor seamen that do be starving in the street for lack of money.' (vol. i. p. 353.) On a subsequent occasion the confusion was even greater, so as to menace Mr. Pepys with loss of his evening's meal.

'The yard being very full of women, (I believe above three hundred,) coming to get money for their husbands and friends that are prisoners in Holland; and they lay clamouring and swearing and cursing us, that my wife and I were afraid to send a venison pasty, that we have for supper to-night, to the cook's to be baked, for fear of their offering violence to it; but it went, and no hurt done. To the Tower to speak with Sir John Robinson about the bad condition of the pressed men for want of clothes.'—vol. i. p. 429.

We will conclude this picture with what occurs vol. ii. p. 112, where we are told of the poor seamen, in their desperation for want of pay, jumping into the Thames to escape from the service, though two were shot by the soldiers posted to prevent their escape; 'they being as good men as ever were in the world, and would readily serve the King were they but paid.' Such was the state of the navy of Charles II., and we need not waste words in accounting for the wretched conduct of the Dutch war, and the insults and loss sustained at Sheerness and Chatham. The historical reader will find much curious information on both these particulars, and many others, in the Memoirs. It is indisputable that up to the present hour the British navy has every reason to hold in grateful remembrance the great reforming services of James II., and his faithful servant Mr. Pepys.

Our

Our Journalist, besides his grave treatise upon the Mare Clausum—to which, by the bye, he gave a new title at the Restoration, the former being suited to the Republican model—has some pretension to notice as a man of letters,—having written a romance, and, at least, two songs. The former he prudently burned, though not without some regret, doubting he could not do it so well over again if he should try, (vol. i. p. 275);' the latter were rendered mellifluous by the voices of Knipp and Mercer. He does not appear to have got beyond the false taste of his times, as he extols Volpone and the Silent Woman as the best plays he ever saw, and accounts the Midsummer Night's Dream the most insipid and ridiculous. (vol. i. p. 167.) Othello he sets down as 'a mean thing;' Henry VIII. although much cried up, did not please him, even though he went with purpose to be pleased; it was, in his opinion, 'a simple thing, made of patches;' 'and, besides the shows and processions in it, there was nothing well done.' But the most diverting circumstance is the series of unsuccessful efforts which Pepys made to relish the celebrated poem of Butler, then enjoying all the blaze of novel popularity. Possibly some remaining predilection for the opinions which are ridiculed in that witty satire prevented his falling in with the universal fashion of admiring it. The first part of Hudibras cost him two shillings and sixpence, but he found it so silly an abuse of a presbyterian knight going to the wars, that he became ashamed of it, and prudently sold it for eighteen-pence. Wise by experience, he did not buy the second part, but only borrowed it to read.

Mr. Pepys, although an economical man, appears to have been very generous to his friends and relations, a kind brother, a dutiful son, and attentive in the discharge of all the social duties. One piece of generosity towards a relative, however, sounds a little strange in modern ears.

'I did give my wife's brother 10*s.* and a coat that I had by me, a close-bodied light-coloured cloth coat, with a gold edgeing in each seam, that was the lace of my wife's best pettycoat that she had when I married. He is going into Holland to seek his fortune.'—vol. i. p. 278.

The donation of ten shillings to a man going to seek his fortune is not splendid, though eked out by the coat with the gold edging, which had been already 'condemned a double debt to pay.'

Another peculiarity is that, like most curious people, he is disposed to see something uncommon in the most ordinary occurrences. He was a cockney to be sure, yet we are rather surprized at the following notice of an old shepherd in his worsted stockings.

'I walked upon the Downes, where a flock of sheep was; and the

most pleasant and innocent sight that ever I saw in my life. We found a shepherd and his little boy reading, far from any houses or sight of people, the bible to him; and we *took notice* of his woollen knit stockings, of two colours mixed.'—vol. ii. p. 92.

It would be unjust to dismiss the personal character of Pepys without noticing his sincere, pious, and thankful disposition. Whatever human weaknesses he may display, and however he may seem at times vain of his worldly advantages, he never fails to return thanks to the Author of good for the blessings which he enjoys; and if we see his foibles more clearly, it is because there is neither mystery nor vice to intercept our prospect into his bosom. It is at the bottom of the clear fountain that the least pebbles are distinctly visible.

In point of expression such Memoirs, composed entirely for bringing back events to the writer's own recollection, ought not to be severely criticised. The language is always distinct and intelligible, though sometimes amusingly quaint; as when he says of Harrison, that in the course of being hanged, drawn, and quartered, 'he looked as cheerful as any man could do in that condition;' (vol. i. p. 78.) and again in the following exquisitely limited tribute of sorrow for the death of a predecessor in office.

'Sir William Petty tells me that Mr. Barlow is dead; for which, God knows my heart, I could be as sorry as is possible for one to be for a stranger, by whose death he gets 100*l.* per annum.'—vol. i. p. 329.

The public affairs alluded to in the course of these Memoirs are, of course, numerous and interesting, and Pepys's information, recorded merely for his own satisfaction, and collected, in many instances, from the highest authorities, cannot but be valuable. We are not aware that any evidence occurs of a very new and original character, contradictory of historical facts as usually stated. But there is much that is additional and explanatory of what was formerly known; much that removes all doubt,—that throws a more distinct and vivid light over the picture of England and its government during the ten years succeeding the Restoration. A most melancholy picture it is of the period illuminated by the wit of Hamilton, and sung by Dryden—

'The world was then so light,
I hardly felt the weight;—
Joy ruled the day, and love the night.'

Secular Masque.

The evidence of this prosaic contemporary places it in a very different view. The conduct of the king, mean, thoughtless, and inconsiderate beyond measure, was such as could not have been pardoned in a prince in the hey-day of youth, and nursed in the full enjoyment of absolute command. Yet Charles, in advanced life,

life, and trained in the school of adversity, seems to have possessed neither the power of exerting his own reason nor the submission to be guided by the wisdom of others, but to have flung the reins of his empire among his courtiers at random, or voluntarily and by choice to have imparted them to the most profligate amongst these, as Buckingham and Clifford. Mere good nature is the only virtue which Pepys allows him, for he will not even admit his power of saying the wise things which he never did. He describes him as reading his speech from the throne imperfectly and ill, (vol. i. p. 243,) and repeatedly mentions his conversation as poor, flat, and uninteresting. His talk with his courtiers, when engaged in visiting the naval magazines, he describes as idle and frothy, misbecoming the serious business on which he was engaged, (p. 181.) Perhaps, however, the person who could not see the wit of Hudibras may have been blind to that of Charles.

The management even of the king's personal accommodations was of the most disreputable kind. Pepys gives a most singular example.

'After dinner comes in Mr. Townsend: and there I was witness of a horrid rateing which Mr. Ashburnham, as one of the grooms of the king's bedchamber, did give him for want of linen for the king's person; which he swore was not to be endured, and that the king would not endure it, and that the king his father would have hanged his wardrobe-man should he have been served so; the king having at this day no handkerchers, and but three bands to his neck, he swore. Mr. Townsend pleaded want of money and the owing of the linen-draper 5000*l.*; and that he hath of late got many rich things made, beds and sheets and saddles, without money; and that he can go no further: but still this old man (indeed like an old loving servant) did cry out for the king's person to be neglected. But when he was gone, Townsend told me that it is the grooms taking away the king's linen at the quarter's end, as their fees, which makes this great want; for whether the king can get it or no, they will run away at the quarter's end with what he hath had, let the king get more as he can.'—vol. ii. p. 122.

The coarseness of manners which prevailed in the court seems to have been excessive, and the bantering, which took place betwixt the gallants and the ladies, of the most vulgar description. One scene of royal mirth is described, in which the jest lay in Charles's endeavouring to persuade his queen to confess herself to be

As ladies wish to be who love their lords.

The queen's answer was, 'you lye,' the first words Pepys ever heard her speak in English, and which, no doubt, show she had studied the language to the foundation. A better repartee of poor Katharine was made to Lady Castlemaine, who had the assurance to wonder how her majesty could have the patience to sit so long

long a dressing, 'I have much reason to use patience,' said the queen, 'I can well bear with it.' So high did this spring tide of profligacy run that it got into places where it should have been excluded by every barrier of decency, if not of higher feeling. It was, for example, thought no unfitting entertainment at Lambeth Palace, that 'one Cornet Bolton' should mimic through all the forms the presbyterian mode of worship. Pepys, who does not know whether to be pleased or scandalized, tells us, he did

'Pray and preach like a Presbyter Scot, with all the possible imitation in grimaces and voice. And his text about the hanging up their harps upon the willows: and a serious good sermon too, exclaiming against bishops, and crying up of my good Lord Eglington, till it made us all burst; but I did wonder to have the bishop at this time to make himself sport with things of this kind, but I perceive it was shown him as a rarity. And he took care to have the room-door shut, but there were about twenty gentlemen there; and myself infinitely pleased with the novelty.'—vol. ii. p. 342, 343.

Notwithstanding the precaution of shutting the door, we scarce think this would be now-a-days accounted a becoming archiepiscopal amusement.

The license which was introduced by the restoration has been often described, but we do not remember to have seen the following contrast made subject of wonderment.

'Of all the old army now you cannot see a man begging about the streets; but what? You shall have this captain turned a shoemaker; the lieutenant, a baker; this a brewer; that a haberdasher; this common soldier, a porter; and every man in his apron and frock, &c. as if they had never done any thing else; whereas the others go with their belts and swords, swearing and cursing, and stealing; running into people's houses, by force oftentimes, to carry away something; and this is the difference between the temper of one and the other.'—vol. i. p. 261.

How could all this be otherwise? The wars being over, those who had been butchers and bakers ere they began, resumed their proper vocations. The cavaliers, the idle gentlemen, did exactly the same thing. They could not *return* to trades which they had never learnt. Debauchery was now in too many instances their sole *metier*.

In the fleet there were only reckoned three cavalier captains who were fit to command, and in the state it was pretty much the same, for the elder cavaliers, having been excluded from public business for twenty years, were become incapable of it, and retired to look after their private affairs, and the younger men were totally abandoned to vice and profligacy.—vol. i. p. 229.

The fury and violence of the hot-headed young gallants was in proportion to their profligacy. The court, occasionally a scene

of

of absolute drunkenness, was, of consequence, frequently one of brawling and violence even in the king's own presence. Buckingham struck the Earl of Dorchester and pulled off his perriwig at a conference between the house of Lords and Commons—(vol. ii. p. 235.) Rochester struck Killigrew in the king's presence, and his insolence was pardoned on the spot, (p. 305.) and the king became mean in the eyes of all men by submitting to such indignities. The most desperate duels were currently fought among the courtiers, and Pepys gives a particular account of that betwixt the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Shrewsbury, in which the last named nobleman fell. They fought three of a side, and two were slain. (p. 181.) Pepys does not mention the well known anecdote that Lady Shrewsbury, in the disguise of a page, held the duke's horse while he was fighting with her husband, but he mentions one which does as little honour to that hard-hearted profligate. Having received into his house, as a mistress, the woman whom his hand had made a widow, his unfortunate duchess ventured to remonstrate, saying 'that the same house was not a fit residence for herself and Lady Shrewsbury.' 'I have been thinking so, madam,' replied the duke, 'and, therefore, I have ordered your coach to take you to your father's house.'

Other crimes were committed by noblemen with as little shame or hesitation. Lord Buckhurst narrowly escaped sentence of death for highway robbery and murder, and Lord Rochester carried off forcibly an heiress. Assassination by hired ruffians was not uncommon; and the 'wanton Shrewsbury,' already commemorated, sate in her carriage to see one of her former admirers murdered by those she had hired for the purpose—all without legal investigation, or due punishment. Indeed the king's authority was used to bear out profligacy of every kind against legal censure. When a constable arrested Sedley and Buckhurst for indecent exposure of their persons, he was committed by the Lord Chief Justice to answer it at next sessions. Nay, so little was the civil power respected when it chanced to interfere with the court, that we, who have been bred with all due veneration for their honours of the quarter-sessions, read with horror how—Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, woodmonger and justice of peace, having granted a warrant to arrest Sir Alexander Frazier, a physician belonging to the court, for a debt of £30, incurred for firing—not only were the bailiffs, who executed the writ, soundly whipped, but the justice himself, actually committed to the porter's lodge, scarcely escaped the same punishment. Sir Godfrey, afterwards the proto-martyr of the

the Popish plot, vindicated his action by the opinions of the judges, and refused an apology. It was thought by Pepys that this might end ill for the court. (vol. ii. p. 345.) But it was Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's death, not any incident of his life, which was fated to lead to strong popular commotion.

The nature of this people was ferocious, after the example of their betters. Brothers fell by each other's hands, [see the story of the Fieldings, vol. ii. pp. 53. 58.] Factions bandied together in the streets, the butchers against the brewers, the watermen against the butchers, and fought out their feuds without interference or censure. Nay, the retinues of the French and Spanish ambassadors fought a pitched battle in the streets of London to settle a question of precedence, the king prohibiting all interference. The Spaniards had the precaution to arm the reins and harnessing of their carriages with chains, which could not be cut, and came off victorious. There were several men killed on the side of the French, one or two on that of the Spaniards, and an Englishman by a bullet. (vol. i. p. 118.) There is no mention of any notice being taken of this affray by the English government, though, for the death of a British subject, slain in a similar commotion during the Protectorate, Cromwell brought to trial and cut off the head of Don Pantaleon Sa, the brother of the Portugueze ambassador.

Corruption was universal. All offices were made subject of open traffic. Nothing could be done without a consideration, either, according to Forgard, received beforehand, as logice, a bribe, or after the good turn was done, as a gratification. The slightest promise of service required such an acknowledgment; and while round sums of money, silver porringers, gold cups, and so forth, were travelling to and fro among the rich and noble, the 'smallest donation' was accepted and expected from those who had no more to give. Upon a bare civil speech from his original patron, Sir George Downing, Pepys dispatched a porter for his best fur cap, that he might bestow it on Sir George, as in duty bound. But the porter tarried so long on the way, that the principal had sailed before his arrival, and so the cap retained its place in Mrs Pepys's wardrobe. (vol. i. p. 9.) What should we now think of the courtesy of a clerk who, in return for some favourable speech of his master, made his worthy principal, in the abundance of his gratitude, a present of his best beaver hat? Such were 'Good King Charles's golden days'!

If quitting the broad path of history we seek for minute information concerning ancient manners and customs, the progress of arts and sciences, and the various branches of antiquity, we have never

never seen a mine so rich as the volumes before us. The variety of Pepys's tastes and pursuits led him into almost every department of life. He was a man of business; a man of information, if not of learning; a man of taste; a man of whim; and, to a certain degree, a man of pleasure. He was a statesman, a bel esprit, a virtuoso, and a connoisseur. His curiosity made him an unwearied as well as an universal learner, and whatever he saw, found its way into his tables. Thus his diary absolutely resembles the genial cauldrons at the wedding of Comacho, a souse into which was sure to bring forth at once abundance and variety of whatever could gratify the most eccentric appetite. If, for example, a gastronome, to continue the allusion, desires to know what constituted a good dinner, he will find that a 'very fine' one consisted of

'A dish of marrowbones; a leg of mutton; a loin of veal; a dish of fowl, three pullets, and a dozen of larks all in a dish; a great tart, a neat's tongue, a dish of anchovies; a dish of prawns and cheese.'—vol. i. p. 9.

Or, if he has any curiosity to know what the Duke of York accounted the best universal sauce in the world, Mr. Pepys will give it him, and he may advertise it to-morrow, in rivalry of Burgess, if he be so minded. This curious condiment is made of some parsley and a dry toast beat in a mortar with vinegar, salt, and a little pepper. It was taught to the Duke by the Spanish ambassador, so we marvel it comprehends not garlic. It is eaten indifferently with flesh, fowl, or fish. Or in case the reader be one who delights to know how our ancestors dighted them in array, we have already shown how well qualified Mr. Pepys is to act as yeoman of the wardrobe. He is particularly minute on the plan of Charles II. to introduce a national dress never to be altered, and which was taken from that of Poland. Evelyn, not so apt as our friend Pepys to record the ephemeral fashions of the time, notices this circumstance and imputes the king's resolution in some degree to the perusal of a pamphlet written by himself.* The more minute Pepys, speaking of this garment of eternal endurance, tells us:

'This day the king begins to put on his vest, and I did see several persons of the House of Lords and Commons too, great courtiers, who are in it; being a long cassocke close to the body, of black cloth, and pinked with white silk under it, and a coat over it, and the legs ruffled with black riband like a pigeon's leg: and upon the whole I wish the king to keep it, for it is a very fine and handsome garment.'—vol. i. p. 470.

Afterwards Charles came to be of opinion that the pinking

* Evelyn's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 378.

made

made the wearers look too much like magpies;' so that was laid aside. Several courtiers laid bets with the king, according to Evelyn, that he would change his purpose, and lodged stakes accordingly. And in effect those long vests which Dryden says 'did become our English gravity,' soon gave way before French doublets and hose, and other importations of the Duke of Grammont. It is pleasant enough to imagine how a modern drawing-room would look if filled with courtiers peacocking it about in long sweeping trains. Charles intended to shorten the ladies' petticoats in proportion as he prolonged the men's trains. But this experiment was disapproved of by Lady Carteret and Pepys.*

If the reader be curious in feasts of the ear rather than the palate, he may read Pepys's enthusiastic description of the music in the Virgin Martyr. He undervalues poor Dryden's share of the piece.

'But that which did please me beyond any thing in the whole world, was the wind-musique when the angel comes down; which is so sweet that it ravished me, and indeed, in a word, did wrap up my soul so that it made me really sick, just as I have formerly been when in love with my wife; that neither then, nor all the evening going home, and at home, I was able to think of any thing, but remained all night transported, so as I could not believe that ever any musique hath that real command over the soul of a man as this did upon me; and makes me resolved to practice wind-musique, and to make my wife do the like.'—vol. ii. p. 201.

Again, the curious in musical antiquities may be interested in his censure of the Scottish music which, at a later period in the reign of Charles, was fashionable in London; but which, to the southern ear of Mr. Clerk of the Acts, sounded 'the strangest airs he ever heard, and all of one cast.' The natives present praised and admired them—all but the Earl (afterwards Duke) of Lauderdale, who declared,

'He had rather hear a cat mew, than the best musique in the world; and the better the musique, the more sick it makes him; and that of all instruments, he hates the lute most, and next to that the baggpipe.'—vol. i. p. 434.

If the curious affect dramatic antiquities—a line which has special charms for the present age, no book published in our time has thrown so much light upon plays, playwrights, and play-actors. There is an account by Killigrew of the improvements which he himself made upon the stage of his time, bringing it, if we may believe him, from tallow candles to wax lights; from two or three fiddlers to nine or ten capital hands; from the late queen's

* Evelyn's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 378.

auspices

auspices very rarely vouchsafed, to the constant and regular patronage of royalty. (vol. ii. p. 14.) Then there are anecdotes, not only of Knipp and Nell, but of Kynaston and Betterton, and Lacey and Mohun, and passages concerning Dryden and Cartwright, and Sam Tuke, and we wot not whom besides—annotations, in short, for a new edition of the Roscius Anglicanus. They cannot, for example, but be delighted to meet with the account of the new play, 'Queen Elizabeth's Troubles,' and the History of Eighty-eight,' which is very curious, as it seems to have consisted almost entirely in scenery and dumb show. The Queens Elizabeth and Mary appeared dressed in the costumes of their age; and a prolocutor stood on the stage, and explained the meaning of the action to the audience. Pepys was much affected with the sad story of Queen Elizabeth, which he had sucked in from his cradle, but fully as much so to see Knipp dance among the milk-maids, and come out in her night-gown, with no locks on, but her bare face, and hair only tied up in a knot behind; which he thought the comeliest dress he had ever seen her in. The play, as well as the very peculiar mode of representation, seems to have escaped the industry of Isaac Reed.

There is another class of antiquaries, who retire within the ancient enchanted circles, magical temples, and haunted castles, venerated by their forefathers: and here they, too, may find spells against various calamities, as against cramps, thorn-wounds, and the like, (i. p. 323.) and stories respecting spirits, and an account of the ominous tempest of wind which, in the opinion of the Journalist, presaged the death of the queen; but which proved only to refer to that of Sir William Compton; with much more to the same useful purpose.

Those who desire to be aware of the earliest discoveries, as well in sciences as in the useful arts, may read in Pepys's Memoirs, how a slice of roast mutton was converted into pure blood; and of those philosophical glass crackers, which explode when the tail is broken off; of *aurum fulminans*, applied to the purpose of blowing ships out of water; and of a newly contrived gun, which was to change the whole system of the art of war; but which has left it pretty much on its old footing. Notices there are, moreover, of the transfusion of blood; and how many unhappy dogs died in course of the experiment;—in short, we have in this sort the usual quantity of information, partly genuine, partly erroneous, partly perverted and nonsensical, which an amateur man of science contrives to assemble in his head or in his memory. An amateur of the useful arts may also remark that the most successful inventions are not always successful in the commencement. Such was the case with the sort of carriages now most commonly

in

in use, and called, at their first introduction, glass coaches. Lady Ashley dilated upon their bad qualities to Mr. Pepys.—

'Among others, the flying open of the doors upon any great shake: but another was, that my Lady Peterborough being in her glass-coach with the glass up, and seeing a lady pass by in a coach whom she would salute, the glass was so clear that she thought it had been open, and so ran her head through the glass!' (vol. ii. p. 129.)

There exists a class of Old Bailey antiquaries—men who live upon dying speeches, sup full upon the horrors of executions, and fatten on the story of gibbetings like ravens on the mangled limbs. Here such readers will find a cake of the right leaven for their tastes. Here is an account of the execution of Sir Henry Vane, as well as several of his associates; and of Colonel Turner, who was in actual life a personification of Cowley's Captain Cutter. No wonder it should be so; for the reader must recollect, that this was the same reign in which Roger Nash records as the greatest inconvenience of his brother Dudley's office as sheriff, 'the executioner coming to him for orders, touching the abscinded members, and to know where to dispose of them. Once, while he was abroad, a cart with some of them came into the court-yard of his house, and frighted his lady almost out of her wits. And she could never be reconciled to the dog hangman's saying *he came to speak with his master.*'* We read an account lately (but have unhappily mislaid the reference), which showed that the salting and pickling which the *abscinded* members, since that is the phrase, underwent before exposure, was quite a holiday in the jail: the executioner presiding on the occasion, and distributing refreshments at his own expense among the spectators.

To the lover of ancient voyages and travels it may especially be hinted, that Pepys, as befitted a member of the Navy-board, was curious in 'questioning every year picked men of countries.' Of course he sometimes met with travellers who had a shade of Sir John Mandeville about them. Such might be the worthy captain who assured him that, as lobsters turn red on being boiled, negroes become white on being drowned; showing that there is at least one extremity of washing which can blanch the Ethiopian. There is also an account of the country above *Queensborough*, meaning, it would seem, the duchy of Courland, in which, though we can recognize some of the peculiarities of that northern latitude, Mr. Harrington and the east-country (i. e. Baltic) merchants, who were his visitors, have rather extended the travellers' privilege. (vol. i. p. 267.) Indeed it may be observed in general,

* Life of Sir Dudley North, 4to. 1674, p. 186.

that

that Mr. Pepys does not appear to be devoid of that spirit of credulity which accompanies an eager and restless curiosity. He who is willing to listen must naturally be desirous to believe.

If a lover of antique scandal that taketh away the character, and committeth *scandalum magnatum* against the nobility of the seventeenth century, should desire to interleave a Granger, or illustrate a Grammont, he will find in these volumes an untouched treasure of curious anecdote for the accomplishment of his purpose. If the progress of the fine arts is the subject of investigation, the Memoirs abound with circumstances interesting to the amateur; there are anecdotes of Lely and Cooper and Fairthorne, and an account of ill usage offered to Holbein's painting in the ceiling at Whitehall, with notices of medals and coins and medallists, and much more equally to the purpose. If anecdotes of great persons, or of persons of notoriety are in request, you have them untouched by either D'Israeli or Seward, from Oliver Cromwell down to Tom Killigrew. Jests lurk within these two quartos, unprofaned by Joe Miller, notices of old songs which Ritson dreamed not of.—Here may the ballad-monger learn that Simon Wadlow, vintner, and keeper of the Devil's Tavern, did on the 22d April, 1661, lead a fine company of soldiers, all young countrymen in white doublets; and who knows but that this might have been either

> Old Sir Simon the king,
> Or young Sir Simon the squire;

personages who bequeath names to the memorable ditty beloved of Squire Western: The students of political economy will find a curious treat in considering the manner how Pepys was obliged to bundle about his money in specie, removing it from one hiding-place to another during the fire, concealing it at last under ground, and losing a great deal in digging it up again. Then he hit on the plan of lodging it with a goldsmith; and his delight on finding he was to receive £35 for the use of £2000 for a quarter of a year, reminds us of the glee of Crabbe's fisherman on a similar discovery:

> 'What! five for every hundred will he give
> Beside the hundred?—I begin to live.' ——

But his golden visions were soon disturbed by a sad conviction not unlike that which lately passed over our own money-market, that bankers were but mortal men, and that they could not pay interest for money and have the full sum at the same time lying by them ready on demand. A run upon Lombard-street in the days of Charles II. is thus described:—

'W. [illegible] been at the banker's, and hath got £500 out of

Backewell's hands of his own money; but they are so called upon that they will be all broke, hundreds coming to them for money: and they answer him, "It is payable at twenty days—when the days are out we will pay you;" and those that are not so they make tell over their money, and make their bags false on purpose to give cause to retell it, and so spend time.'---vol. ii. p. 67.

Thus truly speaks Chaucer:—

'There n'is ne new guise but it hath been old.'

But we stop abruptly, or we might find a difficulty in stopping at all, so rich is the work in every species of information concerning the author's century. We compared the Diary to that of Evelyn, but it is as much superior to the latter in variety and general amusement, as it is inferior in its tone of sentiment and feeling; Pepys's very foibles have been infinitely in favour of his making an amusing collection of events; as James Boswell, without many personal peculiarities, could not have written his inimitable life of Johnson.

We ought to mention some curious and valuable letters which occupy the latter part of the second volume. The reader may be amused with comparing the style of Pepys and his sentiments as brushed and dressed, and sent out to meet company, with his more genuine and far more natural effusions of a night-gown and slipper description. This, however, he must do for himself; we have not leisure to assist him.

The circumstances which induced Mr. Pepys to discontinue his diary, we lament as a great loss to posterity. True, the days which succeeded were yet more disastrous than those he commemorated. The Popish plot had not, when he ceased his record, dishonoured our annals;—England had not seen her monarch a pensioner to France,—and her nobles and statesmen at home divided into the most desperate factions which sought vengeance on each other by mutual false accusation and general perjury. Yet considering how much of interest mingled even in that degrading contest, considering how much talent was engaged on both sides, what a treasure would a record of its minute events have been if drawn up by such a faithful character as Griffiths!'

ART. II.—*Wanderings in South America, the North-west of the United States, and the Antilles, in the Years* 1812, 1816, 1820, *and* 1824. *With original Instructions for the perfect Preservation of Birds, &c. for Cabinets of Natural History.* By Charles Waterton, Esq. London. 1825.

ONE fine morning in the early part of the year 1812, Charles Waterton, Esq., of Walton Hall, near Wakefield, a Catholic gentleman of very considerable property, left his house and home, and

and all the comforts and conveniences which a Yorkshire esquire may be supposed to enjoy, (if we except those of a wife and children,) to wander, as he tells us, 'through the wilds of Demerara and Essequibo, with the view to reach the inland frontier fort of Portugueze Guiana; to collect a quantity of the strongest Wourali poison; and to catch and stuff the beautiful birds which abound in that part of South America;'—all which objects we are happy to find were accomplished at the trifling inconvenience, for so our 'Wanderer' seems to consider it, of a 'severe tertian ague,' that stuck by him for three years only after his return to England.

In proof that the effects of this disease were not very serious, we find him setting out a second time, in the spring of 1816, for Pernambuco. He once more betook himself to his favourite woods of Guiana, and after spending six months among them, returned home enriched with 'above two hundred specimens of the finest birds, and a pretty just knowledge formed of their haunts and economy.' This second expedition was even more happy than the first, since 'nothing intervened to arrest a fine flow of health, saving a quartan ague, which did not tarry, but fled as suddenly as it appeared.' Accordingly, almost as little disposed as the quartan was Mr. Waterton to tarry at home; Guiana, he says, still whispered in his ear; and off he set, the third time, for Demerara, in the early part of 1820. From thence, in due season, he returned to Liverpool, safe and sound, bringing with him a valuable collection in the various departments of natural history, and, among other things, an assortment of eggs of different birds, which he had collected and preserved in a particular manner, with a view to have them hatched in England, and thus obtain new breeds. But some supervising officer of the customs, some 'Argus from London,' it seems, laid his hands upon the whole collection, which was detained until the eggs were spoiled; and it was not till after a long lapse of time and various applications that an order was at last sent down from the Treasury to say that any specimens Mr. Waterton intended to present to public institutions might pass duty free; but those which he intended to keep for himself must pay the duty! We think there must have been some mistake in this; for we know from experience that there is no hesitation on the part of the Treasury to release, on the most easy terms, collections of this nature, and certainly without making any sort of inquiry whether they be intended for private or for public use.

This unexpected, and, as Mr. Waterton calls it, vexatious proceeding, had the effect of so entirely damping his ardour, that he 'could now witness the departure of the cuckoo and the swallow for warmer regions without even turning his face to the south:—

'For *three years*,' says he, 'I continued in this dreary climate;' during which time, he adds, 'I seldom or never mounted my hobby-horse.' Fortunately, however, for himself and the lovers of natural history, that admirable work of Wilson on the 'Ornithology of the United States,' unequalled by any publication in the old world for accurate delineation and just description, fell into his hands: its perusal speedily 'fanned the almost expiring flame,' and off he once more set, in the year 1824, for New York. In proceeding to the United States, the objects of his research were, he informs us, 'bugs, bears, brutes and buffaloes,' and our readers will sympathize with him in the disappointment he experienced—for behold, instead of these amiable creatures, the 'Wanderer' found nothing but civilized men and beautiful women. He soon quitted those to him uninteresting shores, and found his way somehow or other, for the *fourth* time, to his favourite haunts among the forests of Demerara. From thence he has once more returned in safety, and with many precious additions to his museum. Whither the next quadrennial flight of this bird of passage will take him he does not tell us, but the concluding stanza of his book, somewhat in the Sternhold and Hopkins style, gives unquestionable warning of a future migration:

'And who knows how soon, complaining
Of a cold and wifeless home,
He may leave it, and again in
Equinoxial regions roam?'

We must warn our readers, however, not to conclude from the haste in which he fled from the sort of society he fell in with in North America, that Mr. Waterton is of a morose or anti-social disposition; on the contrary, every page of his book breathes such a spirit of kindness and benevolence, of undisturbed good humour and singleness of heart, that we know nothing to compare with it, except the little volume of that prince of piscators the amiable Isaac Walton. We could extract a thousand small touches which prove how lavishly nature has bestowed on him the milk of human kindness. Thus in his address to the 'courteous reader' on the subject of collecting specimens of natural history, he says, 'having killed a pair of doves to enable thee to give mankind a true and proper description of them, thou must not destroy a third through wantonness, or to show what a good marksman thou art.' Surely there are no such things as preserves or *battues* among the ancestral domains of Walton-Hall. Then again, at the conclusion of his 'Instructions for the Preservation of Birds,' he says, 'should they, unfortunately, tend to cause a wanton expense of life; should they tempt you to shoot the pretty songster warbling near your door, or destroy the mother as she is sitting

sitting on her nest to warm her little ones; or kill the father, as he is bringing a mouthful of food for their support,—oh, then! deep, indeed, will be the regret that I ever wrote them;' and when he informs the collector of birds that, should evening overtake him in the woods, the fire-fly will serve for a candle, he adds, 'hold it over thy pocket-book, in any position which thou knowest will not hurt it, and it will afford thee ample light; and when thou hast done with it, put it kindly back again on the next branch to thee. It will want no other reward for its services.' But the following trait even out-tobies Uncle Toby:

'In all the way from Buffalo to Quebec, I only met with one bug; and I cannot even swear that it belonged to the United States. In going down the St. Lawrence, in the steam-boat, I felt something crossing over my neck; and on laying hold of it with my finger and thumb, it turned out to be a little half-grown, ill-conditioned bug Now, whether it were going from the American to the Canada side, or from the Canada to the American, and had taken the advantage of my shoulders to ferry itself across, I could not tell. Be this as it may, I thought of my uncle Toby and the fly; and so, in lieu of placing it upon the deck, and then putting my thumb nail vertically upon it, I quietly chucked it amongst some baggage that was close by, and recommended it to get ashore by the first opportunity.'—pp. 258, 259.

Our Yorkshire 'Wanderer' is, notwithstanding, somewhat of a humorist, though not the least of a growler. While in the United States, he finds every thing on a grand scale—except taxation. He is satisfied, in his own mind, that the ideas of one travelling in that country become enlarged in proportion to the magnitude of the objects which surround him; and this theory of his, he thinks, will account for the extreme desire he himself felt of holding a sprained foot (which in England would have been submitted to the pitiful stream of a pump) under the full torrent of Niagara. 'Perhaps,' he adds, 'there was an unwarrantable tincture of vanity in an unknown wanderer wishing to have it in his power to tell the world, that he had held his sprained foot under a fall of water, which discharges six hundred and seventy thousand, two hundred and fifty-five tons per minute.' This unlucky foot lost him the opportunity of dancing with a fair lady of Albany who seems to have made an impression on his heart; but that which mortified him the most was, that his lameness was construed by the ladies and gentlemen assembled at Niagara to be the gout—a disease which, recollecting no doubt the old theory that

'Membrifragis Bacchus cum membrifragâ Cythereâ
Progenerant gnatam membrifragam Podagram,'

our sober and single Squire indignantly declares he never had in his life, nor expects to have. An album was luckily on the table,

which enabled him to publish his misfortune, and, at the same time, to discharge the little tinge of ill-humour which the mistake seems to have occasioned; he wrote as follows:

'C. Waterton, of Walton Hall, in the county of York, England, arrived at the falls of Niagara in July, 1824, and begs leave to pen down the following dreadful accident:

'He sprained his foot and hurt his toe
On the rough road near Buffalo.
It quite distresses him to stagger
along the sharp rocks of famed Niagara.'

It does not follow that, because Mr. Waterton has sinned against quantity, in order to hitch in a rhyme, he may not have found good company in his Horace, as he tells us he did, while sitting on the stump of an old tree in the forests of Demerara. Indeed, our Squire quotes his school classics occasionally with very tolerable success; for if the passage be common-place, the introduction of it seldom fails to be quaint and amusing. Thus in crossing the tropic of Cancer, he is reminded, somehow or other, of Phaeton's misadventure.

'His father begged and entreated him not to take it into his head to drive parallel to the five zones, but to mind and keep on the turnpike which runs obliquely across the equator. "There you will distinctly see," said he, "the ruts of my chariot wheels, 'manifesta rotæ vestigia cernes.'" "But," added he, "even suppose you keep on it, and avoid the by-roads, nevertheless, my dear boy, believe me, you will be most sadly put to your shifts; 'ardua prima via est,' the first part of the road is confoundedly steep! 'ultima via prona est,' and after that, it is all down hill! Moreover, 'per insidias iter est, formasque ferarum,' the road is full of nooses and bull-dogs, 'Hæmoniosque arcus,' and spring-guns, 'sævaque circuitu curvantem brachia longo, Scorpio,' and steel-traps of uncommon size and shape." These were nothing in the eyes of Phaeton—go he would—so off he set—full speed, four in hand. He had a tough drive of it; and after doing a prodigious deal of mischief, very luckily for the world, he got thrown out of the box, and tumbled into the river Po.'—pp. 86, 87.

Having thus briefly introduced our author to the reader's acquaintance, we proceed to give some account of the contents of his book, which we may safely pronounce to be full not of amusement only, but of curious and useful information regarding the natural history, more particularly the zoology, of the equinoctial regions of South America. Nor do we esteem Mr. Waterton's services in these matters the less, because he has adopted the native or the trivial names which the plants and animals bear, to the exclusion of the more fashionable nomenclature of the Linnæan system; the former being of far greater use—to travellers and collectors, at least—than the latter can pretend to be. While resident

resident in the depths of these magnificent forests, Mr. Waterton has availed himself of the opportunity of studying the habits of their numerous and splendid inhabitants, and of correcting prevailing errors regarding many of them; he has pencilled out, in few words, several lively and fascinating groups of animated beings, each thrown into its peculiar manner and action; he has brought home a rich harvest of subjects in the various departments of natural history; and he has given instructions for preserving all kinds of subjects of the animal creation. He treats lightly the fatigues and the dangers to which he has been exposed, and makes no boast of his exploits, except in allusion to the vexatious detention of his specimens at the Liverpool custom-house.

'In order to pick up matter for natural history, I have wandered through the wildest parts of South America's equatorial regions. I have attacked and slain a modern Python, and rode on the back of a Cayman close to the water's edge; a very different situation from that of a Hyde-park dandy on his Sunday prancer before the ladies. Alone and barefoot I have pulled poisonous snakes out of their lurking places; climbed up trees to peep into holes for bats and vampires, and for days together hastened through sun and rain to the thickest parts of the forest to procure specimens I had never got before. In fine, I have pursued the wild beasts over hill and dale, through swamps and quagmires, now scorched by the noon-day sun, now drenched by the pelting shower, and returned to the hammock, to satisfy the cravings of hunger, often on a poor and scanty supper.'—pp. 242, 243.

As these two feats of 'slaying the Python' and 'riding a crocodile' are really the only two things in the book which 'home-keeping readers will be apt to set down to the account of a traveller's privilege, and to consider as 'wondrous tough stories,' we may as well get rid of them at once. We shall relate them as briefly as we can, chiefly in the author's own words; premising, however, that we consider them quite as well entitled to credit, as the story told by Mungo Park of Isaaco's gouging out the two eyes of the crocodile, which seized him in crossing the Ba-Woolima. Mr. Waterton had long been looking out for one of those enormous snakes known by the name of Coulacanara, whose length sometimes extends to eighteen or twenty feet, and whose thickness is enormous in proportion. At length one of them was discovered by an old negro, coiled up in his den. It required some time to clear away gently the plants and creepers that interposed; Mr. Waterton's two blacks were urgent with him to shoot it, but his object was to get him alive, in order to obtain his skin perfect, and to dissect him while fresh. As he advanced, one of the negroes stood close behind him with a lance, the other with a cutlass, both of them terribly frightened. The head was observed to protrude

from the second coil and to be resting on the ground, in a position favourable for pinning the monster down with the lance. Slowly and silently he crept towards it, with the trembling negroes at his back; the snake remained motionless; he took the lance and, with a spring, struck him on the near side just behind the neck, and fixed him to the ground.

'That moment,' says he, 'the negro next to me seized the lance and held it firm in its place, while I dashed head foremost into the den to grapple with the snake, and to get hold of his tail before he could do any mischief.'

'On pinning him to the ground with the lance, he gave a tremendous loud hiss, and the little dog ran away, howling as he went. We had a sharp fray in the den, the rotten sticks flying on all sides, and each party struggling for the superiority. I called out to the second negro to throw himself upon me, as I found I was not heavy enough. He did so, and the additional weight was of great service. I had now got firm hold of his tail; and after a violent struggle or two, he gave in, finding himself overpowered. This was the moment to secure him. So, while the first negro continued to hold the lance firm to the ground, and the other was helping me, I contrived to unloose my braces, and with them tied up the snake's mouth.

'The snake, now finding himself in an unpleasant situation, tried to better himself, and set resolutely to work, but we overpowered him. We contrived to make him twist himself round the shaft of the lance, and then prepared to convey him out of the forest. I stood at his head, and held it firm under my arm, one negro supported the belly and the other the tail. In this order we began to move slowly towards home, and reached it after resting ten times; for the snake was too heavy for us to support him without stopping to recruit our strength.'—pp. 203, 204.

This creature measured fourteen feet, and was as thick in the body as a Boa of four-and-twenty feet. The day being too far gone to think of dissecting him, and wishing to cut him up fresh, the party contrived to get him into a large sack, so as to hold him in security for next morning's operations.

'I cannot say he allowed me to have a quiet night. My hammock was in the loft just above him, and the floor betwixt us half gone to decay, so that in parts of it no boards intervened betwixt his lodging room and mine. He was very restless and fretful; and had Medusa been my wife, there could not have been more continued and disagreeable hissing in the bed-chamber that night. At day-break, I sent to borrow ten of the negroes who were cutting wood at a distance; I could have done with half that number, but judged it most prudent to have a good force, in case he should try to escape from the house when we opened the bag.'—pp. 204, 205.

Nothing serious however occurred; his throat was cut, and he bled like an ox. Soon after this our 'Wanderer' had another affray with

with a young Coulacanara, only ten feet long, which he had observed moving slowly onwards.

'I saw he was not thick enough to break my arm, in case he got twisted round it. There was not a moment to be lost. I laid hold of his tail with the left hand, one knee being on the ground; with the right I took off my hat, and held it as you would hold a shield for defence.

'The snake instantly turned, and came on at me, with his head about a yard from the ground, as if to ask me, what business I had to take liberties with his tail. I let him come, hissing and open-mouthed, within two feet of my face, and then, with all the force I was master of, I drove my fist, shielded by my hat, full in his jaws. He was stunned and confounded by the blow, and ere he could recover himself, I had seized his throat with both hands, in such a position that he could not bite me; I then allowed him to coil himself round my body, and marched off with him as my lawful prize. He pressed me hard, but not alarmingly so.'—pp. 206, 207.

And now for the second exhibition of our Yorkshire gentleman—mounted on a crocodile. It was not till his third journey that he had gained sufficient confidence to undertake these two labours worthy another Hercules. 'I had been,' says he, 'at the siege of Troy for nine years, and it would not do now to carry back to Greece—nil decimo nisi decimus anno.' The feat we are about to describe took place on the Essequibo.

'It was now an hour after sunset. The sky was cloudless, and the moon shone beautifully bright. There was not a breath of wind in the heavens, and the river seemed like a large plain of quicksilver. Every now and then a huge fish would strike and plunge in the water; then the owls and goatsuckers would continue their lamentations, and the sound of these was lost in the prowling tiger's growl. Then all was still again and silent as midnight.

'The Caymen were now upon the stir, and at intervals their noise could be distinguished amid that of the Jaguar, the owls, the goatsuckers, and frogs. It was a singular and awful sound. It was like a suppressed sigh, bursting forth all of a sudden, and so loud that you might hear it above a mile off. First one emitted this horrible noise, and then another answered him; and on looking at the countenances of the people round me, I could plainly see that they expected to have a Cayman that night.'—p. 218.

Mr. Waterton had baited a shark-hook with a large fish, which the Cayman contrived to devour for four several nights, without hooking himself; having thus, from ignorance or bungling, failed in all his endeavours, he proceeded up the river to a deep creek, where he fell in with some Indians; he showed one of them the shark-hook; but he shook his head, and laughed at it. Probably, thought our traveller, this poor wild man of the woods will succeed by some more simple process; and so it fell out. He first made a sort of grapnel with four barbed arms of hard wood,

to

to which he fixed a rope of thirty yards long, the other end being fastened round a stake driven into the ground; he then baited this hook with the flesh of the Acouri, and twisted the entrails round the rope for about a foot above this wooden machine, which was then, by means of a slanting stick, suspended about a foot above the surface of the water.

When all was thus prepared, the Indian began to strike some heavy blows with an axe on the empty shell of a land tortoise; being asked by our traveller why he did so? he said, 'it was to let the caymen hear that something was going on.' The party now went to sleep, all except the Indian: even Mr. Waterton took to his hammock. Towards the morning the Indian set up a tremendous shout, to announce that the cayman was hooked. All hands repaired to the scene of action. 'We were,' says our author, 'four South American savages, two negroes from Africa, a creole from Trinidad, and myself, a white man from Yorkshire.' The difficulty was how to get him out of the water alive without injuring his scales. The Indians did not relish the idea of dragging him upon dry land alive, saying he would worry some of them, and proposed to shoot some dozen arrows into him while floundering on the surface. 'This,' says our author, 'would have ruined all. I had come above 300 miles on purpose to catch a cayman uninjured, and not to carry back a mutilated specimen.' It occurred to him that, if he took the mast of the canoe, which was about eight feet long and as thick as his wrist, and wrapped the sail round the end of it, then by kneeling on one knee, and holding the mast as a soldier does his bayonet when rushing to a charge, he would be able to force it down the cayman's throat, should he come open-mouthed at him.

'I certainly felt somewhat uncomfortable in this situation, and I thought of Cerberus on the other side of the Styx ferry. The people pulled the Cayman to the surface; he plunged furiously as soon as he arrived in these upper regions, and immediately went below again on their slackening the rope. I saw enough not to fall in love at first sight. I now told them we would run all risks, and have him on land immediately. They pulled again, and out he came,—"monstrum, horrendum, informe." This was an interesting moment. I kept my position firmly, with my eye fixed steadfast on him.

'By the time the Cayman was within two yards of me, I saw he was in a state of fear and perturbation; I instantly dropped the mast, sprung up, and jumped on his back, turning half round as I vaulted, so that I gained my seat with my face in a right position. I immediately seized his fore legs, and, by main force, twisted them on his back; thus they served me for a bridle.

'He now seemed to have recovered from his surprize, and probably fancying himself in hostile company, he began to plunge furiously, and lashed

lashed the sand with his long and powerful tail. I was out of reach of the strokes of it, by being near his head. He continued to plunge and strike, and made my seat very uncomfortable. It must have been a fine sight for an unoccupied spectator.

'The people roared out in triumph, and were so vociferous, that it was some time before they heard me tell them to pull me and my beast of burden farther in land. I was apprehensive the rope might break, and then there would have been every chance of going down to the regions under water with the Cayman. That would have been more perilous than Arion's marine morning ride:—

"Delphinp insidens vada cærula sulcat Arion."

The people now dragged us above forty yards on the sand: it was the first and last time I was ever on a Cayman's back. Should it be asked, how I managed to keep my seat, I would answer,—I hunted some years with Lord Darlington's fox hounds.'—p. 231.

With every disposition to give full credit to these exploits of our entertaining 'Wanderer,' we confess that this last circumstance—this new-fashioned bridle, made from a pair of crocodile legs—does somewhat stagger our faith. Indeed we should doubt very much whether Lord Darlington himself, or the boldest squire that follows his hounds, could sit a crocodile, with all the advantage of the hardest bit in his lordship's harness-room.

We shall now give our readers a few specimens of the manner in which objects of natural history are treated by Mr. Waterton. Having described the magnificent forests of Demerara and Essequibo, and taken a rapid view of the animated beings which inhabit them, more particularly of the feathered race, he says,

'He whose eye can distinguish the various beauties of uncultivated nature, and whose ear is not shut to the wild sounds in the woods, will be delighted in passing up the river Demerara. Every now and then, the maam or tinamou sends forth one long and plaintive whistle from the depth of the forest, and then stops; whilst the yelping of the toucan, and the shrill voice of the bird called Pi-pi-yo, is heard during the interval. The Campanero never fails to attract the attention of the passenger; at a distance of nearly three miles, you may hear this snow white bird tolling every four or five minutes, like the distant convent bell. From six to nine in the morning, the forests resound with the mingled cries and strains of the feathered race; after this, they gradually die away. From eleven to three all nature is hushed as in a midnight silence, and scarce a note is heard, saving that of the campanero and the pi-pi-yo; it is then that, oppressed by the solar heat, the birds retire to the thickest shade, and wait for the refreshing cool of evening.

'At sundown the vampires, bats, and goatsuckers dart from their lonely retreat, and skim along the trees on the river's bank. The different kinds of frogs almost stun the ear with their hoarse and hollow sounding croaking, while the owls and goatsuckers lament and mourn all night long.

'About two hours before daybreak, you will hear the red monkey moaning

moaning as though in deep distress; the houtou, a solitary bird, and only found in the thickest recesses of the forest, distinctly articulates, "houtou, houtou," in a low and plaintive tone, an hour before sunrise; the maam whistles about the same hour; the hannaquoi, pataca, and maroudi announce his near approach to the eastern horizon, and the parrots and paroquets confirm his arrival there.'—pp. 13, 14, 15.

That singular bird the Campanero still makes the forest resound when, at the mid-day sun, all animated nature besides is sunk in dead silence. 'We now hear his toll,' says Mr. Waterton, 'and then a pause for a minute, then another toll and then a pause again, and then a toll, and again a pause. Then he is silent for six or eight minutes, and then another toll, and so on.' Addressing the 'courteous reader,' our Wanderer says,—

'When in thy hammock, should the thought of thy little crosses and disappointments, in thy ups and downs through life, break in upon thee, and throw thee into a pensive mood, the owl will bear thee company. She will tell thee that hard has been her fate too; and at intervals, "Whip-poor-Will," and "Willy come go," will take up the tale of sorrow. Ovid has told thee how the owl once boasted the human form, and lost it for a very small offence; and were the poet alive now, he would inform thee, that "Whip poor-will," and "Willy come go," are the shades of those poor African and Indian slaves, who died worn out and broken-hearted. They wail and cry, "Whip-poor-will," "Willy come go," all night long; and often, when the moon shines, you see them sitting on the green turf, near the houses of those whose ancestors tore them from the bosoms of their helpless families, which all probably perished through grief and want, after their support was gone.'—pp. 16, 17.

The Goatsucker, of which there are nine species, with eyes too delicately formed to bear the light, slumbers in the forest all day, and only makes his appearance when night has closed over the world.

'The harmless, unoffending Goatsucker, from the time of Aristotle down to the present day, has been in disgrace with man. Father has handed down to son, and author to author, that this nocturnal thief subsists by milking the flocks. Poor injured little bird of night, how sadly hast thou suffered, and how foul a stain has inattention to facts put upon thy character! Thou hast never robbed man of any part of his property, nor deprived the kid of a drop of milk.

'When the moon shines bright, you may have a fair opportunity of examining the Goatsucker. You will see it close by the cows, goats, and sheep, jumping up every now and then, under their bellies. Approach a little nearer,—he is not shy, "he fears no danger, for he knows no sin." See how the nocturnal flies are tormenting the herd, and with what dexterity he springs up and catches them, as fast as they alight on the belly, legs, and udder of the animals. Observe how quiet they stand, and how sensible they seem of his good offices, for they neither strike at him, nor hit him with their tail, nor tread on him, nor try to drive

drive him away as an uncivil intruder. Were you to dissect him, and inspect his stomach, you would find no milk there. It is full of the flies which have been annoying the herd.

'The prettily mottled plumage of the Goatsucker, like that of the owl, wants the lustre which is observed in the feathers of the birds of day. This at once marks him a lover of the pale moon's nightly beams. There are nine species here. The largest appears nearly the size of the English wood owl. Its cry is so remarkable, that having once heard it you will never forget it. When night reigns over these immeasurable wilds, whilst lying in your hammock, you will hear this Goatsucker lamenting like one in deep distress. A stranger would never conceive it to be the cry of a bird. He would say it was the departing voice of a midnight murdered victim, or the last wailing of Niobe for her poor children, before she was turned into stone. Suppose yourself in hopeless sorrow, begin with a high loud note, and pronounce "ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha," each note lower and lower, till the last is scarcely heard, pausing a moment or two betwixt every note, and you will have some idea of the moaning of the largest Goatsucker in Demerara.

'Four other species of the Goatsucker articulate some words so distinctly, that they have received their names from the sentences they utter, and absolutely bewilder the stranger on his arrival in these parts. The most common one sits down close by your door, and flies, and alights three or four yards before you, as you walk along the road, crying, "Who-are-you, who-who-who-are-you." Another bids you, "Work-away, work-work-work-away." A third cries, mournfully, "Willy-come-go, Willy-Willy-Willy-come-go." And high up in the country, a fourth tells you to "Whip-poor-Will, whip-whip-whip-poor-Will."

'You will never persuade the negro to destroy these birds, or get the Indian to let fly his arrow at them. They are birds of omen, and reverential dread. Jumbo, the demon of Africa, has them under his command; and they equally obey the Yabahou, or Demerara Indian devil. They are the receptacles for departed souls, who come back again to earth, unable to rest for crimes done in their days of nature; or they are expressly sent by Jumbo, or Yabahou, to haunt cruel and hard-hearted masters, and retaliate injuries received from them. If the largest Goatsucker chance to cry near the white man's door, sorrow and grief will soon be inside; and they expect to see the master waste away with a slow consuming sickness. If it be heard close to the negro's or Indian's hut, from that night misfortune sits brooding over it; and they await the event in terrible suspense.'—pp. 139—142.

The beautiful plumage of the birds of these regions stands unrivalled in the world besides. 'Here,' says our author, 'the finest precious stones are far surpassed by the vivid tints which adorn the birds.' The magnificent race of macaws and parrots; the cotingas, which display all the colours of the rainbow; the mottled ibibarou; the iridescent boctora and cuia; the splendid orioles, and finches of the most vivid and brilliant hues, captivate the traveller who ventures into the forests of Guiana; but among all

all there is none claims more attention than the least but most glittering of the feathered race, the tiny humming bird; which, our author thinks, ought to have been called, instead of that in the old world, the bird of paradise. 'See it,' says he, 'darting through the air almost as quick as thought!—now it is within a yard of your face!—in an instant gone!—now it flutters from flower to flower to sip the silver dew—it is now a ruby—now a topaz—now an emerald—now all burnished gold!' This *seeking* of 'silver dew,' or honey dew, on which it is supposed to feed, is an erroneous notion: the beautiful little creature is a bird of prey, and it flutters among the flowers in order to feed on the insects that infest their corollas.

We shall notice but one other bird, and that is the Cassique. This lovely bird is fond of man; he generally takes his station near to some planter's house, and builds his nest so low down on the pendulous branch of some tree near it, that any one passing by may peep into it. He imitates so exactly the sound he hears, that he is generally known as the Mocking-bird.

'Here, for hours together, he pours forth a succession of imitative notes. His own song is sweet, but very short. If a Toucan be yelping in the neighbourhood, he drops it, and imitates him. Then he will amuse his protector with the cries of the different species of the woodpecker; and when the sheep bleat, he will distinctly answer them. Then comes his own song again, and if a puppy dog, or a Guinea fowl interrupt him, he takes them off admirably, and, by his different gestures during the time, you would conclude that he enjoys the sport.'—p. 128.

The blood-sucking Vampire is no imaginary being, like the German hobgoblin which has been thrust upon us under this name; nor is there any thing fictitious in his fixing his teeth into animals while asleep, and glutting himself with their blood. These creatures, like their kindred the bats, frequent old habitations, and may be seen in most tropical climates hanging in clusters on the boughs of trees. Mr. Waterton had them frequently in his room, of the enormous size of twenty-four to thirty inches from wing to wing; but with all his endeavours and contrivances, he could never succeed in getting them to phlebotomize his toe, 'though many a night,' says he, 'I slept with my foot out of the hammock, to tempt this winged surgeon, but all in vain.' It would seem that, on one occasion, he was rather mortified that the Vampire should choose to exercise a discretion as to the subject of his operations.

'Some years ago I went to the river Paumaron with a Scotch gentleman, by name Tarbet. We hung our hammocks in the thatched loft of a planter's house. Next morning I heard this gentleman muttering in his hammock, and now and then letting fall an imprecation or two, just about the time he ought to have been saying his morning prayers. "What

"What is the matter, Sir," said I, softly; "is any thing amiss?" "What's the matter?" answered he, surlily; "why the Vampires have been sucking me to death." As soon as there was light enough, I went to his hammock, and saw it much stained with blood. "There," said he, thrusting his foot out of the hammock, "see how these infernal imps have been drawing my life's blood." On examining his foot, I found the Vampire had tapped his great toe: there was a wound somewhat less than that made by a leech; the blood was still oozing from it; I conjectured he might have lost from ten to twelve ounces of blood. Whilst examining it, I think I put him into a worse humour by remarking, that an European surgeon would not have been so generous as to have blooded him without making a charge. He looked up in my face, but did not say a word: I saw he was of opinion that I had better have spared this piece of ill-timed levity.'—pp. 176, 177.

This same North Briton had to encounter a more formidable enemy than the Vampire on the following evening. There is a species of red ant, known by the name of the Coushie ant, with whom it is common to march, in clusters of millions, through the country, forming themselves into compact bodies, like so many regiments of soldiers; eating up all before them; and never suffering themselves to be obstructed in their line of march,—no, not even if a house should lie in their way, for to them even a house is edible.

'The river Paumaron is famous for crabs, and strangers who go thither consider them the greatest luxury. The Scotch gentleman made a very capital dinner on crabs; but this change of diet was productive of unpleasant circumstances: he awoke in the night in that state in which Virgil describes Cæleno to have been, viz. "fœdissima ventris proluvies." Up he got, to verify the remark,

"Serius aut citius, sedem properamus ad unam."

'Now, unluckily for himself, and the nocturnal tranquillity of the planter's house, just at that unfortunate hour, the Coushie ants were passing across the seat of Cloacina's temple; he had never dreamed of this; and so, turning his face to the door, he placed himself in the usual situation which the votaries of the goddess generally take. Had a lighted match dropped upon a pound of gunpowder, as he afterwards remarked, it could not have caused a greater recoil. Up he jumped, and forced his way out, roaring for help and for a light, for he was worried alive by ten thousand devils. The fact is, he had sat down upon an intervening body of Coushie ants. Many of those which escaped being crushed to death, turned again; and, in revenge, stung the unintentional intruder most severely.'—p. 178.

America is the native country of that singular tribe of animals known by the name of *Sloth;* which now turns out to be a complete misnomer bestowed upon it, from observing the sluggish motions, when on the ground, of a creature who, in that situation, is as much out of its element as a fish is out of water. His proper

proper habitation is up among the branches of the trees: on these he suspends himself by his four legs, and passes from tree to tree, and from branch to branch, as nimbly as a squirrel, though not *upon* the branches, like this animal, but *under* them. 'He moves,' says our author, 'suspended from the branch; he rests suspended from it, and he sleeps suspended from it;' so that all the stories which Buffon and other authors have told about his extreme sluggishness, his constant state of pain, his rolling himself up like a hedgehog when he has consumed the leaves of a tree, and letting himself fall to the ground, the hours and even days consumed in ascending another tree, &c., have no foundation in fact. He is a harmless, inoffending animal, extremely tenacious of life, and when taken or lying on the ground, all his gestures, his looks, and his cries, conspire to entreat man to take pity on him. 'It is then,' says our author, 'that he looks up in your face with a countenance that says, "have pity on me, for I am in pain and sorrow." Do not then,' he adds, 'level your gun at him, or pierce him with a poisoned arrow; he has never hurt one living creature.'

'On comparing him with other animals, you would say that you could perceive deficiency, deformity, and superabundance in his composition. He has no cutting teeth, and though four stomachs, he still wants the long intestines of ruminating animals. He has only one inferior aperture, as in birds. He has no soles to his feet, nor has he the power of moving his toes separately. His hair is flat, and puts you in mind of grass withered by the wintry blast. His legs are too short; they appear deformed by the manner in which they are joined to the body, and when he is on the ground, they seem as if only calculated to be of use in climbing trees. He has forty-six ribs, while the elephant has only forty; and his claws are disproportionably long. Were you to mark down upon a graduated scale, the different claims to superiority amongst the four-footed animals, this poor, ill-formed creature's claim would be the last upon the lowest degree'— p. 9.

At the head of the Essequibo river a branch falls into it from the southward, called the Apoura-poura, on the banks of which dwell the Macoushi Indians, famous for their skill in preparing the vegetable poison Wourali, (or Woorara, as we sometimes call it,) and dexterous in the use of the blow-pipe, through which they send forth arrows tinged with this poison, the unerring harbingers of death.

'I determined,' says our author, 'to penetrate into the country where the poisonous ingredients grow, where this pernicious composition is prepared, and where it is commonly used. Success attended the adventure, and the information acquired made amends for 120 days passed in the solitudes of Guiana.'

'The principal ingredient, we are informed, is a vine growing in

in the Macoushi forests, which bears the name of Wourali, but to this must be added as many other substances, to make 'the charm firm and good,' as entered into Medea's kettle or Hecate's cauldron; the enumeration of them does not convey much information; they are said to be a certain root of a bitter taste, two species of bulbous roots, two different kinds of ants, pepper, the pounded fangs of the labarri and counacouchi, two very poisonous snakes; all which, being put together in an earthen pot, and mixed with water, are placed on a slow fire, and left to simmer till the result is a thick sirup of a deep brown colour; this 'gruel, thick and slab,' is the deadly poison. No women nor young girls must be allowed to be present at this mysterious incantation; the shed wherein it has been boiled is polluted, and abandoned ever after: the operator must commence, continue, and finish the work, fasting; the pot in which it has been boiled must be a new one. These and other superstitious observances have passed down from father to son, and are considered necessary to secure the strength of the poison; just as necessary as a black cat and a broomstick were in our enlightened country, a few years ago, to convert an old woman into a witch.

When the Macoushi goes out in quest of the feathered race, he takes his blow-pipe, which is a reed from ten to eleven feet in length, of an uniform thickness throughout, without knot or joint; this delicate tube is incased in another made of a palm branch, to preserve it from bruising; the first is called Ourah, the latter Samourah. The arrow is from nine to ten inches long; it is the nerve of the leaf of the Concourite palm, hard, brittle, and pointed as sharp as a needle. With this blow-pipe the Indian, by a puff of his breath, will send an arrow to the distance of 300 feet. In scouring the woods, his ears are open to the least sound; while his eye, keen as that of the lynx, detects the feathered race in the highest and thickest trees of the forest. The least scratch of the poisoned weapon secures his prey in the course of three minutes. Indeed a stupor is said to take place almost immediately after the wound has been given. The following experiment was made by our author.

'Having procured a healthful full-grown fowl, a short piece of a poisoned blow-pipe arrow was broken off, and run up into its thigh, as near as possible, betwixt the skin and the flesh, in order that it might not be incommoded by the wound. For the first minute it walked about, but walked very slowly, and did not appear the least agitated. During the second minute it stood still, and began to peck the ground; and ere half another had elapsed, it frequently opened and shut its mouth. The tail had now dropped, and the wings almost touched the ground. By the termination of the third minute, it had sat down, and was unable to

support its head, which nodded, and then recovered itself, and then nodded again, lower and lower every time, like that of a weary traveller slumbering in an erect position; the eyes alternately open and shut. The fourth minute brought on convulsions, and life and the fifth terminated together.'—p. 62.

In the various experiments made with this poison, both abroad and in London, Mr. Waterton draws no little consolation and relief, from observing that the living principle is destroyed so gently, that the victim appears to suffer no pain whatever. This is certainly true with regard to birds; the quadrupeds in these American forests are generally shot by the common bow and poisonous arrows, and on them the effect is apparently the same. Thus on one occasion an Indian let fly an arrow into a herd of wild hogs, which struck one on the cheek bone; he fled to the distance of 170 paces, and fell quite dead. With regard to a middle-sized dog,

'In three or four minutes he began to be affected, smelt at every little thing on the ground around him, and looked wistfully at the wounded part. Soon after this he staggered, laid himself down, and never rose more. He barked once, though not as if in pain. His voice was low and weak; and in a second attempt it quite failed him. He now put his head betwixt his fore legs, and raising it slowly again, he fell over on his side. His eye immediately became fixed, and though his extremities every now and then shot convulsively, he never showed the least desire to raise up his head. His heart fluttered much from the time he laid down, and at intervals beat very strong; then stopped for a moment or two, and then beat again, and continued faintly beating several minutes, after every other part of his body seemed dead.

'In a quarter of an hour after he had received the poison he was quite motionless.'—p. 20.

In the case of a Sloth, it is stated that life sunk in death without the least apparent contention, without a cry, without a struggle, and without a groan, in the space of eleven minutes. The next experiment was made on a large well-fed ox, of the weight of 900 to 1000 pounds. He was wounded in each thigh, just above the hock, and in the nostril.

'The poison seemed to take effect in four minutes. Conscious as though he would fall, the ox set himself firmly on his legs, and remained quite still in the same place, till about the fourteenth minute, when he smelled the ground, and appeared as if inclined to walk. He advanced a pace or two, staggered, and fell, and remained extended on his side, with his head on the ground. His eye, a few minutes ago so bright and lively, now became fixed and dim, and though you put your hand close to it, as if to give him a blow there, he never closed his eyelid.

'His legs were convulsed, and his head from time to time started involuntarily; but he never showed the least desire to raise it from the ground; he breathed hard, and emitted foam from his mouth. The

startings,

startings, or subsultus tendinum, now became gradually weaker and weaker; his hinder parts were fixed in death; and, in a minute or two more, his head and fore-legs ceased to stir.

'Nothing now remained to show that life was still within him, except that his heart faintly beat and fluttered at intervals. In five and twenty minutes from the time of his being wounded, he was quite dead.'—pp. 68, 69.

An ass, inoculated in London with the Wourali, died in twelve minutes. A bandage was tied round the leg of another, and then the poison introduced a little below it. He walked about, and ate his food as usual. After the lapse of an hour, the bandage was removed, and in ten minutes the ass was dead. Another experiment was made on an ass, which was recovered, after being to all appearance dead.

'A she-ass received the wourali poison in the shoulder, and died apparently in ten minutes. An incision was then made in its windpipe, and through it the lungs were regularly inflated for two hours with a pair of bellows. Suspended animation returned. The ass held up her head, and looked around; but the inflating being discontinued, she sunk once more in apparent death. The artificial breathing was immediately recommenced, and continued without intermission for two hours more. This saved the ass from final dissolution; she rose up, and walked about; she seemed neither in agitation nor in pain. The wound, through which the poison entered, was healed without difficulty. Her constitution, however, was so severely affected, that it was long a doubt if ever she would be well again. She looked lean and sickly, for above a year, but began to mend the spring after; and by Midsummer became fat and frisky.

'The kind-hearted reader will rejoice on learning that Earl Percy, pitying her misfortunes, sent her down from London to Walton Hall, near Wakefield. There she goes by the name of Wouralia. Wouralia shall be sheltered from the wintry storm; and when summer comes she shall feed in the finest pasture. No burden shall be placed upon her, and she shall end her days in peace.'—pp. 81, 82.

These results show an action of the Wourali more vigorous and speedy than in those experiments made by Mr. Brodie on rabbits and other small animals with the same kind of poison. This was owing, no doubt, to the drugs made use of having been prepared in a different manner: for we entertain no doubt of the accuracy of the experiments reported by Mr. Waterton; indeed we know that the particular one on the revived she-ass was witnessed by several gentlemen of the Royal Society and College of Surgeons. A difference in the strength of any poisonous substance is quite sufficient to explain a difference in its activity.

Here we must pause. If we were disposed to 'hint a fault' where there is so much to commend, it would glance at that part

of Mr. Waterton's book in which he seems to pride himself in having 'succeeded in effacing the features of a brute and putting those of a man in their place.' The author talks thus in allusion to the quackish performance with which he has embellished the leaf opposite his title-page. What we see there may, no doubt, be taken for the head of some old Greek robber or Turkish bashaw, covered with hair, but is, we suppose, in reality, that of a monkey, with the nose stretched out, the chin brought forward, and the mouth contracted. What is there to boast of in a forced change of this kind, we would ask? Again, we are told that in his preparations of quadrupeds he has succeeded so far as 'to give to one side of the skin of a man's face, the appearance of eighty years, and to the other side, that of blooming youth,' and 'to make the forehead and eyes serene in youthful beauty, and shape the mouth and jaws to the features of a malicious old ape.' Such metamorphoses, instead of advancing, are prejudicial to, the science of natural history. It was the occasional practice of such silly tricks as these, that made the late Dr. Shaw reject with disdain, as a hoax intended to be practised upon him, the first specimen brought to England of that most extraordinary quadruped, with the bill of a duck, the Ornithorynchus Paradoxus. We would advise Mr. Waterton to omit this print and the mystery which he has affected to throw around it, in the next edition of his 'Wanderings,' as unworthy of his entertaining book; and we would also recommend him to reduce the book itself to an octavo size, in order to ensure for it a more extended circulation.

ART. III.—1. *Œuvres Complètes de Démosthène et d'Eschine, en Grec et en Français.* Tom. X.

2. *Comedies of Aristophanes.* Vol. II. By Thomas Mitchell, late Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

3. *The Birds of Aristophanes.* By the Rev. H. F. Cary. 1824.

WE endeavoured, on a former occasion, to convince an ungrateful generation that, whatever evils the progress of equitable jurisdiction might have drawn with it, it saved us from one evil more tremendous than all these; the union in the same persons of the legislative and judicial functions. This union of powers it was the boast and pride of the 'wonder-working' Greek to see accomplished in himself; with what benefit to his own person or the state, may probably form the subject of more than one inquiry in these pages.

Reserving, then, for future consideration the labours of a Greek legislative assembly, where, as (for purposes not very obscure) our countrymen

countrymen have been so often told, all measures were carried by the populace *holding up their hands*, we shall make use of the publications before us for calling attention to the Greek courts of justice, where measures were carried by *holding the hand in the contrary position.* In these courts the true and essential power of the old democracies resided:—and, whether we look to those who discharged the judicial office in Athens; to the advocate who conducted the business of her seats of justice; to the evidence accepted; or to the general construction of Athenian jurisprudence; to whichsoever of these points our eyes are turned, we feel warranted in saying, that in discussing the ancient courts of law, our hand is at once upon the sorest as well as the most important part of antiquity. For making good these assertions little more would be required than those remains of the old Greek drama which time has so fortunately spared to us; but as there are many excellent persons who make up for believing all that is said to them with a grave face in prose, by a corresponding incredulity as to what is advanced with a merry one in verse, we shall endeavour to draw our facts from the first work mentioned at the head of our paper, and illustrations only from the other two.

The law courts in Athens amounted to ten in number; and a stranger from the * allied states, when set down in that metropolis, found his way to the Heliæa, or principal of them, merely by selecting the best-trodden streets; secure that whomsoever he met by the way, they were bound to the same goal as himself. Was it a quartet wrangling and disputing as they went? they were four witnesses on their way to give testimony, and in the mean time beating up a little quarrel among themselves to be decided by one of the standing arbitrators, of whom there were four hundred and forty † in different parts of Attica. That detachment of six requires a little more explanation. The vanguard is a slave, bearing the *echinus*, or sealed box of depositions previously taken; and like ‡ the urn, in which the judicial names were inclosed, or the *cadiscus* into which the votes were thrown, (*Dem.* 1302,) many a cunning trick § could it unfold, were it properly scruti-

* The Athenians, as if they had not legal business enough on their hands, obliged all states in alliance to come to Athens for justice. The expense, the hardship and cruelty of this proceeding gave birth to many satirical remarks from the comic poets, but the [illegible]atures are those by Xenophon, De Rep. Atheniensi, cap. 1. §§ 16, 17, 18.

† Jones. Preface to Isæus, p. 64. Is not this number of arbitrators some [illegible] the surprize which Sir W. expresses (p. 50.) how the Archon and six Thesmothetæ could get through so much legal business, as he knows them to have had upon their hands, besides other official duties?

‡ Isocrates, 526. The word *judicial* is not here to be understood in its legal sense.

§ Demosth. vol. ii. p. 1119.

nized. Three assistant counsel bring up the rear, and the centre is occupied by the principal advocate and the defendant himself. The eye of this last rests upon a dense mass at the end of yonder street; but he is mistaken in supposing them the friends* who had promised him their countenance and support at his trial. These are a body of elderly dicasts or judges on the way to their official labours; they have just finished the last stave of a song of Phrynichus,† (an ordinary device with the poor old souls for cheating a dull morning;) and as the day-light has not yet fully declared itself, the boy who precedes them is directed to throw out as much light as he can from his lamp, while the leader of the company takes an opportunity of mustering his forces and addressing to them a word of admonition.

'Cheerily, cheerily, Comias friend; say whence this hesitation?
Thou wert not wont to show delay and dull procrastination:
But stiff and strong as leathern thong, at march and step thoud'st tug hard,
While now with ease Charinades might pass thee as a sluggard.
* * * * * *
Cleon our prop and stay did lay upon us strict injunction,
That morn should see our troop equipt for high judicial function.
And charges grave he further gave, that we bore front ferocious—
A three days stock of wrath lay'd in—to meet these crimes atrocious.
Onward then, friends, whose age with mine an equal course is making,
'Tis fit we wend to our journey's end, ere yet the day be breaking.'
Mitchell, vol. ii. p. 193.

This maudlin address (and it was only by a judicious mixture of energy and apparent imbecility that the poet could venture on his dangerous subject) has brought us to the very doors of the Heliæa, and our faces must begin to assume a graver aspect, for there is but a little space between us and the very Majesty of Athens!

The first look of a person entering an English court of judicature is addressed to those venerable peruques, in which it has been thought proper for the dispensers of legal eloquence and justice

* 'When the parties appeared, they usually brought with them as many powerful friends as they could assemble, with a view, no doubt, of influencing the jury—a shameful custom.' Sir W. Jones, Preface to Isæus. Many allusions to Greek customs are to be found in the writings of St. Paul; and Elsner, not without reason, conjectures, that 2 Tim. iv. 16. refers to this practice of the Athenian courts.

† There were three dramatic authors of this name; but the one here alluded to is the tragic writer, who flourished not long after Thespis. He was the Dibdin of his day; and his songs, particularly those in his 'Sidonian or Phœnician Women,' were exceedingly admired. The old bard appears to have possessed great facility of composition; since Aristotle has admitted it as a question among his Problems, 'Why did Phrynichus compose more songs than the writers of the present day?'

to

to envelop themselves, and the next to that small box, wherein sit the *twelve 'good men and true,' to whom an Englishman undoubtingly submits his honour, his property, his person. Where the 'good men and true' of Athens sat or stood (the shade of Aristophanes laughs, as we use the term) it is immaterial to inquire; certainly it was not in a small box; the smallest jury there consisted of 500 members, and not unfrequently that amount was quadrupled.† Was this number conducive to the ends of justice? Graver authorities than ourselves have said, no; but before we attend to the numerical construction of a Grecian court of justice, let us examine its most efficient members individually.

Without doubt a most upright and able dispenser of justice *may* appear in a sorely threadbare coat; but the first impressions are obviously not in his favour, and if we may believe Cicero, they have no right to be so. 'Two points to be particularly observed in a judge,' says that writer, (and who had more opportunities of estimating the matter than he?) 'are fortune and rank the meaner he is in point of circumstances, the more readily will he give way to rigour and severity, that his own meanness may be wiped out, as it were, by the harshness of his decisions.' Had Aristophanes needed a confirmation from nature and necessity for that harshness and ‡ irritability of character, which he invariably makes the § prominent features of his dicast, a better authority

* 'E todo omc,' says the old Spanish law-book, 'que se quisier salvar de estas caloñas, devese salvar con doce omes, ca ansi fue acostumbrado en Castiella en el tiempo viejo.'—Fuero Viejo de Castiella, lib. i. t. titol. 2. § 3. We are not aware that our writers upon juries have made the use they might do of this curious and amusing book.

† In a cause of extraordinary importance, no less than 6,000 persons were assembled to compose this tribunal.—T. iv. p. 9. 12. *Dem.* 715. A little trait of ancient manners, as connected with this part of our subject, may not be unamusing. In the pleading against Macartatus (*Demosth.* 1055.) the advocate observes, 'It was my first intention, gentlemen, to have drawn up a genealogical map of the family of Hagnias, and to have explained to you its several parts; but as it occurred to me, that all the judges would not have had an equal view of it, and that those on the remoter benches must have failed altogether of catching a view of it, I have no other resource than to convey the information by my voice, and that can reach every one of you alike.'

‡ To express this more forcibly, the dicasts in the play to which our references will be chiefly made, wore a masquerade dress, which represented them as wasps with large stings in their tails. On this part of the subject, the reader will do well to compare the language of Isocrates (424,) with that of Aristophanes in Vespis, (876—882,) and with the choral song which Porson has so beautifully arranged in the comedy of the Peace.

§ We should consider it a proof of very indifferent taste to bring the pure ermine of a British judge into any close contact with the dirty cloak of an Athenian dicast; but our picture requires a little relief, and we know not where to furnish it better than from the pages of a foreigner, who has surveyed our legal institutions with no small attention:—'Tout, en Angleterre, respire l'indulgence et la bonté; le juge paroît un père

thority could not have been produced, than what is here given. For how stood the matter as to dignity and fortune with him? That a most dangerous importance did attach to the dicast in his corporate capacity will be seen hereafter; but that his dignity was not helped out by the state of his finances, a passage in one of the volumes before us will sufficiently evince.

> *Dic.* Go to, go to: a scurvy * pay must furnish
> Myself (and two beside) bread, wood and fish:
> And you, forsooth, ask figs?
> *Boy.* Father, put case
> No court is held to-day: have you wherewith
> To purchase us a meal,' &c.

The externals of respect, it seems clear, a Grecian dicast could not command; did he deserve them from the more valuable qualities of honesty and probity? Let him open his broad palm! A wolf's head was not the only attraction which the statue of Lycus had for the common citizens of Athens. It was by that statue, that an intercourse took place between the suer for justice and the †dispenser of it, so notorious in practice, that it passed into a proverb, and so wide in extent, that a legislative enactment was demanded—and proved utterly unavailing—to stop it.

Individually then considered, the Greek judge or juryman has but little claims on our regard; and—'in no conference among themselves,' says Mr. Mitford, (speaking of the Heliæa, to which we principally confine ourselves,)' could the informed and the wary of so numerous a court correct the prejudices and misjudgment of the *ignorant, careless* or *impassioned,* or obviate the effects of misused eloquence; nor was it possible to make so large a portion of the sovereign people responsible for the most irregular

père au milieu de sa famille occupé à juger un de ses enfans. Son aspect n'a rien d'effrayant. D'après un ancien usage, son bureau est couvert de fleurs ainsi que celui du greffier. Le shérif et les autres officiers de la cour portent aussi chacun un bouquet. Le juge même, par une condescendance assez extraordinaire, laisse envahir son tribunal par la foule des spectateurs et se trouve ainsi entouré des plus jolies femmes de la province, sœurs, femmes ou filles des grands jurés, qui, venues aux fêtes dont les assises sont l'occasion, se font un devoir ou un plaisir d'assister aux audiences. Elles y paraissent dans le négligé le plus élégant, et ce n'est pas un spectacle peu curieux que celui de voir cette tête vénérable de juge chargée d'une grande perruque, s'élevant au milieu de ces jeunes têtes de femmes parées de toutes les grâces de la nature, et de ce que l'art peut y ajouter de plus séduisant.'—*Cottu de l'Administration de la Justice en Angleterre,* p. 109. Who can be surprized, after reading this, that our gaols are somewhat crowded? Who does not rather wonder, that we have not amateur felons as well as amateur artists, and that crime and misdemeanour are not absolutely at a premium?

* The daily pay of a dicast was three obols, or nearly fourpence of our money.

† And this is the natural order of things. En général, à mérite personnel égal, il est plus à propos pour le bien public, que les riches et les nobles soient juges que les pauvres et les roturiers. Le riche peut facilement se passer de petits présens, le pauvre moins facilement. *St. Pierre, Mém. pour diminuer le Nombre des Procès.*

or

or flagitious decision. Punishment could not take place, and among the multitude shame was lost.'—(vol. v. p. 14.) When it is considered, that the issues of life and death were in the hands of a court thus composed; that no right of challenge existed against its component members, and that no appeal lay from its decisions,* it becomes important to see that no single word has been used in this assertion, for which most ample confirmation may not be found in ancient authors. That such confirmation is to be had, a very slight acquaintance with the Greek orators will suffice to prove.

To the natural acuteness and good taste of the lower Athenians, we have borne willing testimony on a former occasion; but acuteness, without more solid acquirements, is but a slender provision for constituting a judge; and in a person thus unlearned, the accession of taste may be considered rather as a detriment than an advantage. Looking to means more than to an end, it is apt to make the imagination pandar to the understanding, accustoming the fancy to regale upon the arguments of counsel, instead of habituating the intellect to seize upon those points, which lead the mind to right conclusions. 'Easier a great deal is it,' says the judicious Hooker, 'for men by law to be taught what they ought to do, than instructed how to judge as they should do of law; the one being a thing which belongeth generally unto all; the other, such as none but the wiser and more judicious sort can perform. Yea, the wisest are always touching this point the readiest to acknowledge, that soundly to judge of a law is the weightiest thing which any man can take upon him.' In order to see that the Greek juries, with the utmost natural sagacity, would have had no easy task upon their hands, even supposing that the orators always dealt fairly with them, it is only necessary for us to read the pleadings of Isæus† and Demosthenes; but was this fair dealing always to be expected from Greek rhetoricians? That the judges had been *deceived* is a complaint too frequently escaping the Greek pleaders,‡ to admit of

* Hence a very just observation of the orator Antiphon. Καὶ οὐκ ἴσον ἐστι τόν τε διώκοντα μὴ ὀρθῶς αἰτιάσασθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς δικαστὰς μὴ ὀρθῶς γνῶναι· ἡ μὲν γὰρ τούτων αἰτίασις οὐκ ἴσχει φίλος, ἀλλ' ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστὶ καὶ τῇ δίκῃ· ὅ τι δ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ δίκῃ μὴ ὀρθῶς γνῶτε, τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἂν τις ἀνενεγκὼν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἀπολύσαιτο. t. vii. 753.

† And authorities are not wanting for making it questionable, whether these pleadings are to be considered as triumphs over the artifices of others, or as mere proofs of the

ay's la
of the arts by which he had practised on the dicasts.

‡ This could not be a very palatable topic to the dicasts, and Isæus and Demosthenes accordingly display much dexterity, when they touch upon so delicate a subject. Τῷ οὖν ἐξαπατήσαντι τῷ λόγῳ τοὺς δικαστὰς, δίκαιον ὀργίζεσθαι, οὐ τοῖς ἐξαπατηθεῖσι, is the polite language of the latter. *Dem.* 1347.

such

such a position; and a more diligent inquiry than ours might multiply instances of the modes by which such deceptions were achieved over ignorant and careless men. Sometimes a plaintiff laid the information as against the infraction of an ordinance still valid, while he insidiously conducted his accusation as grounded on the infringement of an ordinance that had ceased to exist; it being less safe to practise on the wary magistrate with whom the legal proceedings commenced, than on the unwary court, whose business it was to bring the matter to a conclusion;* (*Andoc.* 34). Sometimes the advocate substituted one law for another; and sometimes it was convenient to quote one part of a law and omit the remainder.—(*Dem.* 268.) To hang the action, as it were, upon two horns, that if the defendant escaped the one, he might be caught on the other, and the same offence be thus twice brought before the courts, was another trick by which the discernment of the dicasts was tried, (*Antiphon*, 712.): and when these and other artifices (*Dem.* 1095.) failed, there were those who did not scruple to resort to more substantial means for confounding the intellects of the judges—clamour and violence, and that excess of insolence, which is rarely practised, but on men whose station or whose understanding is held cheap.(*Dem.* 508.)

But allowing the ancient judges sufficient acuteness for defeating these and similar artifices, was that acuteness always vigilant and on the alert? It was objected by one of the greatest† masters of modern wisdom, to a French legislative assembly, that its labours were too unremitted to be effective. 'Men,' said he, 'by this mode of conducting business, exhaust their attention, burn out their candle, and are left in the dark.' The Greek courts sat more unremittingly,‡ however, than even the French National Assembly did; and hence, perhaps, that carelessness and indifference which sometimes crept into their proceedings, and of which such strong complaints are made by the orator Æschines. 'While the public officer,' says he, 'is reading the bill of offence, the dicasts, as if they were hearing a song of incantation, or something quite foreign to the business in hand, occupy their minds in extraneous matters. . . . Hence those strange spectacles in our courts of law: the accuser turns defendant, and the defendant

* For a similar reason arbitration, or an arrangement of disputes among friends, was less relished by self-conscious offenders, than a reference to the courts of law. ἀκριβῶς γὰρ ἴσθι, ὅτι αὐθὶς παραχρῆμα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐξελεγχθήσεται, ἐάν τι ψεύδηται· νυνὶ δ' ἴσως ἐγείται, ψηφιζόμενος 'ἐν ὑμῖν λήσειν. *Dem.* 1178.

† Burke's Letters to a Member of the National Assembly.

‡ It is a wearisomeness of spirit, growing out of this constant scene of litigation, which gives birth to the play of Aristophanes, which Mr. Carey has selected for translation, and of which the choral passages are rendered with a spirit that will not discredit even that admirable translator of Dante.

accuser;

accuser;* the dicasts sometimes utterly forget the matter which is under their cognizance, and the votes are compulsorily taken on matters with which, in fact, the dicasts have no business.'—(*Reiske*, t. iii. p. 582.)

The two first then of the English historian's charges seem not to have been advanced without reason, and the third will little surprize those who know the common course of education pursued at Athens, and who are consequently aware that Homer and a lyre would have been almost the only† manuals put into the hands of men, who were thus called upon to discuss and decide the most important of human concerns. Hence a power of receiving lively impressions was the very characteristic of a Greek, and if by the term 'impassioned,' Mr. Mitford would be understood to mean the existence of strong passions in minds, which, for the due discharge of their sacred functions, ought to have come to them particularly calm and composed, the accusation will not want abundant proof in the ancient writings. Envy, hatred, anger, revenge, every passion from which the seat of judicature ought to be more particularly free, are in turn ascribed by the Greek pleaders to the bench before which their pleadings were made; and even that feeling of compassion, for which Lysias in one place commends the judicial portion of his countrymen, is in another place represented as a mode by which justice kept her balance even, throwing an unwise pity into the one scale, to make up for the undue severity by which the other had been depressed. 'The most calamitous event,' says he, 'that can happen to a man (and it is to the dicasts themselves that this language is addressed) is to be put first on his trial, when there are many others under judgment for the same offence. For, generally speaking, those who come up for judgment last are ac-

* In his speech against Timarchus, we find the orator using pretty nearly the same language. 'The most unjust of all practices has been admitted into your trials. The criminal, instead of making his own defence, is allowed to criminate and become an accuser; thus drawn away from the defence which ought to have been made, and your very souls as it were in the hands of another, you utterly forget the accusation and quit the court, receiving satisfaction from neither party; neither from the plaintiff, with whom, in fact, your vote had nothing to do; nor from the defendant, for *he* has rubbed away the charges instituted against himself by opening a set of charges on his accuser; thus the laws are dissolved, the democracy is ruined, and the practice gains ground. For that which has sometimes the most favourable reception with you is, not a good life, but a good speech.'—(*Reiske*, iii. 172.)

† It may perhaps be asked, were there not also the ethics of Hesiod, Theognis and Phocyllis? There were: but to say nothing of the *mixed* nature of their moral poems, does any one imagine that with no greater religious restraints than the Greek mythology supplied, such poems could take any firm or lasting hold on the youthful mind? If he does, let him see what Isocrates has said on this very subject (pp. 27, 28, 29) and compare what is further advanced by him in his interesting little piece of biography, under the title of 'Busiris' (309).

quitted.

quitted. Your anger by that time subsiding, *the defendants obtain a hearing!* and such proofs as they can bring in their favour, you are rather willing than otherwise to admit.'—616.*

But if by the term impassioned, Mr. Mitford intended to express the improper feelings, which were induced by a misused eloquence, here, too, proofs are ready, that in so speaking he was perfectly correct. Quintilian, it is true, says, that at Athens proclamation was made by the public crier, forbidding the orator to address himself to the passions, (lib. i. c. 1.) and the author of the Principles of Penal Law tells us (p. 158.) that among the Athenians there was a law of Solon's, forbidding advocates to use either *exordia* or *perorations*. When our own courts of justice come to be reviewed at Timbuctoo, as they may probably be some thousand years hence, there will, doubtless, be persons found to assert, that evidence was conducted in the same manner in our courts of common law and those of equity; and who, because England and Scotland formed one kingdom, will be led to presume, that the law of divorce was in both the same. And these mistakes will hardly be more palpable than those we have just quoted. It is true, indeed, that in one single court of Athens, the Arciopagus, all attempts to move the feelings, instead of the reason, were strictly† guarded against; but that no such custom obtained in the ordinary courts of justice, the whole body of Grecian oratory still in our hands sufficiently declares. In them we not only see the

* Bad as all this was, it is not the only painful aspect which this part of our subject presents. In the Equites of Aristophanes, the representative of the sovereign people is thus addressed—

"Ω Δῆμε, λοῦσαι πρῶτον ἐκδικάσας μιάν.—v. 50.

In the Hellenics of Xenophon (1. sub finem) we are told, ταῦτ' εἶπὼν Εὐρυπτόλεμος, ἔγραψε γνώμην, κατὰ τοῦ Κανωνου ψήφισμα κρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρα δίχα ἕκαστον. ἡ δὲ τῆς Βουλῆς ἦν, μιᾷ ψήφῳ ἅπαντας κρίνειν. Coupling these passages with one in the Ecclesiazusæ (1089), it will be seen that the more common practice of the Greek courts on such occurrences was to give sentence in the mass, without trying the individuals upon their respective merits or demerits. This mode of administering justice could not fail to be very acceptable to the Greek dicasts, as it apparently abridged their day's labours without diminishing their profits. Hence there never wanted artful persons in the legislative assemblies, who endeavoured to gain favour with the dicasts by patronising this scandalous practice of the courts.

κἂν τῷ δήμῳ γνώμην οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἐνίκησεν, ἐὰν μὴ
εἴπῃ τὰ δικαστήρι' ἐφεῖναι πρώτιστα μιαν δικάσαντας.—Arist. in Vesp. 594.

There is a passage in Lysias (418) where the term μιᾷ ψήφῳ is evidently applied to a decision of this kind, and by which no less than 300 of the citizens were put to death!

† Lysias, Isocrates, Lycurgus and Demosthenes, all concur in using similar terms of love and veneration for this most excellent court, which was composed of men who had borne the highest offices of state, and who by their birth as well as dignities formed the real aristocracy of Athens (Isoc. 353). It was by crippling the powers of this court, for the meanest and most unworthy of purposes, that Pericles opened a door to all those frightful excesses of popular licentiousness by which Athens was afterwards distinguished. Cognisant as Isocrates must have been of this fact, we are at a loss to reconcile with it those warm encomiums in which he always indulges, whenever the name of this most accomplished but artful statesman comes before him.

separate

separate orators using every effort to work upon the passions of their auditors, but referring to the arts of their opponents as directed to the same end, and uniformly declaring, that by these* appeals to their prejudices the decisions of the court were guided, rather than by any sound dictates of reason or conscience.

So far from Quintilian's position being true, (and he has asserted it more than once,) that no addresses to the passions were allowed in Athens, addresses of that kind may be called the very characteristics of a Greek court. The dispositions of the court, and not the facts of his case, were what the advocate† avowedly looked to as what would decide the fate of his cause; and whether the claims of a party, arraigned or appellant, were clear or doubtful, still the course of law was inverted, and pity was first asked and then justice;‡ or, if justice was demanded, it was generally with an intimation, that it would be for the benefit§ of those who granted as much as of those who asked the boon. Hence in the Greek courts originated and prevailed a sort of peroration, still more powerful than words, and which, if we except their imitators, the Romans, no other nation has been found to be fond of copying. We allude to the practice common among the Greeks of introducing the children, relations, and friends of the accused, to add by their tears‖ and supplications to the effect previously produced by the eloquence of the advocate.

No

* That our proofs may not be derived entirely from the orators, what is the argument used by the friends of Socrates to stimulate him to make ready a defence? It is 'that common spectacle at Athens,—innocent men put to death, and guilty men acquitted, because the minds of the judges had been warped by the addresses of themselves or their advocates.'—*Xen. Mem.* 381.

† Lysias, p. 655. It will be as well to give the original: a more pitiable or detestable state of judicature can hardly be conceived than what breaks through a few words, in which the pleader meant any thing rather than to give offence, or cast a reflection upon the criminal code of his country. *ὑμῶν δὲ μηδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐξελησάντων πεισθῆναι, ἀδ' ἐλπὶς ἀδεμία σωτηρίας ἐδόκει ἡμῖν εἶναι· ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν ὀλυμπίων, ἃ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ, βέλεσθε ἡμᾶς δικαίως σῶσαι μᾶλλον, ἢ ἀδίκως ἀπολέσαι.*

‡ Idem. 598.

§ This coupling of justice and profit has given a termination not a little ludicrous to the twenty-second of Lysias's speeches—a speech throughout deserving particular attention. No class of persons seems to have given the Athenians more trouble than the dealers in corn. To keep them in good behaviour they were put under the surveillance of certain officers; and these officers, if they slumbered on their charge, it was no unusual case for the Athenians to put to death (723), and in that summary mode which listened only to accusation, without hearing the defence (724). In a pleading against some offenders of this class, the orator closes his peroration with the following remark: *ἂν οὖν τούτων καταψηφίσησθε, τά τε δίκαια ποιήσητε, καὶ ἀξιώτερὸν τὸν σῖτον ὠνήσεσθε, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τιμιώτερον.* 'Should you condemn these men, you will at the same time do what is just, and buy your corn cheaper; if you acquit them, you must look to have it still dearer.'

‖ The practice itself and the abuses which were likely to grow out of it, are ridiculed by the great dramatist with his usual acuteness and buoyant spirits. In the mock-trial which concludes the play, and where a dog is put upon his trial, the advocate, after exhausting

No single epithet of the English historian has hitherto passed under our examination, which seems to have been advanced without due reflection; and perhaps enough has already been said, to show that we must not judge of the practice of ancient jurisprudence by ancient speculation on the subject. The Greek mythology made Themis the daughter of heaven and earth; and if her diviner lineaments are to be traced sometimes in the profound observations of Greek jurists and philosophers, the infirmities of her earthly portion are not less certainly to be found in the practices of these dicasts.

It would now be time to turn from those, whose favour the pleadings of a Greek court were most intended to captivate, to that class of men, whose more particular office it was to frame or direct them; but 'the public orator' will come more properly under notice, when we treat of the political eloquence of Greece, and when it will be necessary to trace him from the sophists, of whom he took his first instructions,* up to the general assemblies, where the full benefit of his education was called into play. But lest the reader should imagine that there was any green spot in a Greek court of justice, on which the eye might repose with satisfaction, we shall give one or two specimens of the language in which this class of men were usually spoken of by their contemporaries, and where that language seems to attach to them as much for their conduct in the courts of law as in the general assembly or senate. 'I am surprized,' says Isocrates, in one of those pamphlets which he was in the habit of putting forth on the state of public affairs, 'that you cannot see that no race of men has more evil dispositions to the democracy than wicked orators and demagogues. These are the men of all others with whom, besides other mischiefs, it is an object to see you wanting the daily necessaries of life. And why? because they see clearly, that those who can afford to live on their own resources, generally side with the state and the well-disposed speakers;

exhausting his own eloquence, produces the puppies of the defendant to work upon the feelings of the court.

'But where are the defendant's children? Up, up—
Up to the bema, now, ye miserable;
And let your yelping be in place of prayers,
And tears, and warm petitionary suits.
Now then—yelp for your lives, my lads.
Puppies. Yelp, yelp,
Yelp, yelp, yelp, yelp, yelp, yelp, yelp, yelp,
Phil. (with emotion.) Down, down—
Puppies. Yelp, yelp, yelp, yelp, yelp, yelp, yelp, yelp, yelp, yelp.
Phil. Down, i' the name of heaven!—
Bdel. I have quick ears
To your request.'—vol. ii. p. 267.

* Plato in Euthydemo, 215.

while

while those who depend upon the courts of law and the general assemblies for a subsistence, are by their very poverty subjected to *their* controul, and are never so thankful as when there has been instituted for their benefit a public accusation, a state charge, or some other of those vexatious proceedings which they are for ever* originating.'—'Beasts,' 'cursed of god and man,' are among the single terms which Demosthenes applies to this class of his fellow-citizens; and his more detailed accounts are generally in the same bitter spirit. 'If any one were to ask you, which of all the race of men in our republic are the worst, your reply would fall not on the agricultural or commercial classes, nor on those who work the mines, or any such description of persons, no, the universal answer would be, it is the stipendiary orator, and the fee'd framer of our legislative bills, and so far your answer would be correct.'†—*Dem.* i. 668. Reserving for some future opportunity the completion of this outline, we now proceed to examine some of the machinery by which Grecian eloquence was put in play.

In perusing the legal speeches of the Greek orators, almost the first suggestion which presents itself to the mind, is the advocate's good fortune in having a case before him so clear in all its parts, that he could hardly fail of success in pleading it. Like a well-trained dog when hunting a *quail*, he has only to narrow his circle at every turn, and having come to his last gyration, the rise of the bird and the death-blow are simultaneous acts. Demosthenes, unfortunately for his own reputation, and still more unfortunately for the reputation of his countrymen generally, has let the secret transpire, from which much of this speciousness of appearance arose.

It is natural to hope, says the great English moralist, that a comprehensive is likewise an elevated soul, and that whoever is wise is also honest. No one can repeat these words of Johnson, and not wish that time had spared us some of the other speeches of Demosthenes, and taken in exchange his 35th and 44th. In these speeches (and it is with reluctance that we allude to them) the same two characters are seen alternately vilified and applauded, justified and condemned; and a reader asks with surprize what had so suddenly made the difference between them. The commentators return an answer, which converts surprize into regret,—a little gold, say they, made all the distinction, and black became white,

* Isoc. 249. As this writer is not included in Reiske's edition of the Greek orators, our references to him will be made from the Oxford edition of the 'Oratores Attici.'

† And the abuse which Demosthenes bestowed upon his brother orators, they took care to return upon him, particularly by contrasting his improved condition, when conducting the affairs of the state, with his earlier situation as a writer of speeches for suitors in a court of law, or as a hired conductor of those suits.—*Deinarchus contra Dem.* 74.

and

and white became black, according as the orator was paid. For our parts we hesitate to speak such blasphemy of so great a man as Demosthenes: those speeches were written at a time of life, when the love of gold is not very strongly felt, but they were also written when the desire of displaying talent is very strong, and when a little provocation, real or supposed, is sufficient to give that talent a turn, of which the reputation may last for a moment, the disgrace for ever. But whatever the motive (and our imagination would gladly lend itself to the least culpable) those two speeches must now remain a tarnish upon the high reputation of Demosthenes; and it only remains for us to show by what additional means the orator was able to give effect to his wishes, besides those which his own unrivalled powers of eloquence afforded.

We have all heard of a race of men, who used in former days to ply about our own courts of law, and who, from their manner of making known their occupation, were recognized by the name of Straw-shoes. An advocate or lawyer, who wanted a convenient witness, knew by these signs where to meet with one, and the colloquy between the parties was brief. 'Don't you remember?'.... said the advocate. 'To be sure I do,' was the instantaneous reply. 'Then come into the court and swear it.' And Straw-shoe went into the court and swore it. Athens abounded* in Straw-shoes. What the value of *modern* Greek testimony is, we once quoted an admirable† novel to show; what it was in Cicero's‡ time, the readers of that great man are well aware; it is our duty now to go to the fountain head; and show that Grecian testimony only remained what it had ever been. Here, says the poet Eubulus, speaking of the imperial town,

* Ἀλλα δεινοί τινες εἰσιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φδείρεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους, καὶ παρεῖναι καὶ μαρτυρεῖν. Such are the emphatic words of Demosthenes (960), who must have known this branch of his art pretty well.

† The reader who is amused with parallel passages of facts as well as words may amuse himself by comparing the quotation which we made from Anastasius with a passage in Isocrates (317)

‡ Græcus testis cum ex voluntate processit ut ladat, non jusjurandi, sed lædendi verba meditatur vinci, refelli, coargui putat esse turpissimum ad id se parat nihil aliud curat. Itaque non optimus quisque, nec gravissimus, sed impudentissimus, loquacissimusque diligitur. Agam. Num illos (id est Græcos) idem patis? quibus jusjurandum§ jocus est, testimonium ludus, existimatio vestra tenebræ, laus, merces, gratia, gratulatio proposita est omnis in impudenti mendacio. *Orat pro L. Flacco.* In the same strain speaks Pliny, as quoted in Wolf's Prolegomena to Homer. Mirum est quò procedat Græca credulitas nullum tam impudens mendacium est, quod teste careat.

§ Of Grecian oaths (and some of those in the courts of law were strongly worded enough), we may observe generally, what Stierhook quaintly remarks of certain practices introduced by popish ecclesiastics into the old Swedish or Gothic constitution—'having sown a plentiful crop of oaths in all judicial proceedings, they reaped afterwards an ample harvest of perjuries.'

'All

'All has its price: a fig and a court beadle,
An apple and a witness for the Court,
Chick-pease and medlars, and a suit at law;
Wear a full purse and you may have them all.'
Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 323.

And in the same spirit the poet Diphilus, speaking of some person who had displayed a sudden affluence, asks—

'From whence comes this
Extravagance, or what the funds that feed it?
Either he plies the footpad's wary trade,
Or deals at night with hinges and with doors;
Or the twin mysteries of wealth are known
To him, and he is one of two, be sure,
Informer, or *false witness*.'—*Id.* lib. vi.

The mode of getting up these false witnesses seems to have been expressed by the soft term παρασκευή; and from the manner in which it occurs among ancient writers, the Greek advocates evidently considered this as no unessential part of their duty towards their clients.

'You have not to learn, gentlemen, the preparatory steps (παρασκευὰς) which are usually taken by men upon their trials, nor what entreaties are made to beg them off: you are well aware of the influence exerted over witnesses, and how, for money or for favour, some are persuaded to lose their memories, some to keep away from the courts, and all to find some excuse for defeating the ends of justice.'—*Lycurg. contra Leocrat.* 4. 151.*

Infamous as this mode of substantiating or warding off accusation might be, another still more revolting to the feelings was commonly practised in the ancient courts. A writer, more lively it is sometimes thought than veracious, in speaking of the state of slavery in Turkey,† says, 'La loi concernant les esclaves, les soumet à celui qui les achète; invite à les bien traiter, ou à les vendre quand on n'en est plus content; et *les esclaves ne peuvent être reçus en témoignage ni pour ni contre leur maître*.' Athens might have taken one lesson, and other parts of Greece might have taken more than one lesson from the Turkish treatment of slaves; and the lesson was the more important, because of the prodigious numbers of human beings who might have benefited by it. The proportion of the slave to the free population of Athens seems, on the very lowest computation, to have been in the

* See also Dem. contr. Apaturium, 904. contr. Leoch. 1091. contr. Aph. 813. See also the wary remarks of Isæus, who so well understood the value of testimony. tom. vii. 26. 74. 197. 255. Æschines, 3. 381. Lys. 614. Andoc. 1.

† Mémoires du Baron de Tott, tom. i. p. 123.

ratio of 4 to 1.* The meanest citizen never appears in the ancient comedy without one or two of these miserable attendants. Besides captives taken in war, they consisted of persons purchased in Pontus, Macedonia; and the Asiatic colonies.† Even at Athens, where, to the honour of its inhabitants be it said, they suffered less‡ severely than in other parts of Greece, there was the whip and the scourge, the stout flogger who relied on his strength, and the connoisseur flogger who prided himself on his § art; there were chains for the foot, chains for the hand, and a separate compartment for the neck: or the distinction between man and beast was lost by putting them to the grinding mill. His own offences, real or supposed, brought down these milder punishments on the slave: but the most blameless life did not secure the wretched being from suffering a still heavier mulct for the offences real or supposed of his master.

Our hearts need not the united rhetoric of Montesquieu and Beccaria to teach us the folly and iniquity of torture and the rack, as applied judicially, nor Voltaire's usual mixture of knowledge and ‖ ignorance to enforce their eloquent appeals. To make pain the crucible of truth—to punish before knowledge, in order that you may punish after knowledge—to hide, in the convulsions of agony, those signs of guilt or innocence which the human face divine can never wholly suppress—and to reduce to a physical question of muscle and nerve, what ought to be a moral inquiry of time and patience, are absurdities so palpable and so cruel,

* For the statistic reasonings on which this calculation rests, the reader is referred to Augustus Boekh's elaborate and valuable work 'Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener,' Erster Band. 33—43. our own reasonings would have led us to a much higher ratio; nor, in fact, does Mr. Boekh's general conclusion seem compatible with the details which he afterwards gives of the number of slaves possessed by single individuals; some of whom, it appears from the Athenian writers, were masters of no less than *three hundred, six hundred*, and even *a thousand* slaves. Fifty is given on the authority of Plato, as a number which an Athenian, not absolutely rich, often possessed.

† From the Plutus of Arist. (v. 521.) as edited by Hemsterhusius and Brunck, it would also appear that the Thessalians ranked among the greatest slave-dealers of antiquity. The reading, however, *οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν* for *πάλαι τῶν*, which Hare ingeniously elicited from the scholiast, has since been silently adopted by Porson in his edition of the Plutus; and besides the almost implicit deference which that first of critics must ever command at our hands, we have some reasons of our own (not necessary to mention here) for coinciding with him in this correction of the text.

‡ Did we wish to press hard upon the republic, we might ascribe this milder treatment to other causes than those of genuine humanity: 'Dans les pays despotiques, où l'on est déjà sous l'esclavage politique, l'esclavage civil est plus tolérable qu'ailleurs.' —Esprit des Lois, l. 15. c. 1.

§ Tortores acerrimi *guarique nostri* tergi. Plautus. It is almost unnecessary to say, that the plays of Plautus are mere translations or imitations from the Greek new comedy.

‖ 'Chez les Athéniens,' says this writer, who knew too much to know anything well, 'on ne donnoit la question que dans les crimes d'état.'

that

that we can hardly believe the page of history when she tells us in what nations and for what a space of time those absurdities have been practised. It is generally supposed, that among the Greeks the torture was never applied but to slaves: the limitation is not quite correct; for more than one instance might be brought from the orators, where the torture was applied to free* citizens. But the slave was daily† and hourly subjected to its visitations; and of all the painful feelings which the Greek orators, as well as historians, excite, none rises stronger than that of beholding the heartless brutality with which these proceedings were regarded. With a most cold-blooded indifference‡ the orator stated the arguments for and against the use of torture; but in the whole body of Grecian oratory, not a word is to be found in favour of the unhappy sufferer. For the freeman of Athens, whenever upon his trial, the pleader brought forth weeping children and fainting wives; every tear was counted, and every groan summed by arithmetic, to pervert the purposes of justice; but for the slave or *his* feelings, not a word of commiseration ever dropped from he hard-hearted speaker. Why should there? there was a taint,§ forsooth, in his blood, nor could he reckon among his race those who had fought at Marathon. The battle of Marathon! Let us not be the dupes of great names; nor measure the altitudes of nations only by one standard.‖

We have now, and in our wonted manner—ut properantes, et apud doctos, et ipsi semi-docti—run through some of the principal characters which figured in a Grecian court of justice; and as causes, whatever their kind, must necessarily produce a proportionate effect, we begin to find a clue for the explanation of a fact, which, we think, must have struck the most careless reader of the

* Deinarchus cont. Demosth. 46. • Antiphon de Cæde Herod. t. vii. p. 729.

† The French have often been compared with the Athenians; and the ladies of the Greek orators, like those of the French magistrates, no doubt entered by degrees into the feelings of their husbands. 'Le grave magistrat qui a acheté pour quelque argent le droit de faire ces expériences sur son prochain, va conter à dîner à sa femme ce qui s'est passé le matin. La première fois madame en a été révoltée; à la seconde, elle y a pris goût, parcequ' après tout les femmes sont curieuses; et ensuite la première chose qu'elle lui dit lorsqu'il rentre en robe chez lui: Mon petit cœur, n'avez-vous fait donner aujourd'hui la question à personne?'—*Voltaire.*

‡ Antiphon, tom. vii. pp. 644. 778, 779.

§ That such a passage occurs in one of the Greek orators, we have a distinct recollection; but we cannot at this moment lay our hand upon it.

‖ For many further particulars on the subject of slavery and torture, which our limits oblige us to omit, and for which we are not sorry,—see Demosthenes c. Onet. 874. c. Timotheum. 1200. c. Pantænetum, 978. c. Nicostratum, 1253. c. Evergum. et Mnesib. 1143.—Isæus, 202. Andoc. 32. Lycurg. 159. Antiphon, 724. 727. 609. 778. Lysias, 221. 178. 288. 294. For Cicero's *divided* opinion on the subject, consult Orat. pro P. Sulla and the Oratoriæ Partitiones.

ancient forensic oratory. And what is this? It is that of all the offences imputed to a criminal against whom this oratory is directed, that particular one is often the most trifling, which gives the particular speech its birth. Of this a signal, but by no means a solitary proof was given in a speech which we formerly brought under the reader's notice; in which the ostensible ground of accusation was, that Aristogeiton, while yet a debtor to the public treasury for a fine formerly imposed on him, had, contrary to a statute made for that purpose, resumed his functions as an orator in one of the public assemblies; while in the course of the oration, there are few crimes of which human nature can be thought capable, which are not imputed to him. Were these allegations false or true? If false, what a frightful state of society to live in, where such atrocious falsehoods could be hazarded, and that by the most eminent men, without shame or fear of rebuke! If true, what are we to think of the jurisprudence of a country in which such accumulated guilt could go so long unpunished; and if the law-courts of Athens constituted (as most assuredly they did) the very essence of her government, is there any thing in the strongest language directed against ancient democracy, which calls for either apology or palliation?

What has hitherto been said of the Grecian courts of law applies to them more particularly as tribunals for the distribution of justice between man and man:—And if for that purpose they have been found ill imagined in principle and worse conducted in practice; if, instead of being the sacred seats of wisdom, moderation, purity, and justice, we have brought home to them the charges of ignorance, caprice, perjury, and venality; are they likely to rise in estimation, when they come to be considered as deciding between the individual and the state, in the two most important concerns of property and person?

Of the financial system of Athens we remember to have taken a serious view in a former Number of this Journal. 'Laisser quelques hommes se nourrir de la substance politique,' says D'Alembert, 'pour les dépouiller à leur tour, c'est réparer une injustice par une autre, et faire deux maux au lieu d'un.' No where was this mode of doing double mischief better understood than in ancient Greece, where, indeed, nothing was done by halves.

When the great men of Athens walked or rode for an appetite, their course, we presume, was generally directed to the Peiræus; for their eyes had thus a previous opportunity of regaling upon what was to feast their palates afterwards. Few vessels entered that noble harbour which did not in some private corner bring a present

present for the leading* orator or general, whose favour it was an object for the subject states† to conciliate; and if the statesmen of that day made their little bets together, like our Harleys and Swifts, the appearance of the vessel in the offing would determine of what kind they were.

Meantime, others were not idle. Twenty times twenty eyes had been as earnestly fixed on them as their's had been on the ship from Chios, Sicily, or Pontus: and not one of the owners of those eyes but could have told almost to a fraction,‡ what the lordly betters would cut up for, singly or collectively, when ripe for the public appetite.

In a state of which the financial system thus hung on an alternate system of plunder and spoliation, what would have been the consummation of legal folly? It would have been 'the anxious closing of every possible avenue to false accusation and calumny;' it would have been, 'that the law should remain a written and recorded letter, pronouncing the same decisions upon the same facts whenever they occurred; it would have been, above all, that 'offence and trial and punishment should be *fixed*.' They were three pieces of folly, which certainly could not be laid to the charge of ancient Athens. False accusers and calumniators traversed her streets in bodies almost as numerous as the dicasts

* A thousand bushels of wheat yearly was the price, according to Deinarchus, for the services rendered by Demosthenes to Birisades, Satyrus, and Gorgippus, 'the most odious of tyrants.'—t. iv. p. 34.

† 'Il y a encore un inconvénient aux conquêtes faites par les démocraties. Leur gouvernement est toujours odieux aux états assujettis. Il est monarchique par la fiction, mais dans la vérité, il est plus dur que le monarchique, comme l'expérience de tous les temps et de tous les pays l'a fait voir.'—*Esprit des Lois*, l. x. c. 7.

‡ For a serious confirmation of this assertion, the reader is referred to the whole of the 19th speech of Lysias (Reiske, tom. v. p. 614.); a lighter view of the subject is furnished from the Knights of Aristophanes, in a little dialogue which takes place between the Chorus and the imaginary representative of the Sovereign People.

Chor. 'Honour, power, and high estate,
Demus, mighty lord, hast thou!
To thy sceptre small and great
In obeisance lowly bow!—
Yet you're easy to his hand whoever cringes;
Ev'ry fool you gape upon,
Ev'ry speech your ear hath won,
While your wits move off and on
Their hinges.

Dem. (surlily). Hinges in their teeth, who deem
That Demus is an easy fool;
If he yawn and if he dream,
If he tipple, 'tis by rule;
'Tis his way to keep in pay one knave to ease him;—
Him he keeps for guide and gull,
But when once the sponge is full,
To himself the knave he'll pull,
And squeeze him.'

 themselves,

themselves, searching, peeping, prying, appealing to the blood within them as a justification of their trade, and considering calumny and information as a sort of heir-loom in their families. It would be a fatiguing and disgusting task to cite from ancient authorities all the passages which refer to this odious and most disgusting portion of ancient jurisprudence. Knaves laughed at *the letter of the law*, knowing, as they did, that its spirit and interpretation rested in the bosom of the dicast* and not of the legislator; while wise men turned with distrust from courts, the decisions of which, it was declared, resembled more the results of chance and accident than of any established rules of equity or wisdom.† How indeed could it be otherwise among judges, such as we have described, and who, such as they were, were continually reminded, that to them belonged every thing in the state—(*Demost*, 585.)—that they, in fact, were the state—(700)—that to disturb one of their verdicts was to dissolve the democracy—(747, 8.)—that it was for other courts to direct their proceedings with caution and deliberation, because the members of them might be brought to an account, but it was for them (the dicasts) to shape their course to good or ill as they pleased, because there neither was nor ought to be any controul over them (*Andoc.* 85)—; that the vote in their hands made each of them a despotic monarch (*Æschin.* 626.); the vote, which, as if something sacred hung about their persons, they were directed to drop into the ballot-box with the same form and ceremony, as they dropped incense on the altars of the gods.‡ To talk indeed, under such circumstances, of law being a written or recorded letter! We appeal to the whole body of ancient oratory. There is scarcely an anomaly in law or a violation of the first principles of jurisprudence, which is not to be found in its pages, either pressed upon the acceptance of the people or sanctioned by their practice; ex post facto laws making that criminal which no previous enactment had declared to be criminal (*Dem.* 724. 737. 761.); one great crime constructed out of several smaller ones, and punishment taken in a heap (*Dem.* 521. *Lys.* 843); punishment remitted or accusation allowed, not upon the merits of the case, but upon the credit or discredit of former things done by the parties themselves or their ancestors (*Lys.* 409. 535. 577. 835.); the sins of the father visited on the children, and the reverse (*id.* 694. 535.); punishment asked not only for guilt actually com-

* Isocrates, 572.

† Λέγοντες ὡς πολλὰ παρὰ γνώμην ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀποβαίνει, καὶ ὅτι τύχη μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ δικαίῳ κρίνεται τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν. Isoc. 536. See also Lysias, 134.

‡ Compare Aristoph. in Vespis, v. 95, and Blomfield's Glossarium in Agamemnona, p. 299.

mitted,

mitted, but for guilt which might by possibility have been committed (*Deinarch.* 96.); unjust analogies and presumptions (*Dem.* 721. *Lyc.* 184. *Lys.* 832. 886,7. *Isoc.* 569.); the statute or occasional law (ψήφισμα), law, if we may so term it, in continual *opposition to the common established law (νόμος); (*Lys.* 520. *Lyc.* 142.); judges parties in their own cause, finders of the fact in which themselves had been sufferers, and makers of the punishment which visited its† conviction.

These were fearful odds against any thing like fixedness of offence or trial, where the mere rights of things were concerned; and did they augur more favourably for security of person, and more particularly, when life became, as it were, a stake to be played for between the individual and the state? The reader has but a slender knowledge of the DEMUS of antiquity, that jealous and vindictive sovereign, who carried his visitations into the very thoughts (*Lys.* 603.), and constructed treason out of the eyes (*id.* 706.), and whose right to do all this was admitted in the widest terms of which human language is susceptible,‡ if he allows such a thought to enter his mind. Death, indeed, was, next to confiscation, the punishment which the ancient courts dealt with ready liberality, whenever their own interests were affected; and that it was not always with the formalities of a trial, that the savage majesty of Athens went to the gratification of her appetite, the ancient orators supply us with melancholy proof. 'When the authorities,' says Lysias, describing some knaveries of the corn-jobbers, 'moved the senate on the subject, so enraged were that body with their conduct, that some of the orators proposed that, without any trial, the culprits should be given up to the proper officers, and forthwith put to death.' (*contra Frumentarios*, 713.) And the orators who gave the advice, it is clear from another speech of Lysias, were not without their precedents to go upon. 'Recollect then, that Nicophemus and Aristophanes (not the poet of that name) were put to death without any trial, without any conviction of their guilt, or any advocate to plead their cause. No man saw them after their apprehension—their bodies were not given to their relations for burial; such was the full measure of their

* See the speeches throughout of Demosthenes against Aristocrates and Timocrates. Æschines mentions one of the public orators, who made it his boast, that he had been seventy-five times brought to trial for thus tampering with the laws, and whose language evidently showed that he was not without thoughts of repeating his delinquencies.

† ἀδικώδατε. ἰωξάκατε. ΠΕΠΟΝΘΑΤΕ ἴσχετε. δικάζετε is the energetic conclusion of one of the most powerful of Lysias's pleadings. What the word δικάζετε signified, under such circumstances, no one will be at a loss to know, who is versed in the criminal code of a people-king; and Socrates confirms the allegation (t. ii. p. 207. Oxf. Edit.)

‡ Ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων, κυριώτατος ὢν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἁπάντων, καὶ ἐξὸν αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὅ,τι ἂν βούληται, κ.τ.λ. (Demosth. 1370.) Such is a specimen of the adulatory language, with which the ears of the great despot were continually regaled.

calamities, that, in addition to their other misfortunes, they were deprived even of a grave.' (*id.* 616.) On *that* occasion it was in the pleader's brief to speak *against* death without trial, but the more summary mode of proceeding was what he usually preferred, as what he knew to be more usually agreeable to those to whom he addressed himself.—'It is my opinion, gentlemen,' observes he, in his speech against Epicrates, 'that even should you refuse these persons a trial or a hearing, and proceed instantly to conviction and the last punishment, the language ought to be, not that they perished untried, but simply, that they had suffered the proper punishment of their guilt. For those cannot be said to be untried, on whom you pass a vote of condemnation, from previous knowledge of their guilt: but those who are calumniated by their enemies on subjects of which you have no cognizance, and who cannot obtain a hearing, these are the persons who may be said to die without a trial. As for the present criminals, their own actions are their accusers, and our business has been simply that of applying the evidence to the actions. Not that I have any fear, that if you were to give them a hearing, acquittal would follow; no, my only fear is, that they would die with too much self-satisfaction and credit, dying as they would with the honour of having had a hearing from you: and what satisfaction or credit do men deserve, whose interest is not linked with your's?'—*Contra Epicratem*, 811. Such were the feelings of this advocate of democracy; and so fully did he pamper these dispositions, that simple death at last did not satisfy his appetite, but, like another Alexander, he felt his vengeance incomplete, till 'thrice he slew the slain!' *ὥςε ἐκ ἄν μοι δοκεῖ δύνασθαι Ἐργοκλῆς, ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς ἑκάςου τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ,* ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣ ΑΠΟΘΑΝΩΝ, *δοῦναι δίκην ἀξίαν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει.*—*Contr Ergoclem.* 817.

That right of trial, however, which the Athenians denied to the living, they sometimes granted to the dead; thus ingeniously contriving out of a very corpse to gratify a taste for blood. The general events of Phrynichus's life are pretty accurately known to the readers of Grecian history, but they may not be so well acquainted with the circumstances which followed his death. These are related, however, with great energy by the orator Lycurgus, in the only speech now remaining of that powerful pleader, and are among the arguments which he adduces for visiting the desertion of Leocrates with the utmost vengeance, not of law, but of democratical want of law. 'Phrynichus,' says he* to the judges, 'you are aware, was murdered in the night time, by Apollodorus and Thrasybulus; and the assassins, you are also aware, were taken and shut up in prison by the friends of Phrynichus. The people,

* Tom. iv. p. 217.

perceiving

perceiving what was done, brought out the prisoners and proceeded to a judicial investigation. Upon close inquiry, they found that Phrynichus was a betrayer of the city, and that his assassins were unjustly confined; a decree therefore passed, on the motion of Critias, that the dead body should be put on trial for treachery, and upon conviction, should not be allowed burial in the country, but that the bones, disinterred from their place of sepulture, should be conveyed out of Attica... A further decree passed, (we have pinched ourselves like Abon Hassan, and believe that we write, broad awake,) *that any persons undertaking the defence of the defunct, and not making their purpose good, should suffer the same penalties.*' The orator then proceeds to state, that two persons, Aristarchus and Alexicles, undertook the defence, and that *failing to establish Phrynichus's innocence,* they *were put to death,* and *their bones refused burial in the country of Attica.* Nor was this a solitary instance; for the orator clenches his argument by asserting that *on all occasions where the same crime had been committed, the same punishment* had been inflicted.*

There wanted but two things more to complete this mockery of a judicial system; and what were they?—that shame should be lost, and punishment be impossible, with those upon whom the execution of its functions fell. And for this too, the forms of the Greek democracies admirably provided; for—the votes were secret,† and the dicast was irresponsible—every other magistrate was subject

* Where neither the living nor the dead body was in their hands, the Athenians took vengeance on the *statue* of the offender (*Lyc.* 222.); and even when this means of satisfying an impotent anger failed, they contrived not to go without their vengeance. On such occasions, we have the joint assurance of Demosthenes—(*Dem* 73, 4.) and *Isocrates* (542.), that it was not unusual for those who came first to hand, to suffer that punishment which was due to the guilty who kept out of the way—(*Dem.* 73, 4.) And these, forsooth, are the wonder-working radicals, whom our countrymen are to copy!

† The mischief of thus protecting judicial incapacity or corruption could not escape the eyes of discerning men at Athens, and, accordingly, we find the Greek orators occasionally endeavouring to correct the evil by such slender means as lay in their power. Pleaders of Lysias's stamp confined themselves to assuring the judges, that however concealed their suffrages might be for the time, they could not but eventually become known, and the same animadversion or resentment attend them, as if they had been given with the utmost publicity—(441.) Men of loftier character, like Lycurgus and Demosthenes, appealed to those deeper feelings which lie at the bottom of the human breast, and by which the judges were reminded, that however secret their suffrages might be to men, there were higher powers before whose scrutinizing gaze and ken they stood manifest and open. But the practice itself was too sacred a privilege of the sovereign people for any to be found hardy enough to impugn or endeavour to invalidate it. It appears from the Greek orators, (t. iii. 63. iv. 44. i. 715.) that the secret ballot was not confined to the courts of law; it was occasionally used in the legislative assemblies; and in all, it may be presumed, with much the same consequences; measures were thereby proposed and carried, of such a nature, that the very men, who did not scruple to protect them by their votes;

subject to the Euthynë; the dicast stood alone: no law could touch him: HE WAS, as we once before observed, HIMSELF THE LAW.*

Such were some of the plain and palpable defects of this ancient jurisprudence; and manifest as they are to a modern eye, abundant reason has been shown why the men of Athens themselves should not incline to be so clearsighted to them. The business of the law-courts furnished the great body of the people with a subsistence, as informers, as witnesses, or as judges; and the idle and the ingenious found in them a perpetual source of amusement. In times of war, these courts appear to have been occasionally shut; but in peace they were always open, and an unlucky speculation it would have been for the philosopher or statesman who proposed to abridge their time of duration.† To have reached the age of maturity, and not to have been in the courts of law, either from business or curiosity, was an event which was told as a phenomenon;‡ and well it might be, when we consider the passion, little short of phrenzy,§ with which the great body of the city regarded them.

Like

were for very decency's sake constrained to denounce and condemn them by their tumultuous voices—(*Dem.* 142.) An appeal, it is true, lay in some of these cases (*Dem.* 1375.) from the legislative to the judicial body; but this was nothing more than an appeal among ourselves from the chancellor sitting in his own court to the same chancellor sitting in the House of Lords, with this substantial difference, indeed, that the appeal is made in the one case to a functionary, whose very individuality and high supremacy 'almost put it beyond his power to be guilty of an unworthy or illegal act,' while the other was made to a numerous court, of whom it would be no great injustice to assert, that if of two decisions they were right in one, it was almost a moral certainty they were wrong in the other; not but among the cabals and factions of Athens, ingenious men might be found who could dexterously contrive to make them err in both.

* It is in a full feeling of this irresponsibility that the old dicast in the 'Wasps' chuckles over the success of his smaller knaveries.

'Some father is gone,—dead,—defunct—well anon!
leaves a girl, good;—an heiress, much better;—
The *old put* would confer a companion on her,
and his will leaves him drawn to the letter.
Lords of locks, seals, and keys, straight the parchments we seize,
while a codicil neatly appended
Cheats the wary and wise; and the girl's made a prize
to some youngster, who's better befriended.'—ol. ii. p. 227.

Detestable as this practice was, Isæus assures us that it was one of *ordinary* occurrence in Athens. Τοῦ δὲ συμβαίνοντος ἔστι καὶ γραμματεῖον ἀλλαγῆναι, καὶ τἀναντία τοῖς τοῦ τεθνεῶτος διαθήκαις μεταγραφῆναι.—t. iii. p. 75.

† ——— 'tell Cleon our need:—
'Brief and speedy, mind, be your narration;—
We've a traitor, town-hater, a mischief-creator,
A cut-purse of causes, if suits an abater,
Who'd shut up the courts and leave Athens to sate her
The year through with a twelvemonth's vacation.'—*Aristoph.*

‡ Lysias, 656. Isocrates, 455.

§ As such it is described by the two slaves, who so cautiously open to the audience the intended business of the comedy of the Wasps; and of an exquisite colloquy, of which

Like Boniface in the play, a true dicast ate law, drank law, slept upon law. His whole senses were mere channels* for letting in some reference to his favourite pursuit; and his very mind was a sort of kaleidescope presenting only different combinations of legal forms, legal associates, or legal profits. Law was the first word he heard when he came into the world; life and judicial employment were convertible† terms; and there were moments of enthusiasm, when a dicast looked forward to dissolution itself without regret: for why? of two things it must necessarily be the cause of law; it might transport him to the isles of the blest,‡ there to continue the task which he had performed on earth; or, at any rate, it might convert him into that piece of marble on which his fellow dicasts were wont to cast the shells that expressed their suffrages§ and votes.

The Roman Pontifical commanded the crosier staff to be worshipped with that degree of adoration which is termed λατρεία; but scarcely did the Pope in his utmost plenitude of power exact for the crosier staff a deference more profound, than Democracy did for the staff or sceptre which the Athenian dicast bore as the emblem of his office.‖ And democracy was right. The dicasterium was her throne; and the colossal figure,¶ which her favourite poet drew for her favourite minister, might with a little variation be adapted to herself when seated there.

We leave it to Mr. Gibbon to call Democracy 'the blackest fiend of hell.'** Mr. Gibbon was a rude man, who did not know

which we much regret that our limits do not permit us to extract the version now before us.

* See once more the Wasps. The affected contempt of the old dicast in his cups for the terms of the law grew out of the favourite language of his more sober moments: half the *puns* of the lower Athenians (and no people more indulged in puns) were derived from the expressions of the law-courts.

† Aristoph. in Lysist. 380.

‡ Thus in the Wasps,

'I seem in Fancy's eye
To the Blest Isles to fly,
There the great task to ply,
Of judge and jury.'—p. 233.

§ 'Or, what were better far,
Turn me that stone into,
On which the robe and bar
Suffrage and sea-shell throw.'—p. 201.

‖ See the third act of the Wasps throughout, where the father details all the advantages and privileges of a dicast, the son taking notes in his tablets, that he may answer with more propriety.

Phil. At your word off I go, and 't starting I'll show,
convincing the stiffest opinion;
That regalia and throne, sceptre, kingdom and crown,
are but dirt to judicial dominion.' &c. &c.

¶ Aristoph. in Equit. 75-9.

** Letter from Lausanne.

the

the decorums due to sex and age. Democracy is to us only as an antiquated dowager, whose best days have long been gone by. But Aristophanes had to cope with her when she was full of bread, in the prime and lustihood of youth. It was then he stole her sceptre from her hand, and laid her regalities in the dust; but, like a cunning thief, he tickled her sides and made her laugh while he did it.

'He made the desperate passes while he smiled.'

He was in truth one of those men, who seem born as it were to look QUACKERY in the face, and laugh or frighten her out of her absurdities. In politics and in poetry, in philosophy and in morals he crossed the impostor's path; and wherever he was the assailant, there also he was the victor. Of the *matter* which grew out of this enterprizing disposition, we have from time to time submitted various specimens to our readers; his *manner* we leave to be learned from himself. To think that the Greek language in general, or the language of Aristophanes in particular, is to be known by translation, is to creep down to Margate in a steamboat, and return with an idea that we have seen the wonders of the deep.

ART. IV.—*An Essay on the Nature and Design of Scripture Sacrifices.* By the late James Nicol, Minister of the Parish of Traquair, near Peebles. 8vo. pp. 408. London.

THIS is the production of a minister of the Church of Scotland, who seems to have dedicated his leisure hours to the composition of several elaborate tracts and essays in support of Unitarian doctrines. He continued in communion with that church to the day of his death, and left these works as posthumous proofs of his gross insincerity and want of principle. The conduct of the man who ministers at the altar, and professes to teach his flock doctrines to which he neither gives credit nor attaches importance, is sufficiently flagitious; but the mean guilt is greatly aggravated if, as was the case with Mr. Nicol, he deliberately avails himself of the opportunities afforded by his station, and devotes the retirement and leisure secured to him by his clerical appointment to the promulgation of doctrines subversive of the church that feeds him. This man continued from the pulpit to hold the usual language of his brethren, from whom in his closet he entirely dissented; and after living in the unrecanted profession of The Confession of Faith, without signing which he would not have been admitted to the duties of his office, died and left behind

hind him convincing proofs that he had long regarded his church as heretical, and her faith absurd. As we have thus unequivocally expressed our own opinions respecting such conduct, it is but fair to adduce what the biographer of Mr. Nicol (an Unitarian teacher in Glasgow) alleges in extenuation of it.

'If any who peruse this work should wonder that the author continued to adhere to a church, the confession of whose faith was so different from his own, let him be informed, that our author *did indeed contemplate* his removal from the establishment of his native country, as a sacrifice which was *due to the Author of Truth*, and one which *it is believed*, if providence had spared his useful life, he would very cheerfully however painfully have made. *It is much to be regretted* that he was not enabled, as he proposed, to superintend the publication of his valuable treatises on "Adam's Apostacy"—"The existence and nature of the Devil"—"On Faith"—"On Justification"—And "On the Unity of God, in which the doctrine of the Trinity is considered and proved to be equally contrary to Reason and Scripture."'

When we add to these the work which we have placed at the head of this article, in which he proposed to enter the lists with the deeply learned and judicious defender of the doctrine of the atonement, but '*imparibus armis*,' we must see that his resolution to quit his church was far posterior in time to his conviction of her errors; that, though his opinions had changed, his will remained adhesive and unconvinced. In fact, were it not for the baseness of such conduct, it would be amusing to consider the delusion of the man who, under such circumstances, could labour to prove the doctrine of the Trinity contrary to Reason and Scripture, and forget how far more difficult a task it would be to reconcile his own conduct either with the dictates of reason or the positive commands of the Bible.

We are convinced that the ground of the Socinian controversy has not been sufficiently cleared as yet;—and that most of its heretical fallacies have arisen from confounding the mutual relation which Reason and Revelation bear to each other, and from the want of accurate definition of their respective provinces. God has implanted in the human breast an ardent love of knowledge which, properly regulated, is admirably adapted for the moral and political improvement of mankind. To its impulses we must ascribe the progress which man has made in the improvement of his talents and the extension of the sphere of his enjoyment. All that is elegant in art and profound in science; all that in domestic life is an addition to our comforts, or a remedy for our wants, has originated in the proper use of reason. Without it, man would have been content to grovel on the surface of the earth, the companion and the equal of the brute;

brute; nor would he have ever felt a wish to ascertain the nature of surrounding objects, to raise his views from earth to heaven, and, from the succession of perishable visible objects, to reason upwards to an imperishable, invisible, and great First Cause.

Ample, however, and extensive as is the sphere, within which we may profitably exercise our reason, there are nevertheless bounds to it. Man is a finite being, and consequently nothing connected with him can be infinite. His inquisitive spirit may be ambitious of solving all difficulties; his pride may suggest, that nothing can exceed the powers of his comprehension; and his presumption may carry him so far as to incite him to define the mode in which God exists, and to circumscribe his attributes. An attempt to restrain this inquisitive spirit, to humble such pride, and destroy such presumption, is consequently laudable. And this cannot be more effectually done, than by defining the respective provinces of reason and faith, and by showing the limits within which, in judging of subjects of revelation, reason must restrain itself.

Before the subject be more fully entered upon, it will be necessary to define the meaning which the reader is desired to affix to the words Reason and Revelation:—By Reason is meant that faculty of the soul, whereby we judge of things, discover the necessary connexion between cause and effect, and from two known truths infer a third hitherto unknown;—By Revelation is meant a message from God to man, communicating his will, and discovering truths hitherto unknown.

Now there are but two things existing, matter and spirit. The whole creation, visible and invisible, is reducible to one of these two classes. Man himself is formed partly of one, partly of the other. Of matter he judges by the testimony of his senses, of spirit only by its operations. By means of his sensations he ascertains the substance, the qualities, the properties, and relative proportions of matter. By accurate and continued observations, he discovers that it is subjected to certain general laws. His attention is then directed to the acquisition of a more perfect knowledge of these laws, and of any apparent anomalies which may be observable in their operation. From discoveries already made he draws inferences, which enable him gradually to advance in the path of knowledge. As long as he thus reasons from proportion to proportion and properties to properties, *in parí materia*, his deductions may be legitimate, his reasoning may be conclusive. By these means he has ascertained the magnitude and determined the figure of the earth—familiarized himself with the qualities and properties of its various productions—and resolved these into their component elements. Relying on the knowledge thus acquired, he traverses the ocean from pole to pole, and directs

his

his way on the great deep with as much activity in the night as in the day. By these means he has subjected the heavenly bodies to his calculations, fixed the period of their revolutions, measured their distances, and explained the laws by which their motions are regulated. These are great and brilliant discoveries of human reason—achievements of which it well may boast. But man should never forget that all the *data* upon which they are founded are furnished by the senses, and that there is no proposition connected with these discoveries which cannot ultimately be subjected to the testimony of the senses. All these questions are, consequently capable of demonstration, and, when once solved, can neither be doubted nor disputed by persons of sane mind. The conclusion therefore is, that matter, in all its forms and accidents, is capable of being subjected to the testimony of the senses, and that its laws, properties, and qualities are cognizable and discoverable by the right use of human reason.

But man has no similar test to which he can submit his reasoning respecting spirit. He judges of this only by its operations; of these alone therefore he is capable of judging. As to the mode of its existence, or the manner in which it communicates with matter and operates on the senses, he is utterly ignorant. The more he attempts to simplify his notions respecting it, the more dark and confused they become. Man may make arbitrary distinctions, and define the various powers of his spiritual part by the names of memory, judgment, imagination, and so forth; but this will not remove the veil, nor enable him to lay bare the mysterious nature of his spiritual existence. Every person, who has meditated deeply on the subject, will confess the truth of these observations:—to the truth of them he bears in his own bosom a witness whom he cannot contradict.

But if this be the case when the object of inquiry is the nature of our own souls, the difficulty must necessarily be much greater when we attempt to ascertain the nature and attributes of superior spirits. Man is not immediately conscious of their existence. Their operations are not identified with his feelings. An act of reasoning is necessary before he can infer their existence. Reason and observation alike teach him that there can be no effect without a cause. When therefore he looks forth into the visible creation, and beholds a race of perishable individuals, endowed with life and motion; when he considers that these have sprung from a race which has already perished, and experience informs him that they also will perish in their turn, and leave another race to succeed them;—when he considers all these facts, the necessary conclusion is, that such a succession cannot be infinite, but must ultimately be traced to some self-existing eternal

First

First Cause. By similar inferences he concludes that the universe must be the work of this great First Cause, and the result of his will.

Reason* also teaches him that there can exist no perfection in an effect which did not previously exist in the cause. He therefore rightly concludes, that whatever goodness is observable in the creation must have originated in the goodness of the creator; that the power displayed in the work of creation is a proof of the power of the creator, and that the wisdom shown in the arrangement and harmony of the universe must have existed in its author.

But in drawing these conclusions, it ought never to be forgotten that, strictly and logically speaking, we are not justified in attributing more to the cause than is visible in the effect, and that we can only attribute to the Creator that precise degree of power, intelligence, and benevolence, which are necessary for the creation and preservation of the universe. As far as the traces of any attributes appear, so far we may infer their existence; but the imputation of attributes, or degrees of them, of which no positive traces are before us, is mere supposition.

Reason will enable us to infer the eternity of the First Cause, and that he is a being of great goodness, wisdom, and power, but will never aid us in discovering *the mode of his existence*, or the *extent* of these leading attributes.

Man has no *data* from which he can reason respecting the mode of the existence of the Deity. On this point he is consequently in a state of utter ignorance, and no exertions of his natural faculties can ever enable him to advance one step in the acquisition of knowledge on this head. In illustration of this truth it will be useful to show what progress the mind of man, previous to the Christian revelation, made in discovering the mode in which the Deity exists;—we say previous to the Christian revelation, because modern philosophers have borrowed so largely from it, that their theistical speculations must be excluded from the review. In examining this question we need not take an unfair advantage, by referring to the monstrous system of the Egyptian mythology, or to the endless genealogies of the countless deities of Hindostan, although the learning of the Egyptians and the moral goodness of the Indians have been loudly extolled by the infidels of modern times. A slight survey of the

* Quod si inest in hominum genere mens, virtus, fides, concordia, unde in terram nisi a superis defluere potuissent? Cumque sint in nobis consilium, ratio, prudentia, necesse est Deos hæc ipsa majora habere.—*Cicero, de Nat. Deorum.* lib. ii. This is the utmost reach of human reason. We can infer the existence of them in a more excellent degree in God than in man, but we cannot infer their unlimited extent.

opinions

opinions of the Grecian philosophers will suffice for the present occasion. The antagonist will allow that they have never been surpassed in their love of research and of profound speculations; that they were gifted with extraordinary subtlety of judgment and vigour of intellect, and possessed of a language (as the historian hyperbolically expresses it) 'so musical and prolific, that it could give a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy.' To these advantages was added a spirit of unwearied application. Their time and attention were devoted to the study of God and of the universe; but nevertheless the result of all this love of research, of this subtlety of judgment, and vigour of intellect, was nothing but inextricable confusion. But let them be examined.

The earlier poets of Greece seem to have made no other distinction between gods and men, than that of more and less. Their deities, like mortals, were subject to generation* and destruction, to pain and pleasure, grief and joy. The work of creation and preservation is not assigned to them. This was imputed to the operation of some inviolable laws which they could neither transgress nor controul.

Thales, a Milesian by birth, but by race a Phœnician, and consequently having access to the knowledge communicated by the Mosaic revelation, was the first philosopher of Greece who ascribed the creation of the world to the Deity; but, most inconsistently with himself, he also taught that †water was the principle of all things, both of gods and men.

Anaximenes‡ denied this, and taught that the first principle was air, and that gods, men, and all things had originated from it.

Heracleitus,§ on the contrary, affirmed that fire was the original first cause; that the whole creation, material and spiritual, derived its origin from fire, and would finally end in fire.

Parmenides‖ asserted that the deity, whom he denominates the

* Thus Cœlus was the father of Saturn, and Saturn of Jupiter, whom Æschylus, in his Prometheus Vinctus, represents as the new tyrant of heaven, destined in his turn to be dethroned by some future son of his own.

† In support of his opinion he used to quote Homer's verse—

Ωκεανον τε Θεων γενεσιν, και μητερα Τηθυν.

‡ Anaximenes omnes rerum causas infinito aeri dedit, nec deos negavit aut tacuit, non tamen ab ipsis aerem factum esse, sed ipsos ex aere ortos credidit.—*August. de Civ. Dei*, lib. viii. cap. 2.

§ Ηρακλειτος αρχην των ολων το πυρ, εκ πυρος γαρ τα παντα γινεσθαι, και εις πυρ παντα τελευταν λεγει.—*Plutarch, de Placitis Philosophorum*, lib. i. cap. 3.

‖ Παρμενιδης στεφανας ειναι περιπεπλεγμενας εκ παλληλους, την μεν εκ του αραιου την δε εκ του πυκνου, μικτας δε αλλας εκ του φωτος και σκοτους, μεταξυ τουτων, και το περιεχον δε πασας, τειχους δικην στερεον υπαρχειν, υφ' ω πυρωδης στεφανη, και την μεσαιτην παντων αρχειν πηξιν πυρωδη των δε συμμιγων την μεσαιτατην, απασαις τοκεα φασης κινησεως και γενεσεως υπαρχειν, και δαιμονα και κυβερνητην επονομαζει.—*Stobæus, Eclog.* page 5.

governor of the universe and the parent of all motion and generation, was a central circle of mixed elements, placed within other complicated circles of different substances, and encompassed within a solid spherical globe.

It is difficult to discover distinctly what the opinions of Aristotle* were. The probability is, however, that he leaned to the doctrine of the co-eternity of the divinity and the universe, and that they bore to each other the same relation which the soul of man bears to his body.

Zeno and his follower Chrysippus† admitted an innumerable host of perishable deities, who were finally to be swallowed up in their universal Jupiter, who was every thing—the expansion of whose spirit formed the universe, and of whose essence all particular existences, whether real or ideal, were only modifications.

There are in the history of Grecian philosophy other respectable names of men who, wearied with assertions admitting of no proof, willingly professed their ignorance on these and similar subjects. Thus Socrates,‡ Anaxagoras, and Empedocles acknowledged to their disciples, that our senses are so confined, our minds so feeble, and the space allotted for the course of human life so short, that no certain knowledge can be acquired, but that truth is enveloped in impenetrable darkness. Even Plato,§ who loved to indulge in the loftiest flights of imagination, who revelled in the ideal world of his eternal forms of beauty, had too much respect for the truth to publish his conjectures as certain tenets. He was content with propounding his ingenious theories as questions, without positive assertions, without rash and unfounded conclusions. His followers, Arcesilas‖ and Carneades, carried their master's caution too far, and may well be ranked among the incorrigible sceptics.

Having thus glanced at the absurdities and contradictions of which these leading intellects among men were guilty, when they attempted to dogmatize respecting the essence of the Deity, and

* Aristoteles quoque in tertio de philosophiâ libro multa turbat, modo menti tribuit omnem divinitatem, modo mundum ipsum Deum dicit esse, modo quendam alium præficit mundo, tum cœli ardorem Deum esse, &c.—*Cicero.*

† Ait Chrysippus vim divinam in ratione esse positam, et universæ naturæ animo atque mente, ipsumque mundum Deum dicit esse et ejus animi fusionem universam, tum ejus ipsius principatum, qui in mente et ratione versetur, communem rerum naturam universa atque omnia continentem, tum fatalem umbram et necessitatem rerum futurarum.—*Cicero, de Nat. Deor.* lib. i. cap. 19.

‡ Socrates, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, omnes pæne veteres, dixerunt angustos sensus, imbecillos animos, brevia curricula vitæ, nil veritati relinqui, omnia tenebris circumfusa. *Cicero. eodem loco.*

§ Platonis in libris nihil affirmatur, in utramque partem multa disseruntur, de omnibus quæritur, nihil certi dicitur.—*Cicero. Quæstiones Acad.* lib. i. cap. ult.

‖ Arcesilas negabat esse quicquam, quod sciri posset, nc illud quidem ipsum, quod Socrates sibi reliquisset.—*Cicero.*

the

the mode in which he exists, we proceed to show how far they were enabled to discover the extent of his leading attributes of wisdom, power, and goodness, and to reconcile them the one with the other. They would willingly have ascribed infinite wisdom, power, and goodness to the Creator, but the prevalence of moral and physical evil was a circumstance for which they in vain attempted to account without detracting either from his goodness or from his power.

In the first ages of their mythology, this question does not appear to have been much agitated. The good* that a man received was gratefully ascribed to the god who was the particular object of his worship, while, on the contrary, some hostile and neglected deity was regarded as the author of his calamities. The two† cups at the threshold of Jupiter were sufficient for the purpose of the poet, whose object is rather to give a representation of things as they are than to account for their causes. But as their system became more refined, they wished to acquire clearer notions respecting the particular providence of God, and his attributes, as exemplified in the creation and government of the universe. The difficulty then began to appear in all its magnitude. They‡ found it impossible to reconcile the existing sin and misery with the holiness and goodness of the Creator, without detracting from the attribute of power. Hence their fictions respecting that mysterious influence denominated Fate, to whose decisions God and man were alike subject. 'Think§ of the force of necessity (says one of them), that force to which even the gods must submit.' Hence also the system which taught the eternity and incorrigible malignancy of matter, from which it was impossible for God to have formed a better and a happier world than he has formed—thus depriving the Deity of the power of creation, and only leaving him the work of formation.—Epicurus‖ had sagacity enough to perceive that this was unworthy of

* Sæpe, premente Deo, fert Deus alter opem.
Mulciber in Trojam, pro Trojâ stabat Apollo.
Æqua Venus Teucris, Pallas iniqua fuit.
Oderat Æneam proprior Saturnia Turnum,
Ille tamen Veneris numine tutus erat.
Sæpe ferox cautum petiit Neptunus Ulyssem;
Eripuit patruo sæpe Minerva suo.—*Ovid.*

† Δοιοι γαρ τε πιθοι κατακειαται εν Διος ουδει
Δωρων, εια διδφσι, κακων, ετερος δε, εαων.—*Iliad.* xxiv. *ver.* 527.

‡ Diogenes Cynicus dicere solebat, Harpalum, qui temporibus illis prædæ felix habebatur, contra deos testimonium dicere, quod in illâ fortunâ tam diu viveret.—*Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib.* iii. *cap.* 34. *Vid. sequent.*

§ Dionysius Halicarnassensis, lib. vi. Rom. Hist. in a speech which he attributes to Agrippa.

‖ The third book 'de Naturâ Deorum,' towards the end, contains all the arguments that

of the Deity, but he was unable to solve the difficulty without withdrawing divine providence from the world, and ascribing both its creation and formation to the fortuitous concourse of atoms without the intervention of a presiding mind. This doctrine at once withdrew the agency of God from the universe, and consequently left no operations from which men could infer even his existence, much less his attributes. Impious and presumptuous as this doctrine was, it did not fail to spread rapidly among the most enlightened heathens, and many of the greatest names of antiquity may be reckoned among the followers of Epicurus. The Persian hypothesis* of the two principles accounts better (if for a moment we can agree to the cessation of hostilities between Being essentially good, and a Being essentially wicked) for the order and disorder, the happiness and misery, the virtue and vice, wisdom and folly, which are so intermingled and confounded here. But† when again this system was traced backward to the origin of these two contrary beings, the inquirer was enveloped in difficulties and absurdities, from which it was impossible for him to extricate himself.

It would be wearisome to proceed with the enumeration of the various opinions, by which these philosophers distinguished themselves. They had no means of discovering the mode in which the Deity exists; of this, of course, they were utterly

that ancient and modern Epicureans can adduce in support of their opinion that Divine Providence does not interfere with the affairs of the world. It is unfortunate that Cicero should never have finished the treatise. At the end of the third book, he promises that Balbus, the Stoic, should, on the next day, answer the arguments of the Epicurean Cotta. But that day never came, and the discussion was left unfinished. With a true academic spirit Cicero himself concludes nothing. 'Hæc cum essent dicta discessimus, ut Velleio Cottæ disputatio verior, mihi Balbi ad veritatis similitudinem videretur esse propensior.' How guarded is the opinion, 'rather more inclined to the appearance of truth'!

* Plato and his disciples acknowledged two principles God, and matter, the first good, but unable to correct the depravity of the latter. Maximus Tyrius, a Platonist, says, 'Τα μεν αγαθα επιρρυτα εκ της ἑτερας (namely from Heaven), τα δε κακα εξ αυτοφυους μοχθηριας αποστατα. Διττη δε αυτη, ἡ μεν ὑλης, παθος, ἡ δε ψυχης, εξουσια.'

† Plato, in order to avoid this difficulty, transferred the government of the world, in a certain degree, from the Deity to something else. These are his words, 'Ουδ' αρα ὁ θεος, επειδη αγαθος, παντων αν ειη αιτιος, (ὡς οἱ πολλοι λεγουσιν) αλλα ολιγων μεν τοις ανθρωποις αιτιος, πολλων δε ανδιτιος, πολυ γαρ ελαττω ταγαθα των κακων ἡμιν.—*De Repub. lib.* ii. Plutarch, in his work concerning Isis and Osiris, informs us of the antiquity and universality of this doctrine, which he seems himself to have espoused as the best mode of accounting for the origin of evil. 'It is impossible (says he) that one cause alone, whether good or bad, should be the principle of all things, because God is not the cause of evil. Thus this life is governed by two principles and two powers contrary to one another, one of which directs us to the right hand by the right way, while the other on the contrary directs us from it, and turns us back. Nothing can be without a preceding cause, and what is good in itself can never be the cause of evil. Nature must, therefore, have one principle and cause from which evil proceeds, as well as another from which good proceeds; this is the opinion of the greatest part and wisest among the ancients.'

ignorant.

ignorant. And in attempting to reason upwards from his operations to his attributes, from the visible to the invisible world, they met with difficulties absolutely insurmountable, and circumstances irreconcilable to human reason. In truth, a subtle modern philosopher, who had accurately studied all their systems, honestly acknowledges, 'that it is a great complaisance if we dignify with the name of religion, such an imperfect system of theology, and put it on a level with later systems, which are founded on principles more just and sublime. For my part (he proceeds) I can scarcely allow the principles of Marcus Aurelius, Plutarch, and some of the Stoics and Academics, though much more refined than the Pagan superstition, to be worthy of the honourable appellation of Theism.* For, if the mythology of the heathens resemble the ancient European system of spiritual beings, excluding God and angels, and leaving only fairies and sprites, the creed of these philosophers may justly be said to exclude a Deity and leave only angels and fairies.'† To what later systems he may allude, as founded upon principles more just and sublime, cannot well be ascertained. If any such have appeared since the days of Marcus Aurelius and of Plutarch, we must impute their comparative perfection, not to the exertions of reason—for no new data have been furnished, upon which that might build its system—but to the revelation of God through Christ, the fundamental truths of which modern philosophers so thoroughly imbibe in their infancy, that they, in after life, mistake them for the deductions of their reason.‡

From

* This, by the way, is a very modern name. Viret, the great reformer, is, in so far as we know, the first who makes mention of it. In the Epistle Dedicatory of the second volume of his Christian Instruction, he says, 'I hear that some of this band call themselves DEISTS, *a new name* in opposition to that of *Atheists*.'

† Hume's Essays, vol. ii. p. 422.

‡ There can be no doubt that modern philosophers take many things for granted with respect to the Deity, which the light of nature could never have discovered to them. We have some doubts whether even the unity of the Deity has ever been satisfactorily proved in that way. It has never been *demonstrated* why there should not be more than one principle equally wise, equally good, and equally powerful. The strongest arguments adduced in proof of the unity are, that one first cause will suffice for the production of all things, and that the creation exhibits an unity of design But it does not necessarily follow that positively there is no more than one. The famous group of the Laocoon exhibits unity of design, and one artist would be sufficient for its creation. Pliny, however, informs us that it was the joint production of three. The second is, that the supposition of a plurality of gods would infer the possibility of discord, but it is evident that infinite wisdom and infinite goodness must necessarily will the same measures. Grotius's arguments appear to us to be very inconclusive. His Metaphysical arguments do not affect the question any more than Aristotle's famous sixth chapter in the Sixth Book of his Ethics affects Plato's hypothesis of Ideal forms. And Grotius's Analogical arguments are fallacious and carry no weight. Maimonides, speaking of the five proofs commonly adduced to prove the unity of God, concurs with that Rabbi who, offended by the weakness of those arguments, said that the unity of God could

From what has been said, it appears that matter and its accidents, and the laws to which it is subjected, are cognizable by human reason, inasmuch as they can be subjected to the testimony of the senses, but that human reason can judge of spirit only by its operations, and consequently that it cannot discover more of the nature and attributes of God, than are legitimately to be inferred from the works of creation.

The truth of these principles has been further confirmed by a review of the absurdities of which human reason has been guilty when left to its own researches, even under the most favourable circumstances. It now remains that we ought to apply these principles to the subject under discussion, and define the limits within which reason ought to restrain itself, on the supposition that the Great Being, whose 'eternal power of Godhead' man has necessarily inferred 'from what has been made,' should vouchsafe to communicate his will to him, and discover truths hitherto unknown.

In arguing this point we shall not so much consider what man has done, and still may be doing, as the method which *he ought to pursue*, supposing him to be under the influence of calm and unprejudiced reason.

In such a case, his first object would undoubtedly be, to ascertain the truth of the revelation; that it has proceeded really from God. He would, therefore, naturally require that the bearer of such communications should be entrusted with sufficient authority to prove the reality of his mission from the Creator, and that he should give public proofs of such authority by performances surpassing the power of man. In judging of these truths, the utmost subtlety and acuteness of intellect would be necessary. A due caution and suspension of judgment would be laudable, in as much as a deception in a matter of such importance must be attended with lamentable consequences. What proofs then we ask ought to be sufficient to satisfy a rational man on such points? What ought to be the distinguishing marks of a message from Heaven? Our answer is, that they should be such as can be subjected to the testimony of our senses;—that the messenger should, at his pleasure, and by his command, suspend the operation of those laws, to which we know, from experience, the whole visible creation is subject.

Man's first inquiry must be as to the authority of the messenger.

not be known and proved except by revelation transmitted by tradition. His words are these: 'Mihi videtur virum illum fuisse sani admodum et ingenii et judicii, nam cum nihil solidum et demonstrativum in ipsorum rationibus vidisset, in quo animus ipsius acquiescere posset, dixit per cabbalam sive traditionem hoc haberi ex lege.'—Part i. cap. 75. page 175.

Before

Before this be ascertained he can have no confidence in the truth of the communication. In order to satisfy himself of this, he must use all the means which his reason can suggest to him, and not yield his assent except on the ground of satisfactory evidence. But what if a voice in the presence and hearing of assembled multitudes should convey from heaven an audible testimony, that the messenger is endowed with the authority of the Most High? What if the messenger should, with his word, calm the tempest and still the roaring of the waves? What, if at his touch, diseases should instantly depart, the blind recover their sight, the deaf hear, the lame walk, and the dumb speak? What, if even bodies from which breath had passed, and upon which corruption had commenced its work of desolation, should arise from the grave, once more partakers of life? What, if the same messenger should seal the truth of his testimony by a violent death, foretold by himself;—should, according to his promise, burst asunder the bonds of death; and after having assured his disciples of the truth of his resurrection, should visibly ascend in the presence of a multitude to the celestial regions? And, finally, what if the truth of all these manifestations of divine power were brought home to conviction by a sound and uncorrupted vehicle of human testimony? What, if in addition to this cloud of witnesses, the reality of this divine mission should be established by the wonderful fulfilment of ancient prophecies in the person of this messenger? Supposing all this to have taken place, it is impossible for a man to deny that the person who could work such extraordinary miracles must have been commissioned by God, and that these works were performed in order to satisfy man, that the communications, which such a messenger had made, proceeded from God himself.

Being thus satisfied of the authority of the messenger, the next object would be to discover the nature of the communication. Here again he would have ample scope for the exercise of his reason. It would be necessary, in the first place, to prove that the communication is in truth what was delivered by the Divine messenger —that it has been delivered down uncorrupted, without addition or diminution, so that it can be relied upon, as the pure and unadulterated Word of God. In the second place it will be necessary to compare passage with passage, to determine the relative meaning of the words, explain what is intricate, and elucidate what is dark, in order that we may not mistake the purport of the message, and pervert the truth by wresting it to our own destruction; and this is a task far more difficult than can at first be imagined. The language of revelation, like all other languages, can only be the representation of ideas; and the ideas must be conveyed to the mind before the word can have any determinate meaning.

But unfortunately the generality of men, instead of attempting to discover the idea attached originally to the word, affix their own arbitrary meaning to it, and reason at once from *this* as from the divine revelation. Great, therefore, is the caution necessary in the interpretation of a message from God. No doctrine must be deduced from it contrary to any other doctrine explicitly revealed. The whole and undivided powers of man are necessary for this work, and the great object in view ought to be, not to find tenets, which may square with our own previous prejudices, but simply to discover what it has pleased God to reveal—what *His* will is. When this is once ascertained, reason has done its work, and faith takes its place, and humbly embraces all that is revealed, as certain truths, founded on the sure and unerring testimony of God.

One exception alone there is to this rule, which is this, that a revelation purporting to come from God, and recommended to our notice by the performance of miracles, must not contain any proposition as an article of faith, which is contradictory to the evidence of sense. And the reason is this, that in such a case, we should have the evidence of the senses conflicting with the evidence of the senses, which would necessarily hold the mind in suspense, and prevent it from arriving at any conclusion. But as the evidence of miracles performed in attestation of the truth of revelation would, to the generality of mankind, only depend upon the veracity of human testimony, while the evidence contradictory to it would depend upon their own senses, it necessarily follows that the evidence of the latter would preponderate over that of the former, for no man SUI COMPOS can rest such confidence in the testimony of others, as in the immediate object of his senses. It is in this manner that Archbishop Tillotson has brought a decisive argument against the Romanist's doctrine of transubstantiation,* an argument which no sophistry can enable him to elude, or subtlety to refute. It is acknowledged on all hands, says the learned Prelate, that the authority, either of Scripture or of tradition, is founded on the testimony of the apostles and disciples, who were eye-witnesses to those miracles of our Saviour, by which he proved his divine mission. Our evidence then for the truth

* Transubstantiation has furnished the enemies of Christianity with more grounds of objection than any other doctrine ever held by the church. It is blasphemous in the extreme. It attributes the creation of God to the agency of man, and gives occasion to direct idolatry. Infidels delight in placing the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation in the same class with transubstantiation. It is seriously to be lamented that the great body of Christians, who compose the Roman Catholic church, should adhere so obstinately to this article. Adopted in a dark age, and sanctioned by the church in a rash moment, they find it impossible to renounce their error without acknowledging the fallibility of their idol. But this may be one of the hidden ways of God, by which he worketh all things for good; in all probability adherence to this article may in time prove the principal means of overthrowing the papal authority.

of

of the Christian religion is less than the evidence for the truth of our own senses, because, even in the first authors of our religion, it was not greater, and it is evident that it cannot make so vivid an impression upon those to whom it has been transmitted through the testimony of others. But a weaker evidence can never destroy a stronger, and therefore, were the doctrine of the real presence ever so clearly revealed in Scripture, it were contrary to the rules of just reasoning to give our assent to it. Nothing can be more satisfactory than this argument, which shows that it is impossible for the human mind to give its assent to any doctrine which militates *rectâ fronte* against the testimony of sense. But a man should most cautiously guard against confounding propositions which are beyond our comprehension, with propositions respecting which we can judge. He must be careful that he does not reason from matter to spirit, and conclude that what is false, when predicated of the former, is equally false when predicated of the latter. If, therefore, in the divine communication any circumstances which exceed the power of his comprehension be revealed respecting the mode in which the Deity exists, and the manner in which his attributes are exercised in the government of the world, the man whose mind is rightly constituted will receive these communications with as much confidence in their truth as he receives those which he is capable of comprehending.

In the miracles* performed, as the evidences of the truth of the Revelation, he recognizes the stamp and impress of God himself, by which he authenticates the truth of all the doctrines contained in it. He sits down therefore to the Revelation with the docility of an infant, and with true humility of spirit *receives* every thing, *believes* every thing.

Hume, the most subtle, acute, and insidious impugner of Revelation, had sagacity enough to perceive that the incomprehensibility of some points of doctrine could never form a legitimate ground of objection against a religion, the divine nature of which had been sufficiently established by miracles. He therefore boldly struck at the root of all Revelation, by holding that no human testimony is sufficient to establish a miracle. He knew the inevitable conclusion at which the human mind must arrive if the miracle be once substantiated. To prevent this he could discover no better mode than to destroy the credibility of human testimony, and, by reasoning *a priori*, infer the impossibility of any authentic communication between God and man in past, present, or future time. How fully and satisfactorily these propositions have been refuted, we need not mention. It is sufficient for us to observe that he

* 'Though ye believe not me, believe the works.' x John, 38.

failed

failed to attain his object, and that the foundations on which our faith is built, remain unshaken and immoveable.

Having thus, by arguments drawn from the nature of things, our own imperfections, and limited faculties, shown the bounds within which reason should restrain itself, in judging of Revelation in general, and proved that the incomprehensibility of certain doctrines contained in it cannot form any legitimate ground of objection against a Revelation proved to be divine—we shall proceed in the next place to argue with those mistaken persons, who admit the truth of the Christian Revelation, and yet pretend to weigh the mysteries of God in the scale of human judgment, and refuse their assent to the truths he has been pleased to manifest, unless they can reconcile them to their own arbitrary principles. In addition to the arguments brought forward above, we have to oppose to these the authority of the Holy Scriptures themselves, wherein it is explicitly declared that there are mysteries contained in the Christian dispensation, which man in his present state can never comprehend. The weapons with which we shall combat these shall therefore be borrowed from the armoury of that Scripture which teaches us that 'the mysteries (or secret things) of God, belong unto God, but the things which are revealed, to us and our children.'* From it we learn that 'we walk by faith, and not by sight,'† and that 'our faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.'‡ For he has declared that 'he will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent.'§ Thus also the apostle enjoins us not to argue from the deductions of reason on these 'deep things of God,' but to receive 'what the Holy Ghost teacheth'‖ with due humility, 'comparing spiritual things with spiritual.' We are also taught that 'the natural man,'¶ who prides himself on his knowledge, 'does not receive the things of the Spirit of God,' and 'that they are foolishness unto him.' Moreover it is added that he must continue in ignorance of them as long as he remains thus minded, 'neither can he know them because they are spiritually discerned.' The Gospel of Christ is called the 'wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom which God ordained before the world unto our glory.'** The strongest metaphors that can convey the impossibility of our understanding the mode in which God exists, are used by the inspired writers. Solomon says 'that He dwells in thick darkness;'†† and St. Paul, 'that His dwelling is in light which no man can approach.'‡‡ It is also written that we should not reason from our motives and

* xxix. Deut. 29. † ii. Cor. 5. 7. ‡ i. Cor. 25.
§ i. Cor. 1. 19 ‖ i. Cor. 2. 13. ¶ i. Cor. 2. 14.
** i. Cor. 2. 7. †† ii. Chron. 6. 1. ‡‡ i. Tim. 6. 16.

principles

principles of action, and conclude that God will act in the same manner as man would if placed in similar circumstances, for, says the Lord, 'my thoughts are not as your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways; for as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts.'* Man *can* judge *partly* of things that pass on earth, although we must confess that many things even here exceed our powers of comprehension. But how can he ascend to the inaccessible heavens and declare what is passing there? 'If I have told you,' says our Saviour, 'earthly things and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you of heavenly things?'† In short we are explicitly informed, 'that no man knoweth the things of God, but the spirit of God.'‡ When we read these and similar declarations respecting the incomprehensibility by the natural man of many doctrines contained in Revelation, can we be justified in attempting to wrest the Scriptures, in order to bring them down to the level of man's comprehension? If the Scriptures inform us that it gives occasional glances at unsearchable mysteries, should we sit down to the study of them with a predetermined resolution to prove that there are none contained in them? Is this the proper exercise of reason in judging of subjects of revelation? Is this the reception of Gospel truths with the simplicity of young children? How difficult a task it is to put off the natural man, ὡς χαλεπον εστι τον ανθρωπον εκδυναι! as an ancient philosopher exclaimed. Man carries his pride to the sanctuary of the Deity, and madly presumes that he can tear asunder the veil which intervenes between him and 'the deep things of God;' that his finite powers are adequate to the conception of the infinite Being and his attributes; that he can see Him with the eyes of flesh; and, with a 'mind drowned in blood and buried in matter,' comprehend the mysterious ways of Him 'whose goings forth have been from everlasting.'

In reasoning with deists, who object that the incomprehensibility of certain doctrines contained in the Christian revelation is the cause of their unbelief—we can easily show that unbelievers themselves cannot avoid, on their own principles, believing things incomprehensible. Do they admit the immateriality of the soul? In that case can they comprehend the mode in which it is united to the body, and how it operates on the senses? But perhaps

* Iv. Isaiah, 8.

† iii. John, 12. And yet our Saviour had then declared to Nicodemus the doctrine of regeneration, a doctrine which the Jewish Rabbi could not comprehend, and which has often been the cause of violent disputes in the church. But our Saviour intimates by the words quoted that his gospel contained doctrines far more mysterious and incomprehensible than the doctrine of regeneration.

‡ 1 Cor. ii. 11.

they

they may wish to solve this difficulty by denying its immateriality, and hold that man is only a mass of matter peculiarly organized. This however requires a greater exertion of faith than the former article, for it is absolutely impossible to comprehend how inert matter, merely by a particular arrangement of its parts, should become a sentient and rational animal. Do they allow the infinite power and infinite goodness of God? If they do, how can they reconcile these attributes with the origin of evil and the prevalence of misery in the creation? Do they with Plutarch* detract from his power that they may exalt his goodness? If so, how can they imagine an eternal self-existing cause, deprived of a perfection so necessary to the very being of a God? Can they reconcile the free agency of man with the fore-knowledge of the Deity? Or will they solve the difficulty by denying his prescience with regard to contingent events, as Carneades† and Socinus did, and thus make him, to whom all things are present, a blind guesser into futurity? Perhaps they may judge it preferable to deny the free agency of man, and make him the slave of necessity. But this supposition contains some things still more incomprehensible. For consciousness‡ and experience alike testify that man is a free agent, and if he believe the doctrine of necessity, he must do it in opposition to the testimony of his feelings and experience. Do they believe that God is a just being? Do they also believe it to be inconsistent with justice, to punish the innocent for the crimes of the guilty, and to visit men with the consequence of a sin committed before they were born? If they believe this, how do they account for hereditary diseases, and that the lives of many of their fellow creatures have been embittered and shortened by pollutions contracted by their parents, and infused into their constitutions before their birth? If, in answer to these questions, they should adopt the opinions of Epicurus,§ and withdraw

Divine

* Μυρια γαρ ην ευσεβεστερον ασθενεια και αδυναμια του Διος εκβιαζομενα τα μερη πολλα δεειν ατοπα, παρα την εκεινου φυσιν και βουλησιν, η μηδε ακρασιαν ειναι μητε κακουργιαν ειναι, ης ουκ εστιν Ζευς αιτιος. Plutarch adversus Stoicos, p. 1076.

† Dicebat Carneades, ne Apollinem quidem futura posse dicere, nisi ea, quorum causas natura ita contineret, ut ea fieri necesse esset. Quid enim spectans deus ipse diceret Marcellum, qui ter consul fuit, in mare esse periturum? Erat quidem hoc verum ex æternitate, sed causas non habebat efficientes.—*Cicero de Fato*, cap. 14.

‡ In arguing against the doctrine of necessity the ancient philosophers always took it for granted, that some things are in our power, because we have from experience and consciousness as strong evidence of this as we can have of the truth of any proposition. It is thus that Carneades argues:—*Cicero de Fato, cap.* 14. Si omnia antecedentibus causis fiunt, omnia naturali colligatione conserta contextuque fiunt. Quod si ita est, omnia necessitas efficit. Id si verum est, nihil est in nostrâ potestate. Est autem aliquid in nostrâ potestate. At si fato omnia fiunt, omnia causis antecedentibus fiunt, non igitur fato fiunt, quæcunque fiunt.

§ Epicurus reasoned thus; Deus aut vult tollere mala et non potest, aut potest et non

Divine Providence from the government of the world, they must admit things still more incomprehensible, namely, either that the world owes its origin to the fortuitous concourse of atoms, or that God having created it, and planted rational beings on the face of it, left them afterwards to be the sport of chance, or the slaves of necessity. Instances of this kind might be multiplied to an indefinite extent: for which ever way we turn, we see many things connected with the material and spiritual world, which far exceed our powers of comprehension, and for which our reason can in nowise account.

Should the deists acknowledge the truth of this, and allow the incomprehensibility of many articles of natural religion, but urge that the Christian revelation contains doctrines absolutely contradictory to the positive inferences of human reason, we can easily defy them to the proof. What can reason infer against the possibility, or even probability, of an union between the divine and the human nature? What premises can it establish subversive of the possibility of such an event? Will it ground them upon the nature and essence of the divinity? But of these, as has been proved above, it is utterly ignorant; or will it ground them upon the knowledge that it has derived from the visible creation respecting the divine attributes? But there is nothing in the power, wisdom, or goodness of God, which, in so far as these may be inferred from the works of the creation, can in any way militate against the possibility of a divine incarnation; so far from it, that if an unbeliever grant the possibility of the creator appearing to creatures, the probability must also be granted that the divinity would so veil its glories as to render it possible for mankind to sustain the majesty of its presence without being blinded by its splendid emanations. But what fitter veil could be found than a body fashioned like those beings, to whom God had originally given the dominion of the earth, and whose instruction and salvation would form the only object of his appearance? Nor again, in the mystery of the Trinity in Unity is there any proposition contradictory to the inferences of human reason. If unity were predicated of three material individuals, reason, grounding its conclusions on the evidence of sense and observation, might safely deny the possibility of the truth of such a proposition. But as it is predicated of a spiritual being, of the mode of whose existence, and of the nature of whose essence, man is

non vult, aut neque vult neque potest, aut et vult et potest. Si vult et non potest, imbecillus est, quod in Deum non cadit. Si potest et non vult invidus est, æque alienum Deo. Si neque vult neque potest et invidus et imbecillus est, ideoque neque Deus. Si vult et potest, quod solum Deo convenit, unde ergo sunt mala? Aut cur illa non tollit? *Lactantius de Irâ Dei*, cap. 13.

utterly

utterly ignorant, the proposition is placed beyond the reach of human reason, which consequently can neither affirm its falsehood nor deny its truth. No more can it be maintained that the doctrine of Atonement contains any thing contradictory to our reason or experience. Men themselves often pardon the living for the sake of the dead, the wicked for the sake of the good. In truth had it contained any thing contradictory to the inevitable conclusions of reason, how can we account for the universal prevalence of this doctrine, and the practice resulting from it, among all the nations of the earth?

These three articles of our faith, and those which necessarily flow from them, are the peculiar doctrines of Christianity which the natural man is most unwilling to receive, and a belief in which he esteems an intolerable burden. But we have shown that they do not contain any proposition to which a mind well tutored in the philosophy of facts can rationally object, if the evidence in favour of their having been communicated from God be well grounded. If men neglect the true God, and set up in his stead the dreams and phantoms of their own distempered imaginations, and arbitrarily impute to *these* attributes of righteousness, wisdom, goodness, and power, founded upon their own unsupported suppositions, errors and delusions will necessarily follow, and human inventions occupy the place of divine revelation. To correct this mischievous principle, which is ever active in the minds of men, we must perpetually have recourse to the authority of the Scriptures. On them and on them alone must we found our faith, on them must we ground our principles, and from them deduce our motives to action. Convinced that they 'all have been given by inspiration of God,' we must submit our reason to the obedience of faith, and restrain at its commencement that inquisitive spirit which fain would presumptuously pry into those mysteries which the Angels contemplate with awe. This is not reducing our reason to slavery; all the questions which it can hope to treat with success will still be open to its researches. Let it turn its attention to these, and not spend its strength on subjects which cannot profit. Let it not, with the barbarians mentioned by Herodotus, discharge its feeble arrows into the clouds and darkness from whence the lightning flashes, and the thunderbolt descends. The force of such missiles will soon be spent, and in their descent to their native earth they may chance to fall on the heads of those who have discharged them.

ART.

ART. V.—*Vie et Révélations de la Sœur Nativité, Religieuse converse au Couvent des Urbanistes de Fougères; écrites sous sa Dictée; suivies de sa Vie intérieure, écrite aussi d'après elle-même par le Rédacteur de ses Révélations, et pour y servir de suite.* Paris. 1817. 3 tom. 12mo.

WE are informed by the editor, or rather author, the Abbé Genet, that—

'this work has been examined in manuscript by more than an hundred profound theologians, and more particularly in London: to wit, by seven or eight (Roman Catholic) bishops and archbishops, twenty or thirty vicars-general of different dioceses, doctors and professors of theology in different universities, abbés, authors of various highly esteemed works, and more than fourscore curés, rectors, and other priests, English as well as French, equally distinguished for their piety and their learning.'

All had desired to see it published; many declared that they had perused it with the greatest pleasure and the greatest edification, and had been more affected by it than by any other book or production whatsoever; many had transcribed it to serve for their habitual meditations; but the extraordinary nature of the work did not permit them to give, with the official sanction of their names, the high eulogium which they had passed upon it in private, both by writing and by word of mouth. M. Genet highly approves this caution. Nevertheless, he has favoured us with some of their approbations. Dr. Douglas, he tells us, then titular bishop of London, not understanding the French language sufficiently to form a judgment for himself, deputed the task to certain of his clergy, and among others to the reverend Mr. (now Dr.) Milner, who signified his opinion in these words:—

'The production on the whole appears to me very wonderful for its sublimity, energy, copiousness, learning, orthodoxy and piety. Hence I have no doubt of its producing great spiritual profit to many souls, whenever you shall think proper to give it to the public.' And again—'I cannot speak too highly of the sublimity and affecting piety of these Revelations in general.' And again—'When you see our good friend M. G.(enet) present my respectful compliments to him, and tell him how desirous I was of seeing him when I was the other day at Somerstown. It is impossible that you or any other person should have a greater veneration for the Revelations of his spiritual daughter than I have; or be more anxious to see them in print, for the edification of the good, and the conversion of the wicked.'

So far Dr. Milner, alias John Merlin. Mr. Rayment, another English priest, *très distingué par ses connaissances théologiques*, in the province of York, translated the manuscript into English, and said he would not exchange the translation for a library.

Mr.

Mr. Hodgson, Dr. Douglas's vicar-general, called it a work of infused theology. And the reverend Father Bruning, an English Jesuit, speaks of it thus: 'May I add, on the whole, *were scripture no more, and all the most valuable treatises of instructive, moral, doctrinal, and theological science no more to be met with in other books, they might all be recovered in this one, and with interest beyond.*' The Abbé Barruel also appears among the persons who have given it their sanction, he being one of the divines to whom the Abbé Genet was most desirous of communicating it when in manuscript.

'The more I read it,' says this well known author, 'the more I find it edifying and admirable, and the more I discover in it something more than human. I see in it a thousand things which I had never seen elsewhere; and it affects me more than any other book. I make it my most ordinary meditation, and I hope that God will make use of it for my conversion and my spiritual advancement. Recommend me, I entreat you, to the prayers of your good Nun.'

With these sanctions a book is brought forward, the history of which, says the editor, may almost be read in that of Jeremiah's prophecies. The nun had charged him in the name of God to keep the precious deposit carefully during a certain season, and publish it when the time should be indicated. He had so kept it during ten years of persecution and exile. Heaven appeared now to have given the sign, and the edifying death of the inspired nun, which had removed her from all persecution, had also diffused the odour of her virtues and excited an ardent desire for any thing which might make her better known to the world; and, therefore, the Abbé Genet, 'without consulting too much the suggestions of a prudence which is always pusillanimous,' brings to light, he says, these details, in which all mankind are interested, and over which the public has an incontestable right, as being solely intended for their edification and happiness. That no solemnity may be wanting, he affixes these texts of scripture as mottos to his title-page, his *avant-propos*, and his preliminary discourse:

'I thank thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes.' 'It is good to keep close the secret of a king, but it is honourable to reveal the works of God.' 'Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God, because many false prophets are gone out into the world.'

Jeanne le Royer, as she was called before she professed as a nun, was the daughter of poor parents, and born in the village of Beaulot, two leagues from Fougères. In youth her person was agreeable and her health robust; having, however, an early desire

desire for a religious life, she overcame all the opposition of the devil, the world, and the flesh, and all the dangers of her condition. That no injustice may be done to the Abbé, we shall use his own manner of expression. The assistance of her good angel and her trust in the Blessed Virgin were on many occasions useful to her; but the most tender and most lively devotion imprinted on her soul was that toward the thrice holy sacrament of the altar, her love for the adorable person of our Lord having always been proportionate, if that may be said, to the favours which she actually received. '*Heureuse l'âme qui sait entretenir avec son Dieu cette douce correspondance de tendresse réciproque, ce délicieux commerce d'amour qui fait le paradis de la terre!*' At the age of fifteen or sixteen she lost her father; her intention then was to live with her mother, and support her by her labour as long as she lived; but the mother soon died also, and Jeanne, who was then left destitute, had no other wish than to obtain admission into some convent as servant, the better to keep her vow of continence and secure her salvation; and this she made the object of her prayers to the Virgin. Houses of Retreat are occasionally opened in Roman Catholic countries for the reception of those devotees who desire to put themselves upon a spiritual regimen for a certain time, under the care of a director, or conscience-keeper, and have not the means of doing this effectually at home. The Jesuits made great use of this device for establishing their authority over weak minds. Notice was given that a house of this kind was opened in the suburb of Fougères; thither Jeanne repaired: though a cabal was formed against her, she was at last admitted without a dowry; and upon taking the vows she assumed the name of Sister Nativité.

'These good nuns,' says the Abbé, 'knew her already sufficiently to chuse her in preference to the other applicants; but who could have told them then, that the poor girl to whom they granted for charity the lowest place among their servants, would soon be, and, in fact, already was, the most favoured by God; that she would one day become the glory, the ornament, and, perhaps, the resource and support of their order, and an oracle of religion for her own age and for following ages!'

Sister Nativity entered now with the best will upon all the virtues of her profession: in other words, upon a course of those practices which the monastic orders borrowed from eastern superstition, for the misery of their poor deluded votaries, the corruption of Christianity, and the degradation of human nature; watching and fasting, haircloth and self-flagellation, formed a part of this spiritual regimen. She regaled herself sometimes with laying thistles and nettles in her bed; and one day she was surprized in the act of sipping gall mixed with other things equally loathsome.

 '*Chaque*

'*Chaque sens eut ainsi sa mortification propre.*' Enough had by this time transpired of the extraordinary graces with which she had been favoured in her secular state, to alarm her modesty; these graces were redoubled now as her virtues increased. '*Et Dieu sembla jaloux de la dédommager par lui-même de tout ce qu'elle eut à endurer du côté du démon et de ses autres ennemis; jusques-là que J. C.* LUI APPARUT EN PERSONNE ET LUI PARLA A PLUSIEURS REPRISES, *comme nous le verrons dans la suite de son recueil!*'

A light like hers was not intended to be hidden under a bushel, and notwithstanding her modesty and her calé, the Abbé assures us, that God permitted her extraordinary favours to be visible to a certain degree. Certain directors and missionary priests, to whom at different times she had revealed the secrets of her interior life, agreed, with her consent, that M. Audoin, who was at that time director of the convent, and in whom she had great confidence, should commit to writing the extraordinary things which God had imparted to her concerning the fate of the universal church, and that of France in particular. The Abbé believes that those writings, which have never appeared, contained much fuller prophecies concerning the revolution than were delivered to him. M. Audoin communicated his notes to M. L'Article, who was director of the Ursuline nuns in the same town; this person had at first been disposed to consider the sister in a favourable light; but he was startled now by her predictions that the church of France would be shaken and its pillars thrown down, and considering her as one who was the dupe of her own imagination, told her that she was in danger of heresy. Luther, he said, and others of that stamp, had in like manner predicted the fall of the church:—She was either, like them, in error, or she was mad. Sister Nativity was alarmed at this; suspected, for a moment, that she was in truth deceived, and prevailed on M. Audoin to burn her notes. Audoin died soon afterwards, and the sister was exposed to a cruel series of chagrins and humiliation. The nuns had discovered something concerning the nature of her communications with M. Audoin, and regarding her either as a hypocrite or a visionary, sought to mortify her in all ways. She had not less to endure from her new directors, to none of whom she could venture to unbosom herself of the subject which filled her mind; and lastly, God himself (it is the Abbé's language!) seemed now to have abandoned her to herself and to her enemies; heaven, as if it had become of brass, appeared leagued with earth and even with hell to afflict her.

But these displeasures and this insupportable aridity were not all that she had to endure; bodily afflictions of the severest kind

kind were superadded to her trials. After suffering in the head and in the chest, an enormous tumour appeared upon her knee: it was removed by an operation, which left a cancerous sore, and deprived her of the use of the limb. She prevailed upon her director to say for her a mass in honour of the Passion, and of the Griefs of the Virgin at the foot of the Cross; the nuns also performed a novene for her with the same intention, and during that novene she was miraculously healed. One heavier misfortune was yet in store, (if sufferings which she herself solicited from Heaven may be called misfortunes;)—an exertion which she made beyond her strength produced *hernia*, and endangered her life. She did not fear death, but the thought of submitting to an operation which would have offended her delicacy was insupportable. The Sorbonne was consulted to know whether a nun was bound in conscience to undergo any such operation for the sake of saving her life, and the decision was, that she might let the disease take its course if she pleased. Accordingly she trusted her case to Providence alone. '*Ainsi cette fille généreuse s'éleva au-dessus de toute considération par la crainte et à la seule apparence de ce qui* POUVOIT DÉPLAIRE AUX YEUX INFINIMENT PURS DE SON DIVIN ÉPOUX!'

More than thirty years were past in these trials; latterly, however, she was persuaded that she had not been deceived in her first imagination; and at last she was fortunate enough to have an abbess and a director, who saw that something might be made of her. In the summer of 1790 the Abbé Genet was appointed director of these nuns, very unexpectedly, he assures us, on his own part, but not so on that of Sister Nativity, who assured him afterwards that this appointment had been revealed to her. The superior, Mademoiselle Pelagie Brunel *des Séraphines*, in giving the new director the list of nuns who were to be under his spiritual care, told him there was one among them who had particular reasons for wishing to unburthen her heart to him. Her predictions, as she said, had formerly made some noise, and in consequence she had not been seen in the parlour for fifteen years. This was by her own choice. And as a further proof of her exemplary virtues, the superior said that she ate nothing but the leavings of the other sisters, and wore no other clothes than what they had cast off,—which would scarcely have been saleable in Rag Fair; for, according to the rules of that sisterhood, every nun wore the same habit seven years by day, and then seven years by night, after which the rags were made up for the poor. But Sister Nativity preferred one of these patched habits to any other, and if she did not wear one outwardly, always used it for her under garment till the last tatter. The lady-superior upon seeing

her thus attired could not help saying in her heart, Behold the livery of virtue! the ornaments of humility! But the Abbé would see her, and learn how to appreciate her by the relation which she would give him of herself.

After these preliminaries the new director had his first interview with Sister Nativity.

'She was waiting for me,' he says, 'alone, and with a pensive air, in the place to which I repaired at the hour appointed. After we had saluted, she asked leave to be seated, and seated herself immediately. It was the first time that we had seen each other. I confess that I was struck with that venerable and meagre countenance, with that veiled forehead, with those eyes wherein modesty was painted, and, above all, with that air of predestination which cannot be expressed, but which infinitely surpasses every thing that is called beauty and personal merit in persons of the world; a stature of the most advantageous height, with limbs proportioned to it, high shoulders, a negligent and somewhat rustic deportment, a trembling head, a lengthened figure, and features strongly marked, were all that I could remark of her *physique;* but still to represent this stamp of holiness, I had almost said of divinity, which sometimes impressed upon her form a certain image of the beauty of her soul, she should be painted at the Communion Table.'

After some introductory compliments, by which it appears that she expected in him a director who was disposed to give her credit for her pretensions, and that he was prepared to deal with her as if he did, she told him that she felt inspired to make her final appeal to his tribunal, and submit wholly to his decision, upon all the points which disquieted her. According to what she saw he would be the last director of that convent, and it was her full wish that he should be hers; she should die content in his hands when he should have heard the details of her life, and of all that God had wrought with her—in a word, when she should have discharged her conscience upon him. 'I shall furnish you with a subject whereon to exercise your zeal, my father,' said she, 'for my wants are great, and I shall give you some work.' '*Je puis assurer,*' says the Abbé in this place—'*qu'en cela, du moins, elle ne s'est pas trompée.*' Reminding him then that his business in the convent would not allow him leisure for devoting his time to her at present, she proposed a second interview after eight days, and requested him in the mean time to look over a paper containing certain practices of piety to which she had bound herself, saying she would explain to him hereafter how and by whom they had been presented to her.

This paper had been written by the abbess, at her dictation, during her last illness. It began thus:—'Praised, adored, loved and thanked be Jesus Christ in Heaven, and in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar.' The sister then promised to make as many visits

visits to the Holy Sacrament as there were hours in the day, from five in the morning till nine at night, at every hour making some reflection upon the interior of the sacred heart of Christ, and meditating in regular succession upon the mysteries of his life and glory. All these visits were to be in heart and mind, not in body, except at those hours when she should be attending chapel with the community. She engaged never to pass a quarter of an hour without thinking of the person or presence of God, unless she was asleep, or surprized by some pressing occupation, or some extraordinary and unforeseen interruption. M. Audoin had permitted her to bind herself to these observances for her whole life, by vow; *mais sous condition que si jamais cette promesse venoit à lui causer du trouble et de l'inquiétude, elle ne subsisteroit plus*, and that the confessor should always have the power of explaining, restricting or annulling it, as he might think expedient. The Abbé in like manner permitted her to renew it, but *sans s'y obliger sous peine de péché*. In other words, her priests permitted her to make this vow, with a saving clause that she was at liberty to observe it just as much or as little as she pleased. Had their church dealt always thus considerately with religious enthusiasm and religious madness, how much of the guilt and misery which its vows have occasioned would have been spared!

This interview was followed by forty or fifty others, the details of which M. Genet presents to the Christian reader in the name of that Being whom, he says, he believes to be the sole author of what he thus brings forward, and to whom, according to all appearance, Christianity is beholden for it. With this solemnity the gross and palpable imposture is introduced! One sister only, beside the abbess, was privy to their meetings, and that sister soon afterwards became abbess herself. In the course of the second meeting, Sister Nativité complained grievously of certain internal struggles, and told the Abbé she had heard most distinctly a voice in the depth of her soul, which said,

'Oh, my child, seest thou not that this is the devil, who always performs his part, and seeks only to oppose my designs? The simple means which thou hast for resisting this terrible enemy is by obedience to my church. Go then, and inform the director whom I have sent thee of thy situation; he will speak to thee in my name, and deliver thee from perplexities from which thou canst not free thyself; be docile to his voice, and take, without hesitation, the course which he will indicate on my part.'

Upon this M. Genet gives her an infallible test whereby to distinguish truth from error, and real inspiration from delusion; it was simply to ask herself whether she professed an inviolable attachment and blind obedience to the person of Christ, the word

of Christ, and the church of Christ; for this the devil could not imitate, and feared to counterfeit. Every suggestion which tended to make us in any thing oppose the laws and decisions of the true church, (to wit, the church of Rome,)—to withdraw us from the yoke of its obedience, and make us break the unity of the faith,—any such suggestion could be nothing but pure error, and proceed only from the father of lies. The object of every inspiration always discovered its origin, and by considering whither it tended we might infallibly know from whom it came. '*Mon père,*' exclaimed the nun,—'*ah! quel trait de lumière! . . . c'est l'évidence même.*' After some length of discourse, in which the director explained how the devil had been attempting to seduce her into the two abominable heresies of Jansenism and Pelagianism, assured her that all heresies involved the most palpable absurdities and contradictions, and that the respectful and religious silence, which was at least more apparent in heretical places of worship than in Roman Catholic churches, was an artifice of the devil's, he exhorted her to persevere in believing the impressions which she felt; and she assured him that God had said to her before all that he said now, and almost in the same words—(*Oui, mon père, tout cela Dieu me l'avoit dit auparavant: ce sont les mêmes pensées, et presque les mêmes termes.*) In the third interview she informed him that Christ had often appeared to her in the human form which he had borne upon earth. The Abbé assures his readers that what is now to follow exceeds in sublimity and beauty all that philosophers and moralists of all ages have produced.

'Let us,' he says, 'prepare to hear her as an oracle of Heaven; let us open our ears to her voice, and if the Comforter (*l'esprit consolateur*) makes use of her to make himself understood by us, let us beware of opposing any obstacle to his grace. "To-day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts!" Let us regard what she is about to say to us like a new apocalypse.—"Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear, the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein, for the time is at hand."'

She now desired him to insert these words at the head of what he wrote—'By Jesus and Mary, in the name of the most Holy Trinity, I obey!' Christ, she said, had desired that an epigraph should be affixed thus to denote that he was the author of this work. Her orders were, she said, to begin by speaking of the Trinity, and she relates accordingly in what manner it had been manifested to her! how she had seen it! In this revelation she had also seen what man would have been if Paradise had not been lost, how innocence and purity would have clothed our bodies with a certain light as with a garment—'*sous laquelle, comme sous le rempart de l'aimable pudeur, ils eussent été à l'abri de toute indécence.*'

décenee.' It was farther revealed to her, and is communicated to the world as matter of revelation, by her precious director, that if man had not fallen,

'jamais la concupiscence ne se fût fait sentir dans ses membres, ni la révolte dans ses sens. Son corps, comme son esprit et son cœur, eût été soumis à la loi divine; il ne se fût, en tout, proposé que la volonté de son Dieu. Le seul désir de s'y conformer, en complétant le nombre des élus, l'eût porté à sa reproduction, sans qu'il y eût éprouvé aucun mouvement de concupiscence. Cet acte de devoir lui eût été aussi méritoire que les louanges et les adorations qui eussent fait son occupation la plus ordinaire.'

A worthy subject of revelation truly, and an appropriate subject of conversation between a nun and her confessor!

Much also was revealed to her to confound those errors concerning predestination, which she was told would once more be renewed. It was explained to her, that if men had not sinned, the number of the elect would long ago have been complete, and that the world would have been at an end; but as it was for the sake of the elect alone that the world was created, so it is owing to their rarity in every generation that it has not yet reached its last day. She was assured that at the moment of conception a guardian angel was assigned to the soul of every human creature. Were it not for their continual aid, infinitely more pagans than now perish would eternally be lost. She saw in what manner the soul instantaneously unites itself with the body, and, carrying with it that vital heat in which individual sensation and spiritual life exist, sets the functions of life in motion. She was made to understand the anguish which a guardian angel endures when all his efforts for his ward are unavailing, and the 'terrible position' in which the Creator is placed when he is compelled to hate and punish eternally a soul which he has created and loved, and would fain have redeemed! Concerning infants who die unbaptized, she was informed that God communicates to them before their death what they are, and that they are to appear before him; and then their good angels deposit them in Limbo, and leave them there.

Sister Nativity was next to tell her director what she had learnt concerning the Incarnation; when, on the night before the interview appointed for their discourse, the Virgin Mary appeared to her, and said, 'What, my daughter, you speak of the great mystery of the Incarnation; and would you say nothing, would you cause nothing to be written of her in whom that ineffable prodigy was operated? would you say nothing of me, who am the channel of grace, and the organ of the will of Heaven?' Confused, and feeling the severest pain from the justice of this reproach, the nun had no power to reply, but waited humbly for the further revelation, which she resolved faithfully to communicate, and which

was immediately vouchsafed. She saw the Almighty surrounded with the golden circle of his eternity, wherein all things were comprehended. But, elevated far above all things, and more radiant than the sun, the incomparable Virgin was there, and the Almighty addressed her in words which the nun at once understood as intended to prove the tenet of her immaculate conception.

This confessor then puts into the nun's mouth a description of the act and manner of the Incarnation with an impiety of imposture, which, though common in the Romish church, is so monstrous, so flagitious, so revolting to every religious and well regulated mind, that there are few readers who would not shudder and close our pages with disgust, if the particular instance were laid before them. The fabricator of this wicked imposition, however, exclaims, '*Voilà bien, si je ne me trompe, la vraie doctrine de l'Eglise sur l'Incarnation, exposée d'une manière aussi frappante qu'orthodoxe. Jamais peut-être on n'avoit rien dit de plus clair, de plus précis, ni de plus fort, contre les fausses doctrines d'un Arius, d'un Apollinaire, d'un Nestorius, d'un Sabellius, et de tous les ennemis de la divinité de J. C. et de la maternité divine de sa bienheureuse mère!*'

The sister is now made to say that in her revelation the church had been shown her under the image of a delicious garden, where the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy was placed in beautiful order. Christ appeared at their head, and invested all the members with his divine power, in the form of a white robe of dazzling brightness. He began with the first of the apostles, and went on through all their successors till the end of time. They appeared so glorious, and so exquisite an odour was exhaled from them, that the vision was ecstatic: she thought that Christ was to be seen in each of these lights, and she regarded them almost as so many divinities; and this reminded her that she had once with her spiritual eyes seen a priest clothed with the same light, and had been instructed that it denoted the grandeur and sublimity of the priesthood. Our Lord, when he displayed to her this assemblage, said, 'Behold my ministers! behold those who are to judge the universe with me! Whoso hears them, hears me; whoso despises them, despises me; whoso honours them, honours me; whoso touches them, touches me!' He then explained to her that it was he himself who placed each of his ministers in the church, even as he it was who placed the stars in the firmament; and that no temporal power could displace them, dispose of their jurisdiction, restrict their powers, nor diminish their authority. She saw also that infallible Tribunal in which the Holy Spirit resides, and from whence its oracles are distributed to the whole church; and

she

she saw how the merits of our Saviour imparted their efficacy to the Seven Sacraments. '*Ah, mon père! le beau coup-d'œil!*'

Afterwards the diabolical intentions of Lucifer against this holy church were manifested to her—'*Ah, mon père, mon père!*' She saw Satan himself distribute to his satellites a certain matter, with which he marked them on the forehead, or the skin; forthwith they appeared covered with a leprosy, and communicated it to all who suffered themselves to be touched by them. These emissaries of the devil, these precursors of Antichrist, were those impious writers who had laid the foundation of irreligion under the specious name of philosophy. So it was revealed to her; and at the same time she had distinctly heard these words, which she charged the director not to alter, because they were of God:—'The sentinels are asleep, the enemies have forced the barriers, and are in the heart of the city. They have even gained the citadel, and placed their seat there. The powers of darkness have extended their empire; they have erected altars, and set up their idols to be adored!' And then she saw in her vision the overthrow of the church by the revolutionary government. The constitutional clergy, however, appear to excite more indignation than the unbelievers, and against them it is our Lord denounces his indignation, with a special declaration that the property of the church must be reclaimed:—'*Malheur aux traîtres et aux apostats! malheur aux usurpateurs des biens de mon Eglise, comme à tous ceux qui méprisent son autorité!—Je foudroierai cette superbe audacieuse.—Je lui redemanderai un héritage essentiellement destiné à l'entretien de mes temples et de mes ministres, comme au soulagement de mes pauvres.*'

This, in fact, is the burthen of the song, the object of these pious or rather impious impostors being to persuade the ignorant and credulous, who are every where the great majority, that Christ has by immediate and recent revelation confirmed all the corruptions of the Romish church, and all the pretensions of the Romish clergy. Reason enough will appear as we proceed for believing that though the Sister Nativity may have been more or less crazy, her dreams are merely hints for the Abbé to work upon, and that he has adopted just enough of them to exercise his fancy as a cover for fraud. For this purpose he enters into details which may suggest something to the next poet who takes Armageddon for his subject. The sister has a prophetic view of antichrist, to whom all the graces necessary for salvation will be accorded, and, moreover, extraordinary ones; but he will harden his heart, and be delivered over to it at last. Then will there be a terrible scandal in the church, and a general carnage throughout the world. Deceit, treachery, hypocrisy, and wickedness of every kind

kind are to prevail; false miracles will be performed, false prophets will abound, and hell will display its illusions and have all its forces at work. But at the same time the faithful will receive a support proportionate to the emergency. Their good angels and other spiritual powers will be allowed to appear for their consolation and protection. Miracles will be frequent, and many of those who shall be put to death for the faith, will be raised from the dead. The resurrection will be public and notorious, and being then immortal and impassible, they will become the defenders of their brethren. Crucifixion will be the ordinary mode of martyrdom, as most characteristic of that hatred against Christ with which the persecutors will be filled; but their power will extend only to those who have been predestined to this glory, and when their number is complete, the Archangel Michael, who is the most ardent defender of the church militant, will appear to the little remnant that is left, and bid them in the name of God follow him to a country where they will find an asylum. He will place himself at their head, and the whole church will follow him, as the children of Israel followed Moses to the promised land. He will lead them into the midst of a desert, a vast solitude, where they will suffer sore trials from hunger, thirst, and all the miseries of want, but these will only be means of sanctification for them. God will support them sometimes by miraculous bread, sometimes by his divine word, finally by his own body in the communion, which will then be their sole food! Then, when the rest of the earth is abandoned to the children of perdition, the earthquakes which convulse it will open vast caverns in the rocks and mountains, which the faithful will convert into temples; there they will place the altars and the sacred vessels and ornaments which they have preserved; there they will every day celebrate the divine mysteries. Their whole occupation will be in prayer and praise. Perfect union will exist among them. There will be no abuse, no scandal between the sexes, no talk of marriage, *je doute si on y pensera*, says the Abbé for the nun, *du moins Dieu ne m'en fait rien connoître.* At length, when the hour approaches, Michael will march them into a land of bliss, which the director supposes to be the Garden of Eden, and put them in possession of it, forbidding them to pass its limits. Beyond these limits there will be a chaos of darkness all around; within, they will be enlightened by a sun created expressly for their use, whose light will not extend beyond their horizon.

Here they will set about building churches in order that mass may be celebrated with due form, and God will supply them with materials, teach them how to build, and give them plans and designs for their work. Every day mass will be performed; the people,

people, in the height of devotion and happy expectation, will look daily for the Messiah's coming; and the great business of all is to be the service of the altar. Here our Lord is to take his chief delight, and here numbers are to be the martyrs of their own devout desires, consumed by the ardour of their love, and by their eagerness to see and to possess him in his glory. Suddenly, all these consolations are to be withdrawn. It was revealed to the sister how Christ took pleasure in mortifying his mournful and afflicted spouse, making her drink deeply of the bitter cup of his own passion, and filling her with anguish and reproach; all which the worthy director, assures us is a most orthodox and probable revelation. He gives us, also, a precious note upon the description which follows, when the spouse, after her seeming desertion, enjoys again the presence of her beloved, and divine love exhausts his quiver upon her heart, till it can bear no more. But here the nun must speak for herself, or the father confessor for her.

'*Ah! dit-elle, mon tendre époux,* (it is the Spouse who says this,) *je n'en peux plus. Je tombe en défaillance. Mon cœur languit d'amour pour vous! Il brûle du désir de s'unir à vous, et de vous posséder sans crainte de vous perdre jamais! Pardonnez mes expressions, mon père, rien d'impur dans mes idées, je puis vous l'assurer.* Je ne dois rien omettre de ce que Dieu me fait voir pour être écrit. Malheur à celui qui, contre les desseins de Dieu, trouveroit une occasion de scandale dans une allégorie toute spirituelle, qui n'est que pour son édification! *Je vois donc dans ce moment, le saint Époux et la sainte Epouse dans des embrassemens et des ravissemens de l'amour le plus tendre et le plus vif. C'est comme une union parfaite. Mais ne pouvant plus suffire, le cœur de la sainte Epouse succombe sous les efforts du divin amour. Ce qui lui fait dire, comme à J. C. sur la croix, tout est consommé. Mon Dieu! mon bien-aimé, mon cœur ravi de vos beautés tombe en défaillance. Je remets mon ame entre vos mains! Alors, mon père, je la vois comme expirer. Mais que dis-je! elle est immortelle, et comme J. C. en croix, elle sent redoubler son ardeur. C'est alors qu'elle pousse les soupirs les plus vifs et les plus ardens vers son divin Epoux, jusqu'au moment où je la vois s'endormir sur son sein et entre ses bras.*'

The worthy director assures his readers, that having questioned Sister Nativity upon this, whether she had not read the Song of Solomon, she answered, that she knew there was such a book in the scripture, but that she had never read it, nor known any thing more of it than its name, and that it was there. All what she had related, she had seen, and as she related it, but she had seen it in God, in a manner so spiritual and divine as to be infinitely above our senses and our natures, which had no part in it, '*de sorte, mon père, que dans tout ce que j'ai vu, il ne m'est pas tombé dans l'esprit la moindre idée tant soit peu déshonnête.*' He adds, that in this spirit the Canticles were written, being dictated by the same spirit of holiness, and quotes once more, to

abuse

abuse it, the often abused text of the apostle, that to the pure all things are pure.

In this state of rapture the whole population of this new Eden will be summoned once more to mass, unconscious that it is for the last time. All will receive the communion; and in this mysterious union, these ravishments, these ecstasies, these transports of the tenderest and liveliest love, every one will expire in the embrace of the Lord. And this will be the precious death of the children of God, at the very time when all the other children of men are cut off, doomsday being come.

The part which follows we may consider, as we would the Voluspa, or the Armageddon, as a display of an exercise of imagination concerning the end of the world, putting aside for the present all thought of the fraudulent purpose with which it is presented; only we must remind the reader that this also is introduced as revelation 'in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, through Jesus and Mary, and in the name of the thrice Holy Trinity.'

So affrighted was the sister at the thought of reciting what she had foreseen, that an order from God was necessary for making her take courage and exert herself to deliver the account. No sooner had every living creature expired, than a confused sound was heard, (she speaks in the past tense as relating what had been foreshown her,) an universal complaint from all inanimate beings, each of them then taking up its speech in an eloquent but dreadful language. The sun became dark, stopt in his course, and called upon the Creator for vengeance upon those who had abused his light, and infected his rays, by committing crime upon crime in his presence and before his face. He demanded reparation, justice, and vengeance, and to be purified from the sight of the pollutions which had sullied him. The moon, more animated still, and blushing as she spake (*le rougeur sur le front*), complained of all that had been done in moonlight, and called for vengeance; and the stars also preferred their accusation against the offences of which they had been made witnesses, and, as it were, accomplices. Earth raised a louder voice against those whom she had borne and supported, but who had dishonoured and defiled her; and the sea, and the elements, trees, plants, all animals and whole nature with one accordant cry called for justice upon mankind. With that an almighty voice went forth and said, Yes, this is the moment in which I will renovate all things; I will make new heavens and a new earth; and in the twinkling of an eye it shall be done! Incontinently a prodigious fire issued from the firmament, filled the air, descended upon the earth, and in a moment consumed, destroyed, and purified every thing, so that

that no trace of impurity remained. Nature and the elements were renovated, and new heavens and a new earth were the result.

That the chosen vessel through whom these revelations were to pass, first, to her director, and then, having received his sanction, to the world, might understand all which must take place before the consummation of all things, she had now a sight of purgatory, wherein an innumerable multitude of souls were seen plunged in the devouring flames. But the fire of purgatory is a discriminating fire, and gives out, or rather sends in its heat in proportion to the work it has to do. Some souls she saw in a state of suffering equal to that of the damned, except that they had not the desperate assurance that an eternity of torment was before them. Yet they were not certain that there would be an end; and the first alleviation vouchsafed them would be this knowledge, which would be given to them when God was softened either by the length of their purgation, or by the suffrages of the church. She saw numbers who were there for the slightest faults, idle words, idle thoughts, distractions in prayer, *petites médisances*, ill-humours, ill-patience, even imperfections alone are sufficient to send them thither, if they had not corresponded in full to the grace which had been given them, if they had not sought after God with sufficient effort and perseverance; all what had been wanting in desert must be made up in suffering, and for some years before the day of judgment, the fire is to quicken, supplying by its intensity the shortness of the time during which it was to act, and for the benefit of the last comers, putting on its full power, like a steam-engine, and condensing their pains by high pressure to the point desired. The angels, however, will comfort them by explaining the cause of this increased temperature, and when the signal for the resurrection is about to be given, angels will escort the purified souls to join those of the faithful who shall just have expired in ecstasy, and angels, also, will take charge of the lifeless bodies that are left in Eden.

The sun and the stars of the new heaven, which the sister saw in her revelation, far surpassed the splendour of what is now beheld by mortal eyes; and the earth had been converted into a transparent globe, resembling crystal, but without its hardness. Nothing was destroyed, but all things were renewed, except the bodies of the reprobate; and these were changed also, but changed so as to render them a thousand-fold more miserable. It was shown them that God would preserve in the new earth every thing that he had made; they were his creatures, he blest them anew, and would be praised and glorified by them according to their capacity, for evermore. Innumerable angels descended upon the renovated earth, they divided themselves to the four corners of the

the world, and blew from all their trumpets the terrible signal for the resurrection of the dead. Among Blake's strange designs for Blair's poem of the Grave, is one representing the reunion of the body and the soul; the highest genius alone could have conceived it, and only madness have dared to attempt the execution. Sister Nativity's vision is cold in comparison with his vivid and passionate delineation. She gives a speech in which the soul of some Romish *heautontimorumenos* asks pardon of the body for its rough usage upon earth, and makes advances toward a reconciliation, finding, after all, that there is no being perfectly happy without it, and that they were made for each other. *Je sens que je suis pour toi, et que notre sort est tellement lié, que je ne puis, en quelque sorte, être parfaitement heureuse, sans ta participation.* The reunion being effected, she saw all the multitude of the blessed staud up in the flower of youth and beauty, glorified as Christ was when he arose from the tomb, their resurrection being (we are told) only an emanation from his; a torrent of delight diffuses itself through all their senses, internal and external, and all the parts of their celestialized humanity. They enjoy a delicious odour, and a delicious taste from a saliva which is at once nutriment and pleasure, and the juice which circulates within them feeds for ever the principle of life and immortality. *Il ne manquera aucune des parties, aucun des membres nécessaires, à l'intégrité du corps humain.* 'Dieu *ne mutile point ce qu'il a fait à dessein de conserver.* The sheep have already been separated from the goats, and are now divided into three flocks. The first, being those who had most closely followed the Lamb, are elevated into the highest region of the air, and associated with the celestial choir to accompany the King of Glory in his triumph, and redescend upon earth with him. The second division is ranged in the firmament, and fill the air to do honour to his passage; mixed with choirs of angels, in beautiful order, they prepare the way for him, strewing it, erecting trophies and triumphal arches, and singing hymns of victory. The third division remain below, expecting the coming of the Lord, in ecstasies, not unmingled with fear. *Position bien frappante, sans doute, mon père,* says Sister Nativity, who, it must always be remembered, is relating what her director or amanuensis declares she had seen.

Quel affreux spectacle on the other hand! 'Hell vomits forth the souls which it contains,—vomits them,' the sister says, 'to denote the violence with which they were ejected; and the devils come with them, and a compulsory reunion is effected between these souls and the bodies, which being covered and saturated with every imaginable species of disease, infection, and torment, it is a hell even for the damned spirits to re-enter.' Then she beheld

beheld the Almighty open the gate of eternity, and Time was then no more. The cross appeared in the sky with insupportable radiance. The King of Glory approached on his throne of justice, resting on a luminous globe or cloud, which thundered and lightened on all sides during the descent; but on the left only as it drew nearer the earth. The whole host of heaven accompany it, and range themselves in order where it stops, some thirty feet above the earth. The court of heaven and the church surround their King. Round about the judgement-seat are thrones upon which the apostles seat themselves, and all the ministers of Christ in succession, down to the last good priest. And these have the privilege of being seated during the last assize, a privilege granted to no other person, the mother of the Redeemer alone excepted, who in that character is recognized as Queen Sovereign of the universe. The other saints remain standing in respect for the judge, and also for the authority of those (the Roman Catholic priests, to wit) whom he is pleased to associate with him in this great judgement. The Book of Conscience having been brought, and its seals opened, the Lord calls to his ministers, tells them they are now associated with him to sit in judgement upon their enemies, and those for whom they had laboured and prayed in vain; and demands of them what in justice they think ought to be done with these unfortunate culprits, and what they wish him to do. They rose from their thrones, and with one voice, replied, 'O Lord our God, we demand justice and vengeance upon these wretches who have outraged thee.' The spirits of the just cried Amen; and all nature repeated the terrible words, Justice and Vengeance; let the wicked be eternally confounded!

We shall spare our readers the lengthened account of the *classification* of sinners which follows. In one corner the unbaptized infants and the pagan children, who had died before they had discourse of reason, stood apart like sheep in a flock, looking on and awaiting their lot, without either hope or fear. Our Lord turned to his clergy and asked if these little creatures were not worthy of compassion, seeing that, though not regenerated, they had committed no offence. 'It is a grief to me, I confess,' said he, 'that I cannot, in some degree, admit them to the happiness of the elect; for the original stain which I behold in them opposes the effect of my goodness, and justice leaves no room for mercy in their case, seeing that the sentence which excludes them from the eternal beatitude of the saints is irrevocable.' But he asked if nothing could be done for them, saying he was desirous of favouring them as far as was possible. The clergy being consulted, referred every thing to his good pleasure, declaring, however,

ever, as they were called upon to speak, that it would not appear to them just if these innocents were condemned to eternal suffering for the fault of Adam. To be deprived of the divine presence was all that the taint from which they had not been cleansed could deserve. *Vous avez soulagé mon cœur, et satisfait mon amour, par ce que vous venez de prononcer, leur dit J. C.* and he disclosed to them an admirable secret, which Satan, who was regarding these children as his lawful prey, had never suspected. It was that they should inhabit the new earth, and there eternally enjoy a certain natural beatitude, consisting in an entire exemption from all evils, and in all the happiness which mankind would have enjoyed, had they continued in the state of innocence wherein our first parents were created. They were to be always young, always vigorous, exempt from passions, and also *des besoins incommodes de la nature humaine.* The celestial court resounded with applause at this declaration, all nature seemed to tremble with joy, and the church returned hymns of thanksgiving to the Creator.

The sentence, 'go ye, accursed of my Father,' was then uttered; they were pronounced a thousand and a thousand times accursed. Heaven shuddered at the sentence. Earth opened. The cross, the Saviour, and the triumphant host of the blessed ascended; the reprobate were precipitated by thunder-bolts into the vast centre of the globe, where Hell received and closed its gates upon them; and the Almighty set upon those gates the seal of eternity. In thus fixing the situation of Hell, the director assures us, that the new Apocalypse is in conformity with the opinion of many fathers and doctors, and that Bellarmine, among others, has proved it against Beza, both by scripture and reason. The nun proceeded to say, that Christ assured her he could not help inclining the balance, in which even the wicked were weighed, on the side of mercy; and that his compassion and his mercy were found even in Hell; and to prove this he invited her there. Sister Nativity did not like the invitation; she would even have refused it, and actually attempted to resist; but the will divine made itself felt by her, she was constrained to obey, and instantly in Hell she was—closed in there—*mais j'avois la consolation*, she adds, *de m'y voir avec J. C. qui s'entretenoit avec moi pour m'expliquer ce que je devois vous faire écrire.* She had been there in spirit once before, and was surprized now at seeing how much more firmly it was fastened with red-hot bars and bolts, but the reason was satisfactorily explained; she saw it now as it is to be after Doomsday, when there is never more to be ingress or egress. Descriptions of Hell are of all such things the easiest, and upon no other subject has so much fancy been exercised; let us take

the

the opportunity of adding, that the young writer who lets his imagination riot in horrors, incurs a worse danger than that of merely vitiating his taste. We shall pursue Sister Nativity's account of this place no farther.

The veracious director here introduces a truly original proof that these revelations are genuine and divine. The sister, he says, stopt in her narrative and asked him if he knew what a vulture was. Yes, he replied, a bird of prey, very cruel and very voracious. Ah! yes, my father, she rejoined, yes, he is cruel! I saw the infernal monster. I think I see him now, tearing the entrails of his victims with his dreadful beak and talons! I could never have believed there had been such monsters among birds; and as I did not know what name to give it, Christ told me that it should be called a vulture. With this proof of its inspiration, the Abbé presents the description of Hell as what Abraham had refused to grant upon the petition of the rich man, but Christ has now vouchsafed. A soul has returned, he says, in this instance from the place of torment to report what she had there seen with her own eyes; and her report ought not to appear suspicious to those who knew her virtues, believed in a future state, and did not set at defiance the threats of the Gospel. Nevertheless, those who reject the Scriptures will reject this also, and will only be hardened by it in unbelief. For once this pious director speaks truth, and speaks it knowingly; for it is by such impostures as he is here endeavouring to palm upon the world, that so many persons in Roman Catholic countries are made infidels and confirmed in their infidelity.

The scheme of her revelations, which we have followed thus far, is comprized in the first volume of this remarkable work. The second, the Abbé assures us, is not only equally important for salvation, but even, in many respects, superior. Accordingly it soon appears that the particular object of these visions is to establish the corruptions of the Romish church,—it is the old device of endeavouring to prove false doctrines by feigned revelations. Thus during the church services connected with the Jubilee, she saw the Trinity, and the Virgin, and the Apostles present at the service, and heard a voice from the presence exclaim, Woe! woe! to whosoever shall attempt to usurp, oppress, suppress, or contradict this power of the Sovereign Pontiff, these immutable and infallible truths!'—Thus too we have visions and revelations to prove the doctrine of Transubstantiation, for the support of which so many impious fables have been fabricated, and so many victims have been burnt alive. By fire it can no longer be supported, but that the fraudulent will continues to exist and to act there is abundant proof before us. It is per-

forming a seasonable duty to expose these frauds, though the reader should sometimes shudder at the impiety and the profligacy involved in such representations. For, be it remembered, this is a legend of yesterday,—and the persons are yet living among us by whom these fables were seen and approved before they were committed to the press. Christ, the sister is represented as saying, appeared to her one day, *d'une manière intérieure;* and then he exhibited himself to her, (it is needful to prepare the reader for what is coming, and to assure him that there is no distortion, no exaggeration in this faithful account,)—he exhibited himself in the precise form and attitude which he assumed at the moments of his conception and of his birth!!

"Voilà, ma fille, me dit-il, en tournant vers moi ses yeux pleins d'amour, voilà l'attitude que j'ai pris et l'agréable spectacle que j'ai donné à mon Père dès le premier instant de ma naissance, et même de ma conception, et voilà le livre qu'il vous faut étudier pendant votre retraite.—Quel livre! mon père, qu'il est rempli d'onction! qu'il renferme des choses merveilleuses! Peut on se lasser de l'étudier?"

Were we bringing these impious frauds to light from such canonized legends as those of the blessed Margaret of Cortona, St. Ida of Louvain, the blessed Columba, and others, for whom their directors and accomplices, the Abbé Genets of former ages, have succeeded in obtaining a place in the Romish Kalendar, it would be said they occurred in dark ages, and must be imputed to ignorance and credulity;—but this is of our own times; it is a new piece from the old manufactory; a sample of that perpetual succession of miracles, to which the Romanists appeal as evincing theirs to be the true church;—a proof of that perpetual succession of impostures with which the reformed churches reproach the church of Rome.

In another place we are told that, at the consecration of the wafer, the sister saw a little infant, living and clothed with rays of light, in the hands of the officiating priest; that the infant appeared eager for the moment when he was to be *received* (that is, *eaten*) by the priest and by the nuns; that he spoke to her with an infantine voice, saying, Ah! if you had as much desire to come to me as I have to go to you and enter into your heart! and that, on another occasion, she saw the same infant lying in the host, with extended arms, and bleeding at every limb. In farther proof of the corporal presence, she was enabled to see, during the procession of the Fête-de-Dieu, that all nature was sensible of that presence, rendered homage to it, and manifested its joy. The flowers that were strewn along its way became more vivid in their hues, the angels and the souls in bliss sung in audible concert with the hymns on earth; the very dust was animated; and in that of the

cemeteries

cemeteries she could see the dust of the righteous, as it were, dance in exultation and delight, while that of the wicked shuddered in every atom.

The most daring of those legends, which the Romish priests age after age have palmed upon mankind, have been designed either to forward a political purpose, or to advance the interests of some monastic order, or to establish by fabled revelations and false miracles, the devices of man's imagination, which were successively introduced as articles of popular faith. In the present case the end in view is to support the whole scheme of Romish superstition, for the purpose of aiding the priesthood in reasserting their old pretensions and recovering their former ascendancy. We have seen that the clergy are to sit as judges at the last day, that their divine character was made apparent to the sister by a visible radiance, and that their earthly authority is indefeasible and supreme. She tells us, that in every priest she respects the person of our Saviour. Our Saviour himself, she says, assured her that the most trifling fault would not escape without punishment, that payment to the last farthing will be exacted after death, and what the terrific sum may be she instances in her own person, saying that, after the most accurate calculation which she could form of her own sins, she estimated them at five millions, and gave in that amount as a general confession. And yet, so far was she from having exaggerated, as she would sometimes fain have flattered herself, that God made her understand the calculation would fall short even were she to double it. But when Christ assured her that nothing but rigorous justice remained after death—that there would be then no plea for mercy, and that every sin, however trifling, must be paid for in suffering to the full, he added the comfortable alternative, that the church might take upon itself the payment, having from him authority to grant indulgences, which he should always receive as a lawful and agreeable tender! (*que je recevrai toujours comme un paiement légitime et agréable.*)—Again the Franciscan conceit of the immaculate conception, the denial of which has cost the Dominicans so dearly, is in these revelations, for the thousandth time, confirmed by an express declaration from the Virgin Mary herself. The re-establishment is predicted, not only of the Roman Catholic religion in France, but of the Pope's full powers; a woe in the name of the Lord denounced against those who shall oppose or restrain his authority; and the principle again proclaimed, as again confirmed by the Lord himself to a new saint and prophet, that there is no salvation out of the papal church—a principle which not merely affords a pretext for persecution, but renders it a religious duty. Obedience to the

papal church is here, on the alleged authority of Heaven, declared to be the Christian's compass, the infallible guide that God has given him whereby to direct his course; all who observe it will be safe. *Celui qui la suit ne répond de rien; celui qui s'en écarte se rend comptable de tout.* Christ is made to lament over the suppression of the convents, and explains to the sister that the monastic vows are a sort of emanation from his own divinity. He says, indeed, that the principal cause of all the misfortunes which had befallen the religious orders was their having withdrawn themselves from the jurisdiction of the bishops to be under heads of their own; and he charges her to write all this to his Chief Shepherd, and to let him know it is his pleasure that these orders should continue, but that they must be reformed, and *if possible*, there must be no more exemptions,—a singular mode of qualifying such a command. This passage would not have appeared if the worthy director had been either monk or friar, instead of a secular priest. In other respects he carries the anti-social principles of monkery as far as has ever been done by the sourest monachist. Christ is made to condemn all particular friendships, as fatal to religion and virtue, and that not in numeries alone, but in all conditions of life! The love of our relations, though allowable, lawful, and necessary in itself, yet being natural, is of the nature of vice, and except it be built upon a religious principle, must be expiated either by penance in this world, or by purgatory in the next!!

It was to be expected, that the love between husband and wife, or, as it is here called, *l'amour légitime entre les personnes unies par le lien du sacrement*, would fall under the same denunciation. Lest, however, this should not be sufficiently understood, and the laity should deceive themselves in a vain security, Sister Nativity is represented as forced by the Lord to speak concerning a state of life of which she is absolutely unacquainted, and upon which, had she been permitted, she would fain have observed a profound silence. She declared, therefore, that she had seen an infinite number of married persons precipitated into hell, and that our Saviour had made her perceive the principal cause of this everlasting perdition. Seeing that it was chiefly for the sin of impurity, the nun exclaimed—

'*O, mon Dieu, comment voulez-vous que je touche une matière aussi infecte, et que je remue un pareil bourbier?* How would you have me speak of a vice so contrary to my vow and to the perfection of my state! Fear nothing, was the reply, I will answer for the inconveniences which might result either to yourself or to all those who have a true interest in reading, writing and examining, in good faith, that which I say to you for my own glory and for the salvation of souls! These are infamous things,

things, it is true, but I will envelope them in figures which will preserve you from all defilement. Whatever proceeds from me is pure. Remember, that the rays of the sun shine upon an infectious ditch without contracting any infection. *Aussi, mon père,* says the nun, '*j'ai tout vu sans rien voir, et j'ai tout compris sans y prendre aucune part.*'

And then she touches in utterable words upon unutterable things, skimming over the ground which certain casuists have chosen for their field of labour. The Abbé acknowledges here, in a note, that one or two persons to whom the manuscript had been submitted, and not more, seemed to wish the sister had not touched upon this delicate matter, of which, they said, it was not becoming in a nun to speak. The answer which he makes to their objection exhibits a degree of effrontery more odious than the worst impieties of open infidelity, yet such as might be expected from the chief manager in a scheme of religious imposture like the present. 'Were these feelings well-founded,' he says, 'it would follow that we ought to proscribe not only several books of scripture, but also all the best explications upon the seventh commandment, all of which have been written by holy persons, bound, like the sister, by vows to the virtue of chastity, *outre qu'ici ce seroit à Dieu et non à la sœur qu'il faudroit s'en prendre!*' In the worst extravagances of fanaticism there is something which excites compassion, even when disgust and horror predominate; but if an imposture like this were more excusable than it is on any ground, such language would deserve the strongest and most unqualified detestation.

Scaliger has said, there was no book so worthless that he could not collect something from it. A book like this is valuable as a specimen of those practices which have been carried on in the Romish church in all ages; some incidental truths also appear in it, as facts for the history of manners are to be found in the wildest of the old romances. We find in it some information which cannot be suspected, concerning that happy state of devoted celibacy for which Sister Nativity is so thankful, and concerning the persons who, like her, have taken those monastic vows, which are represented as an emanation from the divine humanity. It would be a great error to suppose that one who has taken these vows may say with the poet—

'*Invent portum, spes et fortuna valete!*'

The slightest fault becomes serious after the vow is registered, *il fait sur ce point délicat, une grande attention sur soi-même.* The higher their profession and the more their confidence, the greater is their danger, for the more continually are they assailed by evil spirits, who regard them with peculiar malice. Sister Nativity saw once, that when a party of monks and nuns were

conversing together with every appearance of sobriety and decorum, a whole party of devils were present, whispering into the ears of every one things which it shocked the sister to hear, and suggesting thoughts to which they reconciled the unsuspicious parties by saying to the monk, for example, that he was conversing with a most pious woman, an excellent nun, a saint, with whom there could not be the slightest danger; and to the nuns, that these were all priests, holy and mortified men, under the greatest self-controul, bound by the same vows as themselves, and in whose company there could be no cause for fear. Upon this she had observed greater cheerfulness and more familiarity, *c'étoient des manières plus enjoüées, des souris, des coups-d'œil, des airs de confiance, et quelquefois de petits jeux de mains.* The devils then exulted, declaring that all was going on to their wish, and, 'in fact,' says the sister, 'I observed that what they had foreseen and predicted, never failed to occur. Priests and confessors, therefore,' she says, 'cannot be too cautious, particularly with women that affect an extraordinary degree of devotion; they ought to avoid all particular intimacies with them, glances, simperings, *les tête-à-tête, et surtout les jeux de main, quelque légers qu'ils soient.*' And for nuns, they ought to regard the grate and the parlour as a most dangerous place. This, she said, the Lord had enabled her often to see. She herself, well stricken in years as she was, and having lived so many years in the highest state of super-sanctification, had looked two or three times from the window upon some soldiers who were doing their exercise in the fields: she had not done this without some remorse of conscience, and in consequence, she proceeds, *Dieu m'en reprit durement, comme d'une grande imprudence, et même d'une grande infidélité; pour mieux me faire voir à quoi je m'étois exposée, il a permis au démon de me tenter à cette occasion d'une manière très-importune.*

One day a picture of St. Francis in the choir of the convent church spoke to her: she saw his lips move and his colour change. He complained bitterly of the relaxation of his order, saying he could no longer recognize it, so completely were his statutes broken: and he denounced a vengeance which, though the sister understood it to be a warning for many other religious communities as well, was nevertheless directly applied to the Seraphic family. She feared its accomplishment even upon her own convent, where there had been a great decay of discipline—connections kept up by the pensioners with their relations, relaxations induced by their expenses, and entertainments given on saints'-days, especially on those of St. Francis and St. Clare, which were held in the director's apartment, and to which the laity were invited. The Lord had remonstrated with her against these abuses, and enjoined her not

only

only to speak to the abbess upon the subject, but to complain to the bishop of Rennes, which she had done accordingly, and great reformation had been made in consequence. Among these reforms one notable one is particularized, as having been enjoined through Sister Nativity, by our Saviour's immediate orders, to Madam the Abbess. Readers who are not acquainted with the spirit of the Roman Catholic superstition may require in this place to be once more assured that we are giving a faithful account of the book before us, without the slightest misrepresentation or perversion of its meaning. The message with which she was thus charged was an injunction that the nuns should leave off the linen shifts in which they had for some time indulged, and wear flannel ones again in conformity to the rule of their order. And the Abbé assures us that this reform (he calls it a reform) took place accordingly, after a visitation of the bishop of Rennes! This, reader, is in the book of which Dr. Milner has said he cannot speak too highly for its sublimity and piety! and of which an English Jesuit of our own time has said, that if the whole Scriptures were lost, all their most valuable, moral, doctrinal, and theological science might be recovered here, and with interest!!

Here also we have a new confirmation of that part of St. Francis's history which, when it was first hazarded, was the most blasphemous imposture upon which the Romanists had ventured, though it has frequently been equalled since. The sister enters into a disquisition upon the Conformities, and the Stigmata which were their stamp and seal, and in proof of both sees St. Francis in a vision, mistakes him for our Saviour, (whom she had seen so often,) and was about to fall at his feet and worship him, when a voice informed her of her mistake.

In the days of the *Convulsionnaires* we are told that the more skilful professors of mystical nosology could distinguish whether the sufferings of the patient were produced by *le diable dominant*, or *le diable dominé*. Without pretending to the same science, it would not be difficult in this *rifacimento* to distinguish between what belongs to the nun and what to the director. She was as ignorant as Joanna Southcote, and very probably as diseased both in body and mind; and had her dreams been delivered as they were dictated, it is likely that they would have resembled, both in conception and manner, the ravings of that poor madwoman, who ended in being the miserable dupe of those whom she had deluded. Dupes enough Joanna found; and the obstinate delight which certain tempers take in being so deluded was never more curiously exhibited than by the continuance of those dupes in their insane belief, after her own dying declaration that she had been deceived, and the actual demonstration which her death afforded.

But she was wholly in the hands of dupes, and of honest ones. No knaves at any time gathered about her; no one attempted to serve a party or a purpose by pretending to believe in her; her ravings were faithfully recorded, and delivered in their genuine nonsense to the world, and the case is as complete and authentic in all its parts as it is curious. Mark the difference! As soon as Sister Nativity had found a director who would listen to her, his first object was to keep the matter secret: '*Odi profanum vulgus et arceo!*' It was to be between himself, and the abbess, and the nun: nothing was to be entrusted to simplicity and indiscretion, nothing to appear till it had been methodized, and its bearing had been given it; above all till the sister herself was secured by death from any inconvenience which the publication might occasion; that is, till any examination of the pretended prophetess became impossible. Whatever would unequivocally have been pronounced to be the hallucinations of a disordered intellect was rejected; and the instances of ignorance which occur are neither many nor natural, but evidently designed to give an appearance of dramatic truth, in which the author has not succeeded. A very few passages of genuine silliness have been retained for the same intent. When Alderman Harley told John Wilkes with some warmth that he would take the sense of the livery upon a question on which they differed as usual in opinion, Wilkes laughed at him, and said, 'Do so, Mr. Harley, and I will take their nonsense.' It is to the nonsense of mankind, indeed, that knaves, whether under the mask of piety or of patriotism, make their surest appeal; and the Abbé has not neglected it. But the samples of native inanity betray themselves by their want of keeping.

For example: Sister Nativity tells the director that our Saviour had taught her to distinguish between the attributes of his divinity and those of his humanity, and instructed her in a form of words which she might use before and after communicating, in praise of both. The one began with 'O sovereign truth, O brightness, O uncreated light!' the other, 'O beauty, O goodness, O charity!' and so they proceed in a series of exclamations: and she says, '*C'est notre Seigneur lui-même qui veut que je mette cet* O! *au commencement de chaque attribut, pour marquer l'étonnement du trésor qu'il renferme.*' Now great are the mysteries of great O, insomuch that Our Lady takes one of her many titles from it, and sermons have been preached upon its signification: nevertheless this is not a passage which the Abbé would have written. It is something which he found suitable for the open mouth as well as the open ears of credulity, and therefore preserved it. But she produces a creed, or, as she calls it, *une formule d'acte de foi,*

foi, upon the same authority, saying, that our Lord made her repeat it after him word by word, in order that it might be written: and in this the director's hand is manifest. 'O my God,' this formula says, 'I believe firmly in thee, and in all that thou hast revealed to thy holy, catholic, apostolic, and Roman church. I believe firmly in all the truths of thy holy law, in all the articles of faith whether written or unwritten, articles known or unknown; for the past, for the present, and for the future: and I believe this upon the truth of the word of Christ, without informing myself either how, or what, or wherefore.' The Abbé may well make her say how much is contained in every word of this *belle profession*, and it is in perfect consistence with his whole scheme to add, that whoever repeats this with heart as well as lips, obtains the greatest possible merit in the eyes of the Almighty!

When the Abbé found it necessary to secrete himself during the first dreadful days of the Revolution, the abbess took his place as amanuensis, and the communications which were transmitted to him were in her hand. The style, however, continues precisely the same, and it is from a consciousness of this that he says he has been obliged to abridge her papers. This abbess, who seems to be the person under whose administration the flannel reform was introduced to the discomfiture of clean linen, had been the depository of the whole secret, which, indeed, without her connivance and assistance, could not have been carried on. The same strain of impious fiction is continued. We are told at one time that Christ made the Nun experience an agony like his own! and required her to fasten herself mystically with three nails to his cross: '*Oui, ma fille, et n'en doutez pas un moment; c'est ma volonté que vous soyez crucifiée avec moi pour honorer mes souffrances et ma croix.*' The old atrocious miracle of the stigmata was not repeated, as not suited to the age, and perhaps also because the affair of the *Convulsionnaires* was too recent; otherwise there would have been no scruples to prevent its repetition. Almost the only thing which she had brought with her into the convent was a print of the crucifix, which had cost her three sous, that sum, we are told, being the wages of a whole day's labour in the field. One day she reminded the print of this, and the print answered her; but in this case she did not see the lips move, like St. Francis's, when his picture spoke, '*car je ne veux rien avancer dont je ne sois bien sûre.*' We have her history before her birth,—'*on diroit, mon Père, qu'avant ma naissance Dieu et le démon étoient déjà en guerre à mon occasion.*' She sees Christ repeatedly in the Pix, and once finds herself like an infant in his arms! and to crown all, our Saviour tells her that the prophecy of Joel has its full accomplishment in her, and in her alone! Sometimes he comes, like

like a beautiful child and caresses her; *tantôt prenant l'air et le ton d'un jeune homme* he follows her into her cell, reminds her of what he has done for her, reproaches her for her want of gratitude and fidelity, and then, speaking *d'un air de bonne amitié*, comforts her again. The irreverence and the vulgarest fanaticism that ever runs wild in a protestant country falls infinitely short of this; which is not metaphorically spoken, (grossly objectionable even then as it would be,) but delivered as matter of fact, as what had actually happened, what the nun had seen *par les yeux du corps*, visible and tangible realities, which the confessor professes to believe himself, and for which he endeavours to obtain belief from others by the most awful asseverations! The Roman Catholics are not shocked at such things, because they are used to them, in their church histories, in the lives of their saints, in their breviaries, in their books of popular devotion, in their church pictures, and in their popular prints, (such three *sous* pieces as Sister Nativity's speaking crucifix,) which supply the place of books to those who cannot read, 'Is it indeed you, O my God, I said to him one day (says the sister) when he had spoken to me in the most affecting manner,—is it indeed you, my Saviour and my God? Then, my father, he stretched out his hand, and addressed to me the words which he had said to his apostles after his resurrection when they took him for a spirit, Fear not, it is I!'

That an enthusiast may, when awake and in broad day-light, actually see and converse with the creations of a disordered fancy, is as possible as we all know it to be in dreams and in delirium; and therefore it is often impossible to distinguish between delusion and deceit: though, even in the most decided cases of this description, there is a strange propensity to go beyond the bounds of truth, and impose upon others farther than such fanatics are, or possibly can be deceived themselves. Thus when St. Jerome exhibited the marks of the flogging which an angel inflicted upon him for the sin of reading Cicero, the dream is not improbable, considering who and what the dreamer was; but the accompaniment to the story proves either that a gross trick had been practised upon him, or, which is far more likely, that he has related a gross falsehood. In like manner, though there can be no doubt that Richard Brothers was a madman, and expected to keep his engagement when he fixed a day for turning his walking stick into a serpent, like Aaron's rod, in the streets of London, it was something more than a mistake when he declared that he had already performed this metamorphosis in private, without a witness. If we had the genuine effusions of Sister Nativity, she would probably be found on the debateable ground between the regions of disease and deceit, or folly and fraud, sometimes

on

on one side the border and sometimes on the other. But the Director is always on one side. No passage looks more like intentional falsehood (if it be genuine) on the part of the nun than one relating to a former confessor. She says that, not knowing whether or not to believe the account of her revelations, he enjoined her the next time our Saviour appeared, to ask him the meaning of a most difficult passage in scripture. She had too much modesty to discharge such a commission. Our Saviour, however, did not wait to be asked. The first thing which he said on his next visit was, 'go, my daughter, tell your director that the passage of scripture which he wishes to have explained, has this signification.' He then informed her under what circumstances it was written, and what the idea was which the writer had in his mind when he thus expressed himself. Word by word she repeated this to the director, who declared, as well he might, that it was the most satisfactory explanation he had ever met with of the difficult text. But what was the text?—and what the explanation?

Ah, that is the mystery
Of this wonderful history,
And I wish that I could tell!

The nun could only remember that the thing had thus happened, every thing else had faded from her memory. Text and comment were clearly forgotten as soon as her message was discharged. And a reprimand with which she was charged to the same confessor, of a mortifying nature, was miraculously obliterated from her memory in the same manner. *Dieu m'ôta encore le souvenir de tout ce qu'il m'avoit chargée de lui dire. Voilà donc tout ce que je puis attester à cet égard.*

The Abbé has been very careful to assure the reader that, while the composition of this book is wholly his own, he has most accurately preserved the genuine purport of the nun's revelations. Her language was very frequently ungrammatical, and she often used to tell him he would express it better than she could do, provided he understood her. She was as little capable of expressing what she had to deliver, he says, as he was of conceiving it; and this he supposes was designed by Providence as a motive for humility in both. Sometimes, however, language as well as conception was given her, and then it was always the best and most appropriate that could have been devised,—but then she did not understand it herself, as in the notable example of the vulture. But whatever difficulty there might be in collecting and rendering her meaning, they were never satisfied till the sister declared that he had exactly comprehended what she meant to say. Sometimes the whole passage was to be written literally as it was delivered by divine

divine command, like the great Os. But to remove all doubt, in all cases, from timid minds, the Abbé puts an end to all scruples by saying, that if this is God's work, we may be sure Providence has provided for every thing—that is, that the plenary inspiration of his book may be taken for granted.

It required no revelation to make the Abbé fully aware, in the year 1791, that his life might at any moment be in danger, even if he had not been engaged in trumping up a legend, wherein all faithful Christians were commanded, in the name of the Lord, to hold no intercourse with the constitutional clergy, whatever the refusal might cost them. At first it was Sister Nativity's hope that he might remain concealed in France; and when our Lord informed her that he must emigrate, she took the liberty, she says, of representing how much more convenient, and less expensive, it would be for him to continue where he was than to incur new fatigues and dangers by crossing the seas to take refuge, almost without resources, in a foreign land. The answer was, that nothing but courage and confidence were required on the Abbé's part, (in confidence, as the reader sees, this worthy personage was not deficient!)—that he ought not to tempt our Lord (who, be it observed, is the speaker!) by requiring miracles instead of the ordinary means which were to be used;—and that Joseph and the Virgin had fewer human means, when they, at the first warning, fled into the land of Egypt. 'See here, my father, the example which you must follow,' says the nun, '*pour sauver encore un enfant qui vient du ciel!*'

Accordingly the Abbé, after remaining four months at St. Malo, embarked for Jersey; seeking, he says, from a rival but generous nation, an asylum against the ferocity of the gentlest and most humane people upon earth, whose nature had been changed by irreligion. But here he reproaches himself for injustice, and apostrophizing the French, assures them that they have never been ferocious, nor unjust, nor cruel; and appeals for this to the love which they had shown for their King and their nobility, and, more especially, for their clergy and their faith; the reclamations in their favour—which had been suppressed; the protestations, which were never heard of, against revolutionary violence; and the resistance which was made to it,—no where except in La Vendée! One might have thought that the first feeling of a man who, escaping from the horrors of such a revolution, set foot upon a safe and hospitable shore, would have been thankfulness for his preservation, and not to Providence only, but to the people who received and sheltered him. But our Abbé is too true a Roman Catholic for this.

'What was my surprize,' he says, 'when flying from the troubles of a kingdom

a kingdom which was still catholic, I found myself fallen into the habitual darkness of schism and error! I confess that I never could have believed the passage of a few leagues from our frontier towns would have sufficed for showing me so revolting a contrast! and in witnessing the spiritual condition to which so many compassionate and well-meaning persons are here reduced, I could not help fearing still more for my afflicted country the consequence of revolutions which separate a kingdom from the centre of unity!'

Here he completed the task of putting in order the notes which he had taken himself, and the communications which he had received from the Abbess after he had been obliged to fly from Fougères.

The Abbé took advantage of the peace of Amiens and returned to France. Sister Nativity died in 1798, and he collected from the Abbess and the few surviving sisters the particulars of her life from the time of his emigration. They had been turned out of their convent in the autumn of 1792, pursuant to a decree of the Constituent Assembly, by which, he says, more than an hundred thousand nuns were forced from their cells, and compelled to re-enter a world to which they had bidden an eternal adieu. The expulsion of those poor women, who either for conscience sake, or habit, or helplessness and destitution, would have wished to end their life where they had wasted it, must undoubtedly be considered as an act of cruelty and injustice, in character with the times. But when the Abbé represents the whole body of nuns throughout the French dominions as indignantly refusing to avail themselves of a former decree, which permitted such as might be so inclined to reclaim the liberty whereof, with or without their own consent, they had been deprived, he expects a larger portion of credulity than he will find. We remember the answer of one to her relations in a Roman Catholic country, when they invited her back to her native land, saying, they had provided an asylum for her there in a nunnery of her own order; she thanked them in reply, but declined the invitation, because she was happily settled in marriage with a friar.

The best-intended reforms of this kind have given occasion to some evil, when indiscreet, and still more when unprincipled persons have been employed in executing them, and such persons are sure to push themselves forward in the service of the ruling powers. But in France even good intentions were not at that time to be found; and when the poor nuns of Fougères were turned out, the only provision made for them, was that of conveyance to their place of destination. M. Binel de la Jannière, who had two sisters among them, invited Sister Nativity to take up her abode with them

them in his house. As soon as they were introduced into the apartment which had been prepared for them, they prostrated themselves before a crucifix, and with earnest prayers and tears besought our Saviour to accept the sacrifice which was now exacted from them, and that it might be united to that which he himself had made upon the cross for the salvation of the human race! In such utter ignorance of the real principles of the Christian faith had these poor creatures been trained, and in such notions of their own miserable merits and more miserable good works! The Abbé, however, admires this, and tells us that all Fougères was affected by it, the very revolutionists themselves being awed into a momentary respect for the heroism of oppressed virtue. Sister Nativity immediately entered upon a bread and water fast for a whole year,—by the Almighty's express order! and with the Abbess's leave,—which, when the order was given, was made the condition of her obeying it! She was, however, permitted sometimes, or rather compelled, to vary this diet by a soup composed merely of a few pulse, and seasoned with nothing but salt. If at any time she discovered that a little butter had been added, she complained of the deceit, and expressed a fear of what the consequences might be.

'Perhaps,' says the Abbé, 'they were more to be dreaded for us than may be imagined. Who can say what we are not indebted for to this mortified life? It is usually for the sake of souls of this character that God shows mercy to so many others,—to cities, to kingdoms, and to the whole world. Would it be too much to say—would it be temerity to advance—that she (Sister Nativity to wit) has probably contributed more than all other persons towards obtaining for us at last these happier days, which she has not lived to enjoy, but which she so often announced to us on the part of Heaven?'

Yes, reader, the Abbé Genet thus modestly insinuates an opinion that the restoration of the Bourbons has been brought about by Sister Nativity's merits, and more especially by this year of heroic fasting! The part which Spain and Portugal, and Russia and Germany, and England may have acted is comparatively insignificant; the retreat from Moscow a bagatelle—Leipsic a feather in the scale—Waterloo not worthy of remembrance. Blucher and Wellington may hide their diminished heads. What are their campaigns to Sister Nativity's twelve months of bread and water? Buonaparte has been overthrown not by bullets and bayonets, but by lentile broth, eaten without butter!

After she had resided about twelve months with M. de la Jannière, the nuns, by an order of Robespierre's government, were put in confinement. But Sister Nativity was sent to her brother, who occupied a farm in her native parish. A few miracles are related

related as overtaking the sacrilegious party in the convulsions which ensued: one is of a man who dressed his dog like a priest, and taught him to go through the gestures used in performing mass,—for which he died of hydrophobia, without having been bitten. And the preservation of her brother during the war of the Chouans, and of one of his oxen afterwards, is ascribed to her merits. Under the Directorial government the nuns were set at liberty, and she then returned to rejoin her two companions in the same house which had afforded her her first asylum. Infirmities of various kinds had at this time worn her to the bone; and, when in the ague fit of a fever she got into the cart for this last removal, she is represented as more like an anatomy than a living person. She now was strongly inclined to go to England in search of her confessor, the Abbé, to whom, she said, she had many things to say, which she must not disclose to any other person; but, because of her great age, and still more for her infirmities, not to mention other obvious difficulties which are not thought worthy of notice by her biographer, the permission which she asked was always refused. She, therefore, by means of the two sisters, who, as it now for the first time appears, were always in her secret, committed to writing what the Abbé calls a sort of Deuteronomy, to be transmitted to him after her death. It appears also that there was now another person admitted into her confidence;—this was M. Laroy, dean of la Pellerine, to whom, in the latter end of 1797, she addressed a letter containing an account of a nocturnal vision, which was to put the finishing stroke to her revelations, and supply proof of a nature to silence all cavillers. The dream was to this effect: the Devil appeared to her in the form of a nun's ghost, who introduced herself as coming from Purgatory to solicit her prayers, and exhort her, as a matter in which her own salvation was concerned, to take measures for suppressing and destroying her writings. She had been deceived, the pretended ghost said, by obeying her directors, and she ought now to send off an express to M. de Fajole, containing a full retractation of all that those writings contained. Upon this the dreamer began to smell—an old Serpent. Happily, says the Abbé here, in a note, she was no novice either in discovering or combating him. She replied that, in obeying those who were to her in the place of God, she believed that she was obeying God himself! (*Mon entente étoit que quand j'avois obéi à ceux qui me tiennent la place de Dieu, je croyois avoir obéi à Dieu même.*) With that she crossed herself, the false ghost took flight, she pursued, caught the ghost by the ghost of its veil, and, making another cross, the Devil vanished, leaving nothing but a stink behind. The Devil had said that the affair of her writings was

taking

taking an untoward turn, and who M. de Fajole was, whether priest or layman, the sister knew not, for she had never been acquainted with any such person, nor even heard of his name. And this is the proof which is to silence all cavillers, and set the stamp of authenticity upon her revelations! For, just at this time, the Romish bishops, to whom the Abbé submitted her papers in England, signified to him their approbation, which was what the Devil meant by an untoward turn; and there was an Abbé de Fajole, who, though he approved those papers when they were shown him at Jersey, urged the Abbé to burn them in London, upon the ground of certain private information he had received concerning them—information which the Abbé, not more sagaciously than charitably, supposed him to have obtained from the same Devil who appeared as the ghost of the nun!

Before her death the sister left some oral exhortations concerning the manners of common life. She condemned, as works of the devil, balls, dancing of every kind, cards, plays, public amusements, novel-reading, patches, paint, and all the implements of coquetry. False hair she absolutely prohibited for women, as a breach of the baptismal vow and a species of apostacy; but periwigs she permitted to the male sex, because men had frequently occasion to uncover their heads. There was also a manner of pinning the handkerchief with such studied negligence as to leave it partly open, which she spoke of with great severity. She died on the day of Our Lady's Assumption 1798, with the crucifix before her, the formula of her profession on her breast, and holy water at her side, with which, according to her desire, she was repeatedly sprinkled; and thus, having supported *jusqu'au bout son grand personnage*, she expired in the sixty-eighth year of her age. She was buried in the cemetery of Languelet according to her own desire. Her grave is become celebrated. Persons resort thither to commend themselves to her prayers; and extraordinary facts are related in consequence, of which the candid and cautious biographer says, it does not appertain to him to judge. Others may think as they please; but for himself it is not necessary that God should work any new miracles to make him believe, provisionally at least, in the beatitude of a soul, whose virtues, writings, life, and death, appear to him a series of miraculous events, not permitting him to entertain a moment's doubt of her sanctity. She may be regarded, he says, as the prodigy of her age, and *worthy in all respects to be compared with the greatest and most extraordinary persons of either sex who are honoured by the church*. For she yields nothing to them in virtue, nor in the austerity of her manners; and without learning of any kind, without education, without even the power of expressing herself, but

but being obliged for that purpose to employ another hand, she has in her writings equalled, perhaps surpassed, all that others have produced, whether in the class of inspiration or of spirituality. What then would the work have been, if, exceeding as it does in its present state the most impressive passages of St. Teresa, she had been able, like that saint, to clothe her own conceptions in her own words?

Yet with a modesty worthy of himself, the Abbé anticipates and answers the question, whether or not he himself was endued with a certain degree of infallibility, as necessary for his conduct both in directing such a personage as the inspired nun, and in thus compiling the book of her revelations? Without entering into any reasons for or against such a supposition, he declares himself to be utterly unworthy of such a favour, but *avec la même candeur et la même naïveté*, he adds, that if the inspiration of the sister be allowed, he does not see why, for the same object, a certain degree of supernatural assistance should not in mere grace be bestowed upon the unworthy instrument whom heaven had chosen to assist her; and when he calls to mind that those who are the most weak and despicable in themselves are precisely the instruments by whom, in such cases, God is usually pleased to work,—upon that ground, and that only, it appears to him, that no one could have been more fitly chosen than himself.

Juridical information and canonical processes could, he says, prove nothing in this case, being, in fact, wholly inapplicable. What passes between God and the soul can never be matter of external testimony. Inspired writings must always, as they always have done, carry in themselves the proof of inspiration. That there can have been no collusion in the matter between himself and the nun is proved by the last remarkable dream in which the Abbé de Fajole is mentioned! And that the nun must have been inspired is placed beyond all doubt by her frequent use of scripture, which she had never read; and by the perfect conformity of every thing in her writings with the true import of the scriptures; and by her absolute exemption from any of those errors into which the *ablest commentators* have sometimes fallen. Finally, if the Revelations of St. Bridget have been approved by the Popes and by a general council—if the writings of Magdelene di Pazzi, Catharine of Sienna, St. Teresa, St. Gertrude, and others, are viewed as works of inspiration, why should not this be regarded as a NEW APOCALYPSE—*a title indeed which he had once thought of prefixing to the work?*

There the Abbé speaks truth. He may appeal with full confidence to the history of the Roman Catholic church, and ask why his

his story is not entitled to the same credit which that church has given to so many of the same class, resting upon no better authority. For it is by a series of impostures that the corruptions of the papal church have constantly been supported, legends having been invented, miracles got up, and inspiration pretended for every false doctrine, every pretension of the priesthood, every usurpation of the popes, every scheme of the monastic orders; and this from the earliest times. A perpetual succession of such frauds can be shown from the Letter of Tiberius and the lives of the apostles by the imaginary Abdias, down to the Life and Revelations of La Sœur Nativité. None of all these exceeds in effrontery, though many may vie in impiety, with the production before us, which is of our own times, and was got up with the approbation of the heads of the emigrant clergy in England, and the chief Roman Catholic priests and prelates of our own country. Nor could better proof be given than this illustration affords, of the truth of those memorable words of Mr. Francis Plowden, himself a Roman Catholic;

'*If any one says, or pretends to insinuate, that modern Roman Catholics differ in one* IOTA *from their ancestors, he either deceives himself or wishes to deceive others.*'

ART. VI.—1. *Reflections upon the Value of the British West Indian Colonies, and of the British North American Provinces.* London. 1826. pp. 39.

2. *Observations upon the Importance of the North American Colonies to Great Britain, by an old Inhabitant of British America* (Mr. Haliburton). Halifax. 1825.

'I MUST have ships, colonies, and commerce,' was the angry mandate of the most inveterate and the most powerful foe that Great Britain ever had to contend with; and he was right —because, as he well knew, it was by the possession of these alone that our little island was enabled to resist, and to persevere in resisting, the gigantic power, which, in the sequel, her perseverance subdued.

An itinerant professor of political economy, that 'most exact of *moral* sciences,' came down from Scotland, a short time ago, to the metropolis of England, 'to teach our senators wisdom.' Among the many new and wonderful doctrines which he developed by virtue of his art, he astonished the graver part of his audience by demonstrating that colonies are incumbrances, that merchant

merchant ships are not necessary to produce seamen for the navy, and that commerce may flourish without either of them. Consistently with such principles, we find it recommended, in a recent number of a contemporary Journal, in which these new-lights are usually promulgated, that we should get rid of our colonies as speedily as possible, and take no concern about merchant shipping,—which is declared to be but 'a very roundabout way of breeding sailors for our navy.' We are not indeed advised to give up *commerce* also; but that, we are told, so long as we can manufacture cheaper and better than other nations, will assuredly come to us of its own accord, without our seeking it.

Our ancestors certainly thought and acted very differently from what is here set down; but their boasted wisdom would seem, in our more enlightened times, to be accounted little better than foolishness: *they*, simply enough, imagined that commerce required ships, that ships produced seamen, and that colonies were the surest means of augmenting both; and thus thinking, they passed what they considered to be salutary laws for the encouragement and protection of all three. We are not disposed to undervalue the researches of those who labour on the debateable ground of Political Economy, though we are very far from thinking *that* to be the most *exact* of moral sciences, on the terms and definitions of which no two of its votaries are agreed; but it is the mere and palpable *quackery* of it that we are now about to arraign. We are ready enough to admit that length of time and change of circumstances may have called for some modification both of statutes and of opinions; but we do hope that, whatever party may direct the government of this country, the great principles, by an adherence to which our naval power and superiority have been established, will never be abandoned for wild and visionary theories, hatched in the brains of Scotch metaphysicians, or certain political economists of the new school, which Sir Thomas Browne would have been very apt to designate as 'Saltimbancoes, Quack-salvers and Charlatans.'

One of the main positions laid down by these theorists is, 'that no colony is worth retaining, unless the mother-country derives from it a revenue equal to the expenditure upon it.' This doctrine may unquestionably be considered as consistent with that bare, rigid, and penurious economy, which would reduce every thing to a question of pounds, shillings, and pence. It is a creed suitable enough for the Domestic Economy of the merchant and the shopkeeper, who will do well to regulate all their transactions by it; but the views of a great nation, like England, should

not be thus fettered by considerations of paltry gains, and calculations of how many shillings her important possessions may send into the treasury of the mother-country. We have contemptuously been called a nation of shopkeepers:—Let us adopt the theory of the northern sages, and we shall deserve the reproach.

There are few people, we believe, who, if they dispassionately consider the subject, would not rather regard the colonies of Great Britain as so many outworks by means of which her citadel is strengthened and secured,—as so many limbs through which her language, laws, and religion circulate and are spread to the remotest parts of the earth—limbs which, if once cut off, would leave little of life in the mutilated trunk. It was once the boast of Spain, and may now be England's, that the sun never set on her dominions—let us not, at the instigation of political quacks, consent to abridge our brilliant day, but rather lengthen it, if possible, by extending our foreign possessions.—Let us regard these as constituent parts of one great empire, inhabited by children sprung from one common parent.—Let us act towards them in such a manner as not to estrange them from looking upon our happy island as their mother-country.—Let them not be taught to consider England as an unnatural parent, whose only concern about them is how much revenue she can extort from their industry.

With these feelings, we would ask, if there be any one, except a cold calculating economist of the new school, so base as to propose the voluntary surrender of the rock of Gibraltar, merely because the military expenses annually voted by parliament for preserving it to England somewhat exceed its revenue? yet this is a case which falls precisely under the position assumed by these sages; according to their principles, most unquestionably 'this colony is not worth retaining.' The Cape of Good Hope is another colony that requires an annual expenditure for the maintenance of the garrison; yet the late Lord Melville (then Mr. Dundas) declared, in his place, that the minister who should give it up would deserve to lose his head; he knew that it might be, and the event soon proved that it was, of incalculable value purely as an outpost to our Indian dominions, where a healthy body of men might be seasoned, trained, and cheaply maintained, in readiness for service, when wanted in that quarter.

Again, the great and flourishing colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's land have not returned anything hitherto, and may never make any direct return, in the shape of revenue, to the treasury of the mother-country, but, on the contrary, may require,

for

for some years to come, an annual vote of money from parliament. They have however conferred wealth and happiness on thousands of families, and have been the means of rescuing from vice and misery many tens of thousands, who would otherwise have been thrown back upon society to repeat their former crimes with aggravated villany, and who, in this distant school of reform, have now become honest and useful members of society. It is, besides not too much to expect that, in no great length of time, these colonies will be the means of carrying commerce and civilization into the numerous and populous islands of the Australasian sea, whose inhabitants are at present degraded to the very lowest state of savage barbarism. He must be a penurious, but not a political economist, who would refuse a few hundred thousand pounds to gain such objects. A sound reasoner would, we apprehend, argue the question thus: whether a colony pays the expense of its own civil government, or pays a revenue equal in amount into the exchequer, in which latter case, the mother-country shall pay the civil government, the account, when analysed, is one and the same. The colonies we have mentioned do therefore, virtually, make large payments into the exchequer, for the exchequer would have to make large payments to them from the taxation of the mother-country, were it not for the proceeds of their *own local taxation.* Again, it is not, and we trust never will be, the policy of the British government that her colonies should pay a revenue directly into the exchequer in exact proportion as their resources increase; but that the surplus should be absorbed in the military, ordnance, and, if required, naval expenditure necessary for their protection, and generally in whatever may tend to the improvement of the colonies. This we hold to be a wise and liberal system, though in direct opposition to the doctrine so dogmatically enounced, 'that no colony is worth keeping unless the mother-country derives a revenue from it *equal* to the expenditure.' Had such a doctrine been acted upon, England would not at this moment have possessed a single colony. It is with infant colonies as with infant children—they must be expensive before they are profitable; but our new economists seem to have taken a leaf out of the sage manual of the Chinese, who strangle their children in the birth in order to avoid the expense of bringing them up.

These, however, are not specifically the colonies against which the inveterate and uncompromising hostility of the philosophers of the new school is particularly directed. They are those of the West Indies and North America. The former, indeed, yield so very considerable a revenue, that at first sight it may seem strange they should, even upon these gentlemen's own principles, be thus assailed. Such, however, is the fact; and, in order to preserve

some little shadow of consistency, the advocates of the new theory are particularly careful to exhibit only partial and inaccurate statements of their expense, and withhold whatever is *ex facie* to their advantage. They know well enough that the West India islands pay in the shape of duties about five millions a year into the treasury of the United Kingdom, nearly one-tenth part of the whole of the national income;—that they take in return about one-half that sum in the manufactures and produce of the United Kingdom; and that the trade gives employment to twenty thousand British seamen, and to a thousand British-built ships. Nor can they be ignorant, amidst all their talk about great expense, that all the West Indian colonies support their internal governments out of their internal taxation; and that Jamaica, in addition, pays also the expenses of the military force necessary for its protection.

But these obvious and great advantages are overlooked, and the question met by broad assertions that we owe *nothing* to the West Indies; that, in fact, the five millions paid into the treasury are taken out of the pockets of the people of England; and that we are no more obliged to the proprietors of West India estates, for this addition to our revenue, than to the inhabitants of China for the three or four millions raised by the importation of their teas; that, in fine, we could procure sugars cheaper from foreigners and the East Indies, if the additional duties to which foreign and East India sugars are liable were removed.

These are assumptions which have not yet been submitted to the test of proof; but, even if what these economists say were true; even if we could get other sugars at a farthing, a halfpenny, or three farthings a pound cheaper, are we to forego all political advantages, for the sake merely of so paltry a consideration?—Are they besides aware of the total uncertainty of any steady supply being obtained from so distant a country as the East Indies, whose tenure is certainly not *more* secure than that of the West; and whose inhabitants are not more disposed to undergo the severe labour of cultivating sugar, than are the *free* blacks of St. Domingo? We fearlessly assert that at this or any given moment, there is not in all China, Cochin China, Siam, and Hindostan put together, as much sugar to be procured as would serve the United Kingdom for one week's consumption; and if, in the course of years, supposing all to remain tranquil, a supply might perhaps be raised, yet it would always be precarious in those *free* countries which know no other classes of men, but tyrants and slaves. And who will assure us that, when, by throwing away our colonies, we have made ourselves dependent on foreigners, they will continue to supply us cheaply, or that they will take our manufactures and

produce

produce in return? The millennium is not yet arrived, when wars shall cease—when the world shall be reduced to one great family—whose one common interest shall actuate the minds of all its members alike. Till that period does arrive, far distant, say we, be the day that Great Britain shall be reduced to depend on the liberality and generosity of foreigners!

But the absurdity of giving away a valuable colony, even if its products were somewhat more expensive than might be supplied from a foreign market, does not rest here; the foreigner would naturally prefer to bring his produce in his own shipping,—which was the policy strictly adhered to by our own ancestors; the consequence would be, the death-blow of our shipping interest; and as to seamen, it is quite clear, we should very soon have none of them to man our fleet, which indeed would be rendered unnecessary, when we had neither colonies, nor shipping, nor commerce to protect. One advantage, in truth, we might gain; the expense of building and keeping in repair one hundred sail of noble ships of the line would then be wholly saved, and those great floating masses, which are now preserved with so much care, might quietly be left to rot at their moorings.

How different was the opinion of the sagacious Talleyrand—the crafty Ulysses of our times—when he was urging the possession of colonies, to enable France to keep up such a fleet as might reach the vitals of her great rival! *He* considered colonies as the sheet anchor of Great Britain, the support of her navy, the fortress of her power. 'Render these useless, or deprive her of them,' said he, 'and you break down her last wall; you fill up her last moat!'

If we were to push the argument of these advocates for the *giving-up* system (that of saving expense and getting our articles of consumption somewhat cheaper) a little farther, or rather bring it somewhat nearer home, we do not see why we might not give up Ireland at once to Charles X., and Scotland to Charles XIV. We should, no doubt, get our butter and linens from the one, and salt herrings and whiskey from the other, on terms, as easy or more so, than those on which we now receive them. It matters not to these calculating economists to whom we resign our possessions; with them national honour is but a name; and patriotism a phantom which has no existence; they affect to regard the whole world with an equal eye—

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur—

except, indeed, that the force of their philanthropy would seem to act in direct proportion to the distance of the object, and without the least desire of ascertaining of what that is worthy.

But the advocates for giving up the West India islands,—

whether to the blacks or to the Americans, or to any one that will take them—have still another argument in reserve;—that they have always been the cause of wars, and will again in all probability involve us in hostilities. What says the sensible writer of the 'Reflections,' on this part of the subject?

'Are we then exempted from the common lot of mankind in India? Have no wars taken place in the Mysore, or with the Mahrattas, or with the Burmese? The West Indies are at any rate the grave of our army, and cause an alarming consumption of our men. This is in truth an evil, but one considerably diminished by the superior barracks, and more judicious arrangements lately adopted. But have we not jungle fevers to contend with in the East?—no alarming attacks of cholera morbus sweeping away the inhabitants of whole provinces? The returns of the number of recruits annually sent out to the King's regiments, as well as to the East India Company's European corps, would unfortunately answer this question.

'Upon such futile calculations as the foregoing, is the boasted saving of one penny in the pound of sugar held forth to the public; and upon such grounds, and in the very uncertain expectation of such a reward, are we called upon to neglect and undervalue our West Indian possessions; to change our system; to endanger a revenue of five millions sterling per annum; to risk the loss of a market for our produce and manufactures, to the amount of two millions yearly; to hazard the loss of employment for 20,000 seamen; and to bring distress upon all the British interests connected with our West Indian possessions; the inevitable re-action of which upon the landed, the funded, the commercial and manufacturing classes in Great Britain cannot be contemplated without horror.'—p. 17–19.

We are afraid, however, that the exertions of the political economists are by no means the most formidable at present at work for the ruin of our West India colonies. The persevering efforts of a different description of men to make the slave population dissatisfied with their condition; the popular feeling which their exaggerated accounts of the treatment and sufferings of the blacks have interested in their favour; the violent and inflammatory harangues in parliament and at tavern meetings, which have raised delusive expectations in the breasts of these unfortunate beings—are all but too well calculated to hasten a state of things that, if not firmly resisted in time, can end only in one general insurrection throughout the West India islands!

The abolitionists do not pretend to deny, or rather they are compelled to admit, that a West India estate is just as much the property of the owner, as Chatsworth is of the Duke of Devonshire; nor do they blink the question of the ruin which the measure of immediate abolition would occasion to the proprietors; and they therefore talk of compensation—to be taken out of the pockets of the people of England—but, let us ask, who is

to

to compensate THE NATION?—who can pay England for voluntarily depriving herself of every port for the reception of her fleets in the western hemisphere, at a time too, when so many states on the great continent of America are rapidly rising into importance and power? When the right arm of her strength shall be thus cut off—when her commerce has decayed—when her navy has mouldered away, and with it every motive of national honour and ambition has been extinguished—what compensation can be made for such sacrifices to *her*? Advancing, as we have recently done, with frightful rapidity, in the very footsteps of the *Economistes* and the *Amis des Noirs*, let us hope that the check given by our present embarrassments may allow us time for reflecting, that the government of a great nation was undermined, and eventually overturned, by the measures of the one faction, and its fairest colony lost and ruined by the labours of the other.

Let us now advert to our North American colonies. 'We defy,' say our modern economists, 'any one to point out a single benefit, of any sort whatsoever, derived by us from the possession of Canada, and our other colonies in North America.'—'They are productive of heavy expense to Great Britain, but of nothing else.'—The admission of their timber, they assert, 'has done much to cripple and destroy the advantageous commerce we formerly carried on with the Baltic'—and 'for whom,' it is asked, 'are the people of Britain made to pay a high price for inferior timber? The answer is obvious. Every man of sense, whether in the cabinet or out of it, knows, that Canada must, at no distant period, be merged in the American republic;' and the conclusion is, that 'John Bull discovers no very great impatience of taxation, when he quietly allows his pockets to be drained, in order to clear and fertilize a province for the use of his rival, Jonathan.'

We are ready and willing to take up the defiance so cavalierly thrown out, and we do so in the confidence that we shall be able to show the folly and the fallacy of these gratuitous assertions.

We think it will not be denied that maritime power can alone spring from and be nurtured among maritime states, and that it will increase and be supported with the increase of a maritime population. We suppose it will also be admitted, that whatever adds to the means and the strength of a rival power is equivalent to the diminishing of the means and strength of that power from which the addition has been made. If this be true, and if Canada and the other provinces 'must merge, as every body knows, in the American republic,' it is quite clear that America will gain, and that England will lose, just as great an advantage as Canada, and the other colonies, are capable of bestowing; and that the evil to England

England will be far more serious and important than any advantage she could hope for in getting rid of the expense incurred by the possession of them. But let us descend to particulars.

If Canada and the northern provinces *must* merge in the American republic, this can only happen by conquest or by cession.—As to the latter, we should be grieved, indeed, if we saw the slightest reason to suppose that his Majesty's government ever for a moment contemplated such a voluntary sacrifice. We are well aware, at the same time, that a very general, but erroneous, opinion has prevailed as to the policy of giving them up, rather than engage in a contest for their preservation—we have been told *usque ad nauseam* that they are a millstone round our neck—that they are not worth retaining, &c. If there be any real grounds for such an opinion, the sooner, undoubtedly, the sacrifice is made the better; but, as we devoutly believe it to rest on no foundation at all, we do hope and trust that his Majesty's ministers will publicly declare their firm determination to encourage, protect, and defend, by all the means and resources of the nation, the Canadas, and the sister provinces—which is due to *them;* and, by so doing, discountenance at once the mischievous doctrines of the new school of political economy, which are too well calculated to keep up the erroneous impression. This, as Mr. Haliburton justly observes, 'cannot be too early refuted, because the promulgation of it has a strong tendency to weaken the tie between the mother-country and her colonies.'

A sort of uneasy feeling has been created among country gentlemen, in particular, because the Americans are and have been building some ten or twelve huge unwieldy ships of the line; as if these few large floating masses of timber were destined to annihilate the British navy. But these nervous people, we suspect, have never given themselves the trouble of inquiring how even this limited number of ships are to be manned—whether the maritime states of America are now, or ever will be, able to produce seamen enough for even the little fleet they have already decreed to build? The author of the 'Observations' has taken, as we think, a just view of this part of the subject.

'It must be admitted, that a country so situated (as America) may become very powerful upon the ocean; and it is highly probable that the navy of the United States will very soon be a valuable addition to the fleets of any of the European powers in future wars. But let it be recollected, that France and Spain possess all the advantages which have been enumerated, and yet their united naval force has ever been unequal to overpower that of Great Britain. And to what is it owing, that thirty millions of Frenchmen, aided by ten millions of Spaniards, are unable to equip and man fleets sufficiently powerful to destroy the navy of an island which does not possess half that population?—principally to this: that

that the inhabitants of the inland parts of France and Spain, which form so large a portion of their population, reside in a country which affords them the means of subsistence without obliging them to seek it abroad, and they are therefore indisposed to encounter the hardship of a seaman's life; whereas Great Britain is every where surrounded by the ocean; the most inland parts of the island are not very distant from the sea; and as the productions of the soil would not support a very numerous population, a large proportion of its people are compelled to seek their subsistence by engaging in the fisheries, or in the coasting and foreign trade, and it is from this hardy and enterprizing portion of her subjects, that Great Britain derives the means of establishing and maintaining her superiority upon the ocean.

'Now it is evident that the United States of America, even now, resemble the countries of France and Spain, in this particular, more than Great Britain; and as their people recede from the ocean, and plant themselves in the vallies beyond the Alleghany Mountains, the resemblance will still be greater: By far the greater part of the inhabitants of those distant regions will live and die without ever having placed their feet upon the deck of a ship, and will, consequently, add nothing to the maritime population of the country; the rich productions of their fertile vallies will find their way to New Orleans, and there provide abundant means of carrying on foreign trade; but the carriers of these productions to the foreign market will either be foreigners, or natives of the Atlantic States.'—*Observations, &c.* p. 3—5.

Mr. Haliburton concludes, therefore, and we think fairly enough, that to these states, and chiefly to those of New York and New England, must America look for the means of manning a navy. Although the southern states of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, carry on an extensive foreign trade, they have no commodious harbours for ships of war of the larger classes; their climate and the nature of their population equally unfit them to produce hardy and enterprizing sailors; and they have few, if any, vessels engaged in the fisheries, which are every where the great and unfailing nursery for seamen.

'The mercantile sea-ports (he continues) to the southward of the Delaware will doubtless produce a very respectable number of sailors at the commencement of a war, but as it is notorious that merchants usually navigate their vessels with the smallest possible number of hands, the employment of these men in the navy, in a country where the labouring classes cannot provide substitutes for them, will not only be productive of great inconvenience to the mercantile interest, but will render it difficult, if not impracticable, for the American navy to procure further recruits from the southern states after it has made its first sweep from the ships of the merchants; for surely those who are destined to wrest the sovereignty of the seas from Great Britain, will not be selected from the indolent slaves of the southern planter.'—*Observations, &c.* pp. 5, 6.

Admitting then, as we must, that the North-eastern states, by the

the habits and pursuits of their population, are the main props of the American navy, let us next follow Mr. Haliburton in his inquiry as to the present situation of those states, and the probability of their being able to increase the means they already possess of giving naval strength to their country.

'The states of New York and New England are now old settled countries: the population of the former may become more numerous in the back parts of the country, but an increase in that quarter will add but little to her maritime strength. But New England, and the south-eastern parts of New York, are already so fully peopled, that frequent emigrations take place from them to the inland states. Massachusetts does not, and, we believe we may say, cannot raise within herself bread to support her present population, and therefore can never expect to increase her numbers very rapidly; while the western territory offers to her youth the tempting prospect of obtaining a livelihood in that rich country, upon easier terms than they can procure it within her limits.

'Let it not then be deemed chimerical to say, that America has no immediate prospect of becoming a great naval power.

'If the confederation of these states continue, they will no doubt become rich and powerful to a degree that may defy all aggression; but it does not follow that they will acquire a naval force that will prove formidable to the powers of Europe. Germany has been among the most powerful nations of Europe, and Austria and Hungary now produce valuable articles of export, but these countries, from their geographical situations, cannot produce a maritime population; other nations have therefore become the carriers of their productions, and they have never possessed any power upon the ocean. The inland states of America are precisely in the same situation; and I close these observations by repeating, first, that the sources of the naval power of America must be principally derived from the states of New York and New England; and, secondly, that there will be no great increase of the maritime population of those states until the western territory is fully peopled. When these fertile vallies are all occupied, and no longer hold out a temptation to the youth of the Atlantic States to remove thither, then they must follow the example of their ancestors in Great Britain: and if the soil of their native country will not yield them a subsistence, they must seek it from the sea which washes its shores: but that day, I think it will be admitted by all, is far distant. Ages must elapse before that vast country through which the Ohio, the Missouri, and the Mississippi roll, will afford no further room for the enterprizing emigrant.'—*Observations, &c.* pp. 6, 7.

The Americans themselves are beginning to be aware of the truth of these observations, and are now feeling and confessing the difficulty of manning their ships of war, few as these are.* We have now before us the report of the minister of the department of the

* One sail of the line, 4 frigates, 7 sloops, and 5 schooners, in commission. Total number of men voted, 4000.

navy

navy (of the 2d of December last); in which the great difficulty of procuring and enlisting seamen is particularly stated—with sore complaints of the consequent detention of vessels and increase of expense. The minister urges strongly the necessity of having some system devised to ensure voluntary enlistments sufficient to meet their increasing wants; admitting, and apparently regretting, that their free institutions militate against the manning of the fleet. 'Two of the features of this system,' he observes, 'will probably be, to admit mere boys, in the character of apprentices, and enlist robust and healthy landsmen in the interior.'—We frankly confess that we consider it a vain hope to look for robust and healthy men from the interior, so long as some five dollars worth of land will afford as much pork and poultry, hominy and Johnny-cake as will maintain a whole family.

Now let us see to what extent the surrender of our North American colonies to the United States, as recommended by these Economists, would enable the latter to increase their naval power. America would, in the first place, gain an additional sea-coast, equal in extent to that which she already possesses, and of a description very superior to it for the formation of a navy and the support of a maritime population. Commencing at the noble bay of Passamaquoddy and its islands, where the American line now terminates, we find the inhabitants mostly sea-faring people. The town of St. Andrew's is rapidly rising into mercantile importance, and is resorted to by numbers of European fishing and coasting vessels. Hard by is the town of St. John's, at the mouth of the fine river of the same name, down which timber is floated in such quantities as to engage many hundred vessels in exporting it to Great Britain, and bringing back those supplies of British goods, which the wants of a rapidly increasing population annually demand. Ship-building is also carried on in the river to a great extent.

The colonies of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, whose shores surround the bay of Fundy, can scarcely be exceeded, for the most part, in point of fertility. Gypsum and coal abound on all these coasts; and, difficult as the navigation is, on account of the rapid tides, there is scarcely the house of a farmer in which some member of the family will not be found capable of taking charge of the coasting vessels, and conducting them in safety up or down this magnificent bay.

The southern and eastern sides of Nova Scotia, from Cape St. Mary's to Cape North on the island of Cape Breton, may be called, κατ' ἐξοχην, the fishing coast, and are peculiarly adapted to produce hardy and enterprizing seamen. They abound with numerous

merous and commodious harbours, capable of affording shelter to the largest vessels.

'The shores swarm with fish, and, notwithstanding the effects of the restrictions upon our commerce, which the liberal policy of the mother country is now about to remove, the natural advantages of this part of Nova Scotia has induced many enterprizing merchants in the settlements along the coast, not only to carry on the shore fishery to a great extent, but to employ vessels in the Labrador and Bank fishery also. Now that these restrictions are removed, and the commerce of the world is laid open to us, there cannot be a doubt that our population upon this coast will most rapidly increase—the numbers of the fishermen will very soon be more than doubled—and the supplies which these fisheries will require, will increase the coasting trade in the same ratio that the fisheries themselves increase—thus producing, in a vigorous and healthy climate, a most extensive nursery for hardy seamen.'—*Observations*, p. 12.

Mr. Haliburton tells us that the Gulph of St. Lawrence 'may be said to be whitened with the canvass of vessels engaged in the timber trade, in the Labrador and coasting fisheries, and in carrying supplies of European and West India produce, not only for the consumption of the inhabitants of this coast, but of the rapidly increasing population of Upper and Lower Canada.' Seven hundred sail of vessels, he informs us, proceed annually up the river St. Lawrence, and as many nearly to the ports on the shores of the Gulph. In the year 1825, the author of the 'Reflections' says, that 1800 sail of vessels ascended the St. Lawrence.

Now let us suppose the United States to be in possession of this immense line of sea-coast and of all this territory, one part of which indeed denies to the inhabitants a subsistence from the soil, but at the same time affords them not merely a subsistence, but the means of acquiring affluence from the sea; while all the rest is not only capable of supporting from the soil a numerous population, but abounds moreover in various useful minerals, and inexhaustible forests of timber for ship-building, and furnishes other supplies for an immense foreign and coasting trade;—

'Let us contemplate the numerous inhabitants of this extensive coast, who, from their pursuits, their habits, their laws, their language, their religion, and their feelings, bear a greater resemblance to the inhabitants of Great Britain than any other portion of the known world, and who are now well disposed to continue her subjects. Let us, I say, view these persons ranged upon the side of her enemies—let us see them manning the fleets of hostile America, and engaged in endeavouring to subvert that power which they are now desirous to support—let us see the treasures of Great Britain lavished to carry on a maritime war with America, in which, but for this accession of strength, the latter would not perhaps have engaged—and then let us ask ourselves if it would be wise in those

those who can retain them as subjects of Great Britain, to relinquish them to America, merely because they do not directly pay into her treasury a revenue equal to the expense of their establishments.'—*Observations*, p. 15.

We may well join our author in asking, 'Should a country, which will be capable of adding so much to her own maritime strength, and the loss of which would add so much to that of another, and a rival nation, be voluntarily abandoned by Great Britain?' and for what? because, forsooth, 'the retention of it would lead to contests between Great Britain and America, and the cession of it to the latter would remove all causes of future difference.' With what amiable simplicity does this 'most exact of moral sciences' inspire its votaries! with what complacency do they regard the aggrandizement of every nation except their own! how ready are they to ascribe to any other people the virtues of charity and forbearance and loving kindness which they deny to their fellow-countrymen! This hatred of country breaks out on every occasion, whether it be to encourage the importation of sugar from Cuba, the Brazils, or the East Indies, to the detriment of our West India planters, or of Norway timber to the exclusion of that which is the growth of our American colonies—(for *ours* they still are)—and which 'has done much to cripple and destroy the advantageous commerce we formerly carried on with the Baltic.'

To show that these professors of the 'most exact of the moral sciences' have but little regard for facts, whenever a bold assertion will suit their purpose, we subjoin a statement, taken from official documents, which will prove to what a lamentable extent our Baltic commerce has been crippled and destroyed. From this it appears, that there passed up and down the Baltic, the first year after the conclusion of the war, that is to say, in

1816	. .	1848 British ships; but in
1820	. .	3597
1822	. .	3097
1824	. .	3540
and in—1825	. .	5186—!!!

Every man of common understanding then must consider it as the height of madness to think of relinquishing our colonies to the Americans, whose national pride, since they obtained some partial successes in single naval actions, (with a force, however, in every case superior to their opponents,) has been enlisted on the side of a military marine. We should bear in mind, that they no longer adhere to the doctrine of Jefferson, which taught them that it was their best policy to remain at home, and dispose of their native productions to the foreigners who might come to their own shores

shores in search of them. Their policy now is, like that of Buonaparte, to have ships, colonies, and commerce—Nay, their vanity has already induced them to believe that they will soon be capable of disputing with us the empire of the seas. This alone should make us more tenacious of holding our northern colonies as the surest means of keeping down their naval power. That that power is respectable we are not disposed to deny;—that it may be extended beyond its present scale, we are equally ready to admit; but that it ever can become formidable to us, so long as we preserve our northern colonies, has, we humbly think, been sufficiently disproved.

It is fearlessly assumed that the power of America is advancing and has become considerably more formidable than it was, and that therefore she is by so much the more dangerous neighbour—but what is the fact? In the same report of the minister for her marine it appears, that the whole of her ships of war on the lakes Erie, Ontario and Champlain, have been sold, the establishments broken up, and the public property either sold or transported to the navy yards on the Atlantic. On the other hand again, have our own north American colonies been stationary? Have not they too increased in population, strength, and resources? We shall discuss this point presently. In the mean time, are we sure, it may be asked, that the number of confederated states of which America consists, would feel a common interest in adding the Canadian and other provinces to their already immense republic? or, are we not sure, that such an addition would very materially clash with the dearest interests of some of the most wealthy and populous states? The author of the 'Observations' remarks, and we entirely agree with him—

'The southern states on the Atlantic have no desire to increase the political influence of New York or New England,—the Virginians, who take the lead among the former, look with great jealousy upon Massachusetts, which state has twice wrested the presidency from her hands; and the inhabitants of the western territory begin to look upon both as usurpers of that power and influence in the general government, which their growing importance teaches them to believe should belong to them. 'Under these circumstances neither the representatives from the western territory, nor those from the southern states, would be very desirous to engage in a war which would interrupt the safe transmission of their valuable productions to market, merely to acquire a country which would add so much to the political weight and influence of New England.'—*Observations*, p. 19.

Our second-sighted seers, however, say that Canada and the other provinces *must* merge in the government of the United States; that is to say, if we do not voluntarily surrender them, that government will conquer them from us. The simple question occurs,

occurs, why did the Americans not conquer them in the late war? why, after so much vapouring and swaggering, and while the whole of our disposable troops were fighting at Waterloo—not for ambition and mere national glory, but for national existence—why did they not then avail themselves of so advantageous an opportunity to drive our little army out of the American continent? Our answer is, because, with all our mismanagement—and it was not small—that little army performed wonders, and was ably and honestly supported by the loyal and brave Canadians, who, on one occasion, unsupported by a single soldier of the regular army, drove back the enemy from their territory.

It has been said that, in the late contest, the Eastern States had no great desire, which is probable enough, to unite our North American provinces to the confederation; but however desirous they might have been, we maintain that they were in no force to accomplish it. While the Americans boast of their liberties and their free constitutions—while they regard with jealousy, and obstinately resist the expense of, a standing army, (as difficult for them to raise, as we have seen them confess it is for them to man their navy,) they are in no condition to undertake foreign conquests, except against the defenceless Indians. Their militia will fight for the protection of their fire-sides; but the American citizen will not easily be persuaded to quit his farm and his family, mount his knapsack on his back, subject himself to military discipline, and march in the ranks into the heart of an enemy's country—and for what?—to incorporate rival provinces into a confederation of which he is not, any more than they themselves are, desirous that they should become members.

The task, therefore, of conquering Canada, is not, we apprehend, quite so easy as these political economists would have the world to believe. The author of the 'Reflections,' who speaks from local knowledge, informs us that Lower Canada contains a population of nearly half a million of souls, and affords a militia of 76,000 able-bodied men, accustomed to the use of arms; that they are a moral, industrious, sober, and contented people, attached to their own customs, laws, language, and religion; that though Roman Catholics, their clergy are educated in Canada, and have no foreign predilections whatever; that the whole cost of the Catholic church establishment to the mother-country is an annual £1000—the rest being paid out of a twenty-sixth part of the grain produced on Catholic lands; that the income of the *curés* averages £300 a year, which affords them, in a cheap country, the means of living most respectably, and even of exercising a very liberal hospitality. Contented and happy, these worthy pastors inspire the same feeling

into their flocks. It is not therefore, as we said before, quite so clear, that 76,000 men in arms (not scattered, like the Americans, over a vast extent of country, but thickly settled on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and easily assembled) will be disposed to crouch under a new-fangled power towards which they have an hereditary enmity, and which maintains no regular army worth mentioning.

'It is a fact, too notorious to be disputed, that so far from dreaming of persevering in the attempt at the conquest of Canada, the American government, when the peace took place, had not the means of putting their troops in motion for another campaign. Had the war been continued for another year, a separation, in all human probability, would have taken place amongst the states of the Union. The wisest of them saw the folly of the attempt upon Canada, and had already begun to deliberate upon the propriety of not furnishing their proportions of men and money demanded by the general government for the continuance of the war. If then we may judge of the future by the past; if we reflect upon the character of the Canadian—moral, religious, influenced by his curé, and that curé perfectly happy and satisfied with the British government, and dreading all connection with that of the United States, which allows no church establishment whatever; if we, moreover, avail ourselves of the moment of profound peace, to occupy judiciously such military points as experience has shown to be necessary, with a view to give confidence and support to the Canadians, and to make the Americans pause before they think of again attempting to invade a country evidently prepared for defence; surely the conquest of Canada by the government of the United States may be pronounced a most improbable, if not an impracticable event.'—*Reflections*, p. 21.

From the same author we learn, that Upper Canada contains a population of about 160,000 souls, and has 44,000 men enrolled and embodied as militia; and though this colony is yet in its infancy, the fertility of the soil, the comparative mildness of its climate, and the luxuriance of its vegetation, must unquestionably render it, ere long, a province of the greatest value. The population of New Brunswick is stated at 70,000; the militia, 11,000. Nova Scotia contains 86,000 inhabitants, and has 12,000 very respectable militia. On account of the harbour and dockyard of Halifax, this province is rapidly improving, and being the nearest and readiest point of communication with Great Britain, is of the utmost importance. Prince Edward's Island, near its coast, has a population of about 24,000 souls, and 4,000 embodied militia. Thus, the five colonies of Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward's Island, have an armed force of able-bodied militia, amounting to no less than 147,000 men.

If it be *clear* that, with such a force, assisted by a few regular troops

troops from home, our North American provinces *must* be conquered by the arms of the United States, whenever it may be convenient for them to attack those provinces—we acknowledge ourselves ready to subscribe to the opinion of the political economists we have now to deal with, that the sooner the former *merge* in the latter—that the sooner we abandon them, so much the better.

There is still a third possible case; to wit—that the Canadians may throw themselves into the hands of the United States. To this we answer, that neither force nor flattery were wanting on the part of the American government, in the last contest, to overcome or undermine the resistance and the loyalty of our colonists, left, as they necessarily were, for a time, to their own resources. Had they been then disposed to quit the side of the mother-country, the declaration of that wish would then have ensured its accomplishment. Since that time restrictions have been removed from their commerce, and other benefits conferred. In fact, they know of what little influence or importance they would be, if merged in the confederation of the United States; and all their habits and feelings induce them to look for protection from Great Britain. Why indeed should our North American colonies feel any desire to sink themselves into the states of New York and Maine, when these states are themselves complaining of their little influence in the confederation;—when they see the power of the supreme government rapidly travelling westward;—and when it is evident that, should the Union continue to subsist, the Atlantic states must reconcile themselves to receive laws from the leading men of that immense valley, which is watered by the Ohio, the Missouri, and the Mississippi?

As to their voluntary separation from the parent state, and becoming independent, no man acquainted with their feelings and condition could for a moment entertain such an idea; and Mr. Hume may be assured that he will not get the thanks of the natives of our Northern colonies, for an officious interference in a matter so contrary to every wish of their hearts.

We have all along been supposing, according to old-fashioned ideas, that colonies created commerce, commerce shipping, and shipping seamen; it used to be so in olden times, but—'on a changé tout cela;' the modern school shows the fallacy and the futility of such a doctrine. 'It has been usually supposed,' says the great northern teacher, 'that an extensive mercantile marine is absolutely necessary to the possession of a great warlike navy, and the most vexatious and injurious restraints have been laid on commerce for the sake of forcing the employment of ships and sailors.'—'We are satisfied, however,' he continues,

tinues, 'that this idea is wholly without foundation. All that is required for the attainment of naval power is the command of convenient harbours, and of wealth sufficient to build and man ships. However paradoxical it may appear, it is nevertheless unquestionably true, that *the navy of Great Britain might be as formidable as it now is, or, if that was desirable, infinitely more so, though we had not a single merchant ship.*' This, we will venture to say, is one of the grandest discoveries that the most exact of moral sciences has yet brought to light; why, indeed, take that 'roundabout method,' as it is termed, of manning the fleet with sailors trained in merchant ships, instead of 'breeding up sailors in men of war'? The thing is so self-evident, that the great teacher recommends, 'instead of keeping so small a force as twenty or thirty thousand able-bodied seamen afloat, during peace, that number ought to be increased to at least fifty or sixty thousand.' To be sure, it is admitted, that 'it would cost a few hundred thousand pounds (a few millions?) more than the present system;' but then 'it would be a very miserable species of economy (and of course contrary to the infallible principles of *political* economy) to hesitate about incurring such an expense.' This notable plan, we are assured, 'has been highly approved by many distinguished naval officers.' We should rather think that some jocular old admiral has been playing off a hoax on the great teacher. Did it never once occur to him that, after we had abandoned our colonies and our shipping, and entrusted ourselves entirely to the loving-kindness of foreigners for every article of foreign supply, this great fleet of his would have *nothing left to protect*—would be wholly useless?

But why, it may be asked, should we waste words on the day-dreams of a drivelling projector, whose profoundest speculations might be the laughter of children? The ludicrous character of the visions does not escape us—but when we find them coupled, in the vehicle which sets them forth, with a persevering and inveterate abuse of all our institutions, whether moral, religious, or political, we cannot help thinking that the conductors and contributors of that journal are not working without a design. Thus, we are triumphantly told, in their very last publication, that the lower orders are making prodigious progress in the wonder-working science of political economy; and a very broad hint is given that the working classes are likely, through means of it, and Ricardo's lectures, and 'mechanics' institutions,' to become 'more intelligent than their employers;—and that *this will end, undoubtedly, as it* OUGHT *to end, in a mutual exchange of property and condition; but could not fail, in the mean time, to give rise to great and unseemly disorders.* The meaning of all this is obvious enough;

enough; to wit, that the new philosophy, and its institutions, and its lecturers, are to inculcate into the minds of the lower orders, principles of insubordination and sedition, in order that, when a proper occasion arrives, they may be found in a fit state to insist upon, and by their numerical force to compel, a 'mutual exchange of property.' And, in sober truth, we know of nothing that would contribute more directly to such a catastrophe as these persons contemplate, than the loss of our foreign commerce, which would most infallibly and most rapidly follow the loss of our colonies, and the consequent destruction of our shipping.

Let us have something more weighty than a few sounding assertions to place in the balance against the whole history of the civilized world, before, as the author of one of these pamphlets expresses it, we 'SPORT WITH OUR PALLADIUM.'

ART. VII.—*Report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the Wages of Labour.* 1825.

AMONG the members of a certain school of political economy, it has been for some time the fashion to rail very bitterly at the system of laws which in this country makes a compulsory provision for the impotent poor. We are assured that these laws form a canker which secretly and unceasingly corrodes the vitals of society; that they swallow up the property of the rich, while they undermine the comfort, the happiness, and the independence of the poor; and that there is no good to balance all this evil.

An investigation of the effects which have been produced on society by the English poor laws involves something more important than the gratification of speculative curiosity; it is a discussion from which practical consequences may ultimately spring, as it may happen to confirm or allay the fears of those whom the diatribes and the prophetic denunciations in question have alarmed —to promote or defeat the wishes of others, who not only think the result of these laws, where they already exist, beneficial, but would willingly see the same system—under certain modifications which experience has pointed out—introduced into other countries.

The origin of these laws is sometimes ascribed to the distress among the poor, occasioned by the dissolution of monasteries. But although it cannot be denied that the suppression of the establishments in question did, at least for a time, aggravate the evils which these laws were intended to remove, still it is manifestly incorrect to ascribe their *introduction* to this cause. The

most cursory inspection of our statute book will show that laws for the regulation and sustenance of the vagrant and indigent poor had been enacted some centuries before that great revolution in ecclesiastical property deprived them of the assistance which they received from monastic liberality. In the 12 R. 2. (anno 1388) an act was passed providing "punishment for beggars able to serve,' and making 'provision for impotent beggars.' This was followed by other acts passed for a similar purpose in the 11 H. 7. 19 H. 7. 22 H. 8. In the 27 H. 8. it was enacted—

'That all governors of shires, cities, towns, hundreds, hamlets, and parishes, shall find and keep every aged, poor, and impotent person which was born or dwelt three years within the same limit, by way of voluntary and charitable alms in every the same cities and with such convenient alms as shall be thought meet by their discretion, so as none of them shall be compelled to go openly in begging; and also shall compel every sturdy vagabond to be kept in continual labour; and that a valiant beggar or sturdy vagabond shall at the first time be whipped and sent to the place where he was born or last dwelled by the space of three years, there to get his living; and if he continue his roguish life he shall have the upper part of the gristle of his ear cut off; and if after that he be taken wandering, he shall be adjudged and executed as a felon; and that no person shall make any open or common close, nor shall give any money in alms but to the common boxes and common gatherings in every parish upon pain to forfeit ten times as much as shall be given.'

Somewhat later in the course of the same session was passed the act for the dissolution of monasteries; hence it is clear that, at the passing of the above poor law, the effect of the suppression of religious houses could not have been felt by the public; some other cause must therefore be sought for to account for the gradual multiplication of vagrant beggars which appears to have provoked a gradual increase of legislative severity. The increased number of vagrants and paupers, indicated by the more frequent attention of the legislature to this subject between the year 1388 and the year 1601, is, we think, very naturally accounted for by the vast alteration which was effected in the condition of the peasantry, and the extraordinary revolution which took place in the management of landed property during the reigns of the princes of the House of Tudor. During the prevalence and vigour of the feudal system the power and importance of each baron depended mainly upon the number of vassals whose services he could command and the retainers whom he possessed the means of maintaining. Hence it became the natural and anxious policy of these lords to augment, by every means in their power, the multitude of followers whom on any emergency they could array in the field. The halls and castles of these rude, turbulent, and ambitious chieftains offered a ready asylum to able-bodied vagrants,

vagrants, who were too idle to secure a subsistence by regular labour. The sagacity of Henry VII. pointed out to him the unavoidable evils which sprang from this system,—the danger arising from a race of turbulent and ambitious barons, distributed throughout the country and supported by a numerous and active host of hungry and unemployed dependents. It became, therefore, the settled bent of his policy to crush a power which had so frequently disturbed the peace of the kingdom, and which the civil dissensions of the previous reign had already very considerably weakened. He pursued his object with unabating constancy, and his efforts were crowned with complete success. The turbulent barons of the feudal system, being thus despoiled of a great portion of their power and privileges, were converted by him into mere landlords, amenable to the laws; and their idle retainers and followers partly into laborious and pains-taking peasantry, and partly into miserable vagrants; for the political *wings* of these proud chieftains having been effectually clipped, it ceased to be with *them* an object of importance to cherish their '*tails*.'

Another unavoidable effect of the policy pursued by Henry VII. had a very material tendency to swell the host of vagrants who swarmed throughout the country under the Tudor dynasty. So long as the feudal system continued in its full force and vigour—so long as the political importance of the barons depended upon the number of their retainers and followers, it was their interest to divide their landed possessions into very small holdings for the purpose of multiplying a race of petty vassals whose services they could command. The ambitious chieftains of that turbulent period were in consequence much more anxious to increase the numbers than they were to augment the wealth and comforts of those who occupied their estates. Hence we have reason to suspect that the influence of this cause upon the conduct of the proprietors of land produced in this country a state of things in many respects similar to that which now prevails in Ireland. The whole surface of the country became gradually parcelled out in small tenements among an indigent race of peasantry, who were forced to content themselves with a scanty subsistence derived from the occupation of a few acres of tillage land. By a survey of Hawstead, in Suffolk, taken in the 14 Edw. 1. (1286) we find that, 500 acres of land (being one fourth of the whole contents of the parish) were divided among thirty-six occupiers, each having thus an average holding of fourteen acres. From the date of that survey to the commencement of the reign of Henry VII. we have the lapse of two centuries, and as the influence of the feudal system had been steadily felt throughout the whole of that

interval, we have good grounds to believe that even these contracted holdings had become further subdivided.

With the decrease of their power in the state disappeared also the motives which instigated the barons to multiply their retainers and tenants. Their attention was then turned towards a new object—the augmentation of the revenues which they derived from their estates. They had soon sagacity to discover that whatever addition a multitude of small occupiers once made to their political strength, the practice of subdividing land diminished their share of the produce: the whole was scarcely sufficient to subsist the swarm of peasants settled upon it: and for the proprietors there remained but a very scanty surplus in the shape of rent. No longer acted upon by the propelling motive of keeping up their baronial strength, they determined to enlarge the dimensions of their farms—reduce the number of their tenants—discard the overflowing population which encumbered their estates, and promote the production of cattle and corn yielding profit, in lieu of a race of unoccupied and unproductive peasantry. Hence about the commencement of the reign of Henry VII. the proprietors of land began very generally to clear their estates of this surplus population. Farm houses and cottages were every where demolished, and the wretched occupiers, ejected from their homes and incapable of procuring labour to provide themselves with subsistence, were reluctantly forced to become wandering beggars, and join the discarded retainers of the barons. To such an extent had the demolition of houses of husbandry proceeded, and so intolerable appeared the evils springing from the manner in which estates were then forcibly and suddenly dispeopled, that on various occasions during the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. the legislature thought proper to interfere, with the view of restraining the practice. As the most authentic materials which we possess, throwing light upon this very curious subject, we shall present our readers with the preambles of two acts of parliament; one passed in the fourth year of Henry VII. and the other in the twenty-fifth year of Henry VIII.

'4 Hen. VII. c. 19.

'*The penalty for decaying of houses of husbandry or not laying of convenient land for the maintenance of the same.*

'Item, the king, our sovereign lord, having a singular pleasure above all things to avoid such enormities and mischiefs as be hurtful and prejudicial to the commonweal of this land, and his subjects of the same, remembereth that, among other things, great inconveniences daily do increase by desolation and pulling down and wilful waste of houses and towns within this realm, and laying to pasture lands which customably have

have been used in tillage, whereby idleness, which is the ground and beginning of all mischiefs, daily doth increase. For where in some towns two hundred persons were occupied and lived by their lawful labours, now there are occupied two or three herdsmen, and the residue fall into idleness; the husbandry, which is one of the greatest commodities of this realm, is greatly decayed, churches destroyed, the service of God withdrawn, the bodies there buried not prayed for, the patrons and curates wronged, the defence of this land against our enemies outward enfeebled and impaired, to the great displeasure of God, to the subversion of the policy and good rule of this land, if remedy be not provided: Wherefore the king, our sovereign, &c. hath ordained, enacted, and established, that no person, of whatever estate, degree, or condition that he be, that hath any house or houses that at any time within three years passed, hath been, or that now is, or hereafter shall be let for farms, with twenty acres of land at least, or more, lying in tillage or husbandry, that the owner and owners of every such house or houses and land do keep, sustain, and maintain houses and buildings upon the said ground and land, convenient and necessary for maintaining and upholding of the said tillage and husbandry, &c.'

'25 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

'*Concerning the number of sheep one should keep.*

'Forasmuch as divers and sundry persons of the king's subjects of this realm, to whom God of his goodness hath disposed great plenty and abundance of moveable substance, now of late, within few years, have daily studied, practised, and invented ways and means how they might accumulate and gather together into few hands as well great multitude of farms as great plenty of cattle, and in especial sheep, putting such lands as they can get to pasture and not to tillage, whereby they have not only pulled down churches and towns and enhanced the old rates of the possessions of this realm, or else brought it to such excessive fines that no poor man is able to meddle with it, but also have raised and enhanced the prices of all manner of corn, cattle, wool, pigs, geese, hens, chickens, eggs, and each other, almost double above the prices which have been accustomed: by reason whereof a marvellous multitude and number of the people of this realm be not able to provide meat, drink, and clothes necessary for themselves, their wives and children, but be so discouraged with misery and poverty, that they fall daily to theft, robbery, and other inconveniences, or pitifully die for hunger and cold: and as it is thought by the king's most humble and loving subjects that one of the greatest occasions that moveth and provoketh these greedy and covetous people so to accumulate and keep in their hands such parts of the grounds and lands of this realm from the occupying of the poor husbandmen, and so to use it in pasture and not in tillage, is only the great profit that cometh of sheep, which now become to a few persons hands of this realm in respect of the whole number of the king's subjects; that some have 24,000, some 20,000, some 10,000, some 6,000, some 5,000, and some more, and some less: which things thus used, be principally to the high displeasure of Almighty God, to the decay of the hospitality of this realm, to the diminishing of the king's people,

people, and, in conclusion, if remedy be not found, it may turn to the utter destruction and desolation of this realm, which God defend. It is therefore enacted, that no person shall keep above 2,000 sheep, under pain of three shillings and fourpence.'

In the latter of these documents we have a very glowing and, we doubt not, a very correct representation of the evils and sufferings which the process of enlarging farms inflicted upon the ejected tenantry, before the progress of commerce and manufactures offered employment and subsistence to the occupiers whom their landlords discarded. Upon this subject Harrison, in his description of England, is nearly as eloquent as Henry VIII. and his parliament.

'But to leave,' says he, 'this lamentable discourse of so notable and grievous an inconvenience growing, as I said, by incroaching and joining of house to house, and laying land to land, whereby the inhabitants of many places in our country are devoured and eaten up, and their houses either altogether pulled down or suffered to decay little by little, although sometime a poor man peradventure doth dwell in one of them, who not being able to repair it, suffereth it to fall down, and therefore thinketh himself very friendly dealt withal if he may have an acre of ground assigned unto him wherein to keep a cow, or wherein to set cabbages, radishes, parsnips, carrots, melons, pompions, or such like stuff, by which he and his poor household liveth, as by their principal food sith they can do no better. And as for wheaten bread, they eat it when they can reach unto the price of it; contenting themselves in the mean time with bread made of oats or barley,—a poor state God wot! Howbeit, what care our great incroachers? But in divers places where evil men dwelled, sometimes in good tenements, there be now no houses at all, but hopgards or sheds for poles, or peradventure gardens, as we may see in Hedningham and divers other places.'—*Description of England*, p. 193.

'It is to our soil being divided into champaine ground and woodland the houses of the first lie uniformly builded in every town, together with streets and lanes; whereas in the woodland countries (except here and there in great market towns) they stand scattered abroad, each one dwelling in the middle of his own occupying: and as in many and most great towns there are commonly 300 or 400 families or mansions, and 2000 communicants, or peradventure more: so in the other, whether they be woodland or champaine, we find not often above 40, 50, or 60 households, and 200 or 300 communicants, whereof the greater part, nevertheless, are very poor folks, oftentimes without all manner of occupying, sith the ground of the parish is gotten into a few men's hands, yea, sometimes into the tenure of one, two, or three, whereby the rest are compelled either to be hired servants unto the others, or else to beg their bread in misery from door to door.'

'There are some,' says Leland, 'who are not so favourable when they have gotten such lands as to let the houses remain upon them to the use of the poor: but they will compound with the lord of the soil to pull

pull them down altogether: saying, that if they would let them stand, they should but toll beggars to the town, thereby to surcharge the rest of the parish and lay more burden upon them.'

It is scarcely necessary for us to caution the reader not to confound the 'towns' mentioned in the acts and extracts above quoted with the towns of modern times, from which they were essentially different. These ancient towns were inhabited almost entirely by persons engaged in the tillage of the land by which they were surrounded: nor is it improbable that, in many instances, those who lived in them occupied, like the inhabitants of an Irish town, a considerable tract of land as tenants in common. Ranulph, the monk of Chester, states, that by surveys taken in the time of the Conqueror, this country was found to contain 52,000 towns. Whatever doubts may be entertained as to the exact correctness of this statement, it cannot, we think, be disputed that these 'villæ,' or aggregations of agricultural dwellings, were extremely numerous as late as the reign of Henry VII. It would seem that in those times each chief proprietor of the soil not only retained in his own occupation a considerable portion of land for the maintenance of his household, but had also in the immediate vicinity of his demesne a 'villa or town,' with a quantity of land attached to it, which was occupied by tenants in common, who were termed his 'villani,' and over whose services he had a more arbitrary controul than over those of his socmen or free tenants. In the Survey of Hawstead, already alluded to, we find the following entry:

'Thomas filius Eustacii capitalis dominus ejusdem villæ tenet 1 Mess: cc & xl a terræ x a prati et x a bosci.' 'Idem Thomas tenet $\frac{xx}{ix}$ (180) a terræ quas villani sui de eo tenent cum suis mess.'

As we do not find that these villains paid any rent, it is clear that they gave some equivalent in the form of labour and other services performed for their lord. When we recollect that in those times the chief proprietors must almost universally have occupied a portion of their own estates, and that it is not unreasonable to suppose that each parish contained on the average at least five proprietors having 'towns'* appendant to their demesnes, we do not conceive the statement of the monkish historian to be by any means incredible.

The husbandry act of Henry VII. being manifestly repugnant to the interests of the great body of landowners, it is not surprizing that it should have produced but little effect in retarding the enlargement of farms; it was not the intention of the legislature to

* In Scotland every farm-stead is to this day a 'town.'

prevent

prevent the demolition of houses on farms of less extent than twenty acres: and as the practice of subdividing land had before this time reduced the average size of holdings considerably under that statutable limit, it must be evident that, without infringing the provisions of this act, a wide scope was left for the efforts of the landlords. From all holdings under twenty acres houses of husbandry gradually disappeared: the land was added to some adjoining farm, and the occupiers were turned adrift to shift for themselves. Hence arose a constantly increasing multitude of houseless beggars, wandering throughout the country in idleness and want. To check the progress of this ever-growing evil came now to be an object which engaged the attention of parliament whenever it met. Various acts were passed 'against decaying towns, hamlets, or houses of husbandry; or converting tillage into pasture'; which were then considered as the primary causes of beggary and vagrancy: and at the same time numerous statutes were enacted, denouncing the severest punishments against the increasing host of rogues and vagabonds, which the change we have described in the management of land unavoidably produced. These laws were the expiring efforts made in an unenlightened age to retard the introduction of those internal arrangements which laid the basis both of the agricultural and commercial opulence which this country has subsequently reached. As long as they continued effectual in securing the object which their framers had in view, the whole population of this country was scattered over the surface of the land, from which it drew but a scanty subsistence. The labouring classes were wholly engaged in agriculture, farms were generally of very small extent, and their occupiers, as might have been expected, poor and unskilful: assisted by the different members of their household they performed all the work of their farms, and, excepting during the busy seasons of spring and harvest, had little or no employment. The females of the family fabricated at home the few articles of wearing apparel with which all its members were forced to rest contented. While this state of society prevailed no demand for manufactures could have arisen.

During the progress of Elizabeth's reign the eyes of the public became still more opened to the evils of the old system of subdividing land. The impediments and clogs which had been devised to restrain the operations of the landlords were now removed, and full liberty was given to the proprietors of land to consolidate their farms and diminish the number of their tenants. This enabled the owners to derive a larger surplus from their estates, under the name of rent; and the supply of wants, which increased with the means of gratifying them, gave birth to that commercial

cial system which has since acquired so much magnitude and importance; and not only the owners, but also the occupiers, when their farms were thus enlarged, became numerous and valuable customers to those who were engaged in manufactures. As the land came to be in fewer hands—as the agricultural districts became depopulated—manufactures were found to flourish. Those peasants whom the enlargement of farms deprived of their ancient means of subsistence, removed into manufacturing towns and districts, where employment was offered them as artisans and mechanics. In this latter capacity they procured constant work, and earned a much better subsistence than they had done while prolonging a miserable existence upon a small quantity of land, which left half their time unoccupied.

That the gradual abolition of small farms in this country has, upon the whole, proved beneficial to the public, is not, we apprehend, now a mooted question. At what point the injury arising from this practice becomes greater than the advantages to be derived from it, we cannot venture to decide. It is not to be doubted that it has its limits, and may be carried too far. We are inclined to suspect that the coldest economist, who views a cottager and a cabbage merely as productions of the soil, would not willingly select one of the hundred-acre turnip-fields of the Lord of Holkham as the scene of his declamations against the crofts and patches of the ancient system.

This important alteration in the system of managing landed property has effected an entire revolution in the internal fabric of society in this country; to this change of system, as their primary cause, we ascribe the origin of our present poor laws; but although the dissolution of the monasteries was not, as it is sometimes supposed, the immediate occasion which gave birth to these laws, still it must be acknowledged that the event in question spread over a wider surface the evils which they were introduced to remedy. Before the suppression of monastic institutions a large portion of the landed property of this country was in religious hands. These ecclesiastical proprietors, naturally averse from all innovations on established usages, made no attempt to alter the system on which their property had been managed: on their estates therefore the division and subdivision of land went silently on without check or interruption long after the practice had begun to be discouraged on the estates of laymen. But when this property fell into other hands things speedily assumed a new aspect; the system which the laymen had already commenced on their patrimonial estates was now introduced in their new acquisitions. Towards the middle of Elizabeth's reign the leases under which the tenants of the monasteries held their land expired, and the storm

storm of depopulation, which had hitherto raged exclusively against the tenantry who held under lay landlords, began now to wreak its fury on their defenceless heads also. Hence about the close of this reign the crowd of ejected peasantry who were forced to beg from house to house received a further augmentation.

Whatever difference of opinion may exist among economists respecting the present influence of the poor laws upon the population of this country, we scarcely conceive it possible that the most bigoted theorist will contend that it would not have been grossly inhuman, if not absolutely impracticable, to carry into effect the change which we have above described in the management of landed property, without the intervention of some legal provision for the peasantry, who became its innocent victims. If the public good required that they should be dispossessed of their scanty holdings, which to them was just the difference between subsisting and starving, honesty, as well as humanity, required that the public should alleviate as much as possible the blow which it inflicted. But had the legislature of that day been—what, thank God, it was not—insensible as any thorough-bred economist to all feelings of sympathy for the sufferers, still a regard for the safety and tranquillity of the public would have required its interference. It might, perhaps, have been profitable for the landowners to turn away their surplus tenantry, destitute and hungry, to perish and rot on the highways and hedges of the country—but would it have been safe? would there have been no danger that they would have turned upon their oppressors? human endurance may, under certain circumstances, be carried to a point where it excites no sympathy, and therefore elicits no praise.

There is scarcely any subject in which the northern economists seem more unanimous than in the scientific contempt with which they speak of the statesmen of Elizabeth's reign. Although we feel that our effort will be treated with ineffable disdain, still we cannot omit saying one word in behalf of our early favourites. These eminent statesmen are made responsible for the act passed in the forty-third of Elizabeth, for the maintenance of the poor: in the eyes of the economists, this is the head and front of their offending. Were they now alive to answer for themselves, they would not, we feel perfectly sure, shrink from the responsibility which is thus thrown upon them. Had this been the first law which had been made upon the subject, we really think that the multitude of beggars occasioned by the important change which was then taking place in the agricultural economy of this country, would have justified its introduction. In behalf, however, of the advisers of the 'Virgin Queen,' we would observe, that this was not, by at least a dozen, the first act upon the subject of the poor.

The

The pettifogging clerk of almost every country magistrate knows that from 1388 down to 1607, a series of acts is to be found in the statute book, providing a punishment for able-bodied and sturdy beggars, and making a provision for the aged and impotent poor. From 1388 to 1535, the impotent poor were by law allowed the privilege of begging in the districts or hundreds where they were born, or had last dwelt for the space of three years. In 1535, an act was passed imposing upon parishes and hamlets the burden of supporting 'every aged poor and impotent person' who had been born or had dwelt three years within their limits. It is no doubt true, that the money required for the support of the impotent poor was not raised by an equal assessment upon all the inhabitants of each parish. This fund was composed of the 'voluntary and charitable alms' which 'every parishioner of his devotion gave to the common boxes and common gatherings,' who were made in every parish, and which were dispensed to the impotent poor at the discretion of the minister and church-warden. The sacramental money now collected in our churches is a relic of the ancient mode in which a large portion of the funds required for the maintenance of the poor was raised in this country before the introduction of a legal rate. This system of relieving the impotent poor, leaving it to the liberality of each individual to determine how much he would contribute, continued until the year 1562; when it was enacted, that 'if any parishioner shall obstinately refuse to pay reasonably towards the relief of the said poor, or shall discourage others, then the justices of the peace at the quarter-sessions may tax him a reasonable weekly sum; which, if he refuse to pay, they may commit him to prison.' It is manifest that from the date of this act, the maintenance of the poor ceased to be voluntary: the discretion of the individual was taken away and a legal obligation was imposed upon him, of contributing in proportion to his means. This is exactly the principle on which all assessments for the support of the poor have been since levied. It is not probable that this change in the mode of raising the funds either made any difference in the whole amount expended upon the impotent poor within the limits of each parish, or increased the number or altered the description of persons who received relief;—it merely varied the proportions in which the poor fund was raised. Before the passing of this act, the man of small property sometimes contributed more than his richer but less benevolent neighbour. The principal object and effect of this law was to remedy this evil. It did not augment the whole cost of maintaining the poor:—it merely equalized the pressure of the burden, making ability, and not willingness, the rule which regulated the amount of contributions.

From

From this summary view of the poor laws before the reign of Elizabeth, it will appear that the forty-third of that Queen was not founded upon any new principle; it simply provided a more convenient and efficient machinery for carrying into effect a principle already recognized. The power of making assessments was taken away from the justices of the peace at the sessions, and placed in the hands of overseers, selected from among the respectable inhabitants of each parish, and consequently better acquainted with the circumstances of their neighbours and their ability respectively to contribute towards the relief of the poor.

But although this famous statute made no alteration of any consequence in the condition of the aged and impotent poor, it produced a wonderful change in the treatment of the destitute vagrant. The discipline provided for the correction of vagrancy had been strikingly characteristic of an iron age. A sturdy vagabond able to serve, if he was found begging, was first to be put in the stocks for three days and nights, and there fed upon bread and water; he was then to be 'grievously whipped, and burned through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron, of the compass of an inch;' and if, 'being of the age of eighteen years, he fell again to his roguish life,' he was to suffer death as a felon. This barbarous system was swept away by the forty-third of Elizabeth, and in its stead was established the more humane, and, as we conceive, the more efficient plan of providing materials at the expense of the parish, on which all able-bodied labourers, who could find no other employment, should be set to work. In defiance of all the arguments which we have yet seen advanced upon the subject, we venture to avow our opinion that, taking fairly into consideration the circumstances with which the ministers of Elizabeth were called upon to cope, they legislated upon enlightened principles, recommended by humanity and sanctioned to their full extent by the soundest policy. For the aged and impotent poor, who were incapable of providing for themselves, they secured a maintenance at the expense of those who had had the advantage of their services while able to work; and the able-bodied peasant, ejected perhaps from the cottage of his forefathers, in order to make way for the enlargement of some adjoining farm, they provided with materials, on which he might be set to work, enabling him thus to eat, not the bread of idleness, but bread produced by the sweat of his own brow. While the process of enlarging farms was rapidly going on, no man without nerves of iron and a heart of flint could calmly look on the ejected peasantry as vagrants and beggars, falling into the hands of the ministers of the law, provided as they were with stocks, bread and water, whips, and 'red hot irons of the compass of an inch.' To a legislative body anxious to rescue

the

the unoffending peasantry from the cruel fate which awaited them, when dispossessed of their ancient tenements, two alternatives offered themselves. It might have revived and enforced the old laws against the destruction of houses of husbandry, and the conversion of arable into pasture land; this would have prevented the occupiers from falling into the state of vagrancy to which expulsion from their homes necessarily reduced them;—or it might have granted to the owners of land an unchecked liberty of effecting any new arrangements which they might consider advantageous to their property, on condition that they devised means calculated, in some degree, to protect the occupiers from the hardships to which the contemplated changes must expose them. It appears to us, the parliament of that day extricated itself from the dilemma in a manner which was at once honourable to the feelings and to the intelligence of its members: to offer an apology for what they did, we should consider an insult to the hearts and understandings of our readers. Until every spark of generous humanity shall have become extinct in the bosoms of our countrymen, we are not afraid that the cold calculations of heartless theorists, who would willingly sacrifice the comforts and happiness of the many to the profit of the few, will produce much effect.

The claim which these laws gave the poor upon the funds of their respective parishes, and the connexion which was in consequence established between them and the land on which they were born, rendered the consolidation of farms and the dispeopling of estates more gradual and less oppressive than these measures could have been, without some such check upon their progress. The landowners were obliged to watch for the most convenient opportunities of carrying their plans into effect; and the opportunities which would prove most profitable to themselves were necessarily those which would be found least oppressive to their tenants. Hence, for the last three centuries, the abolition of small holdings, and the enlargement of farms, have been regularly, and at the same time gradually, going on in this country. One respectable dwelling for the farmer, with a few comfortable cottages for his labourers, will now be found in a tract of land which, in the reign of Henry VIII., or perhaps much later, was divided among a score of little occupiers, living in huts and cabins. Under the restraining influence of the poor laws, the proprietors of land have secured all the advantages derivable from the new system, by degrees which have been almost imperceptible, and without exposing the ejected occupiers to those dreadful sufferings which unavoidably accompany all violent and sudden changes in the internal structure of society.

It may, perhaps, be urged that the same objects were effected

in Scotland without the intervention of poor laws; and that we consequently ascribe an effect to a cause with which it has no connexion. In answer to this objection we would remark, that although a legal assessment for the support of the poor is unknown in most districts of that country, still a fund is raised for their support in every parish by voluntary contributions. Nor should we forget the vast assistance which Scotland has derived from this country in effecting her internal changes. These did not commence before the union with England, which opened to the peasantry of Scotland a way into the towns and manufactories, and, above all, the colonies of this country. England first held out an example of the advantages springing from the new system; and then offered incalculable facilities to the people of Scotland while pursuing the same plan. There is, we apprehend, no nation in the world which can more justly exclaim—'quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris!' Scotsmen do not emigrate from a roving or unsettled disposition; on the contrary they are very remarkable for attachment to home and kindred; but they are compelled to leave their native land in consequence of the new arrangements which the lords of the soil have for the last century been gradually introducing into their country.

It has been frequently urged against the poor laws of this country that they give an artificial energy to the 'principle of population;' and thus increase the number of consumers faster than the means of subsisting them can be multiplied. If we felt that this charge could be substantiated against them, we certainly should not range ourselves among those who approve of their policy. But we incline to the opinion that the effect of that legal code which imposes upon each parish the burden of supporting its destitute poor has been greatly exaggerated; that it has not ministered an artificial encouragement to the multiplication of paupers in a degree which exceeds the increase of the means required to support them. We are disposed to think that this system, when narrowly looked into, contains checks which more than countervail any encouragement which, on the first view, it might be supposed to hold out to the people to multiply.

It will not, we think, be denied that the introduction of the poor laws must very soon have acquired a powerful influence over the feelings and conduct of the owners and principal occupiers of land. When all those who could not maintain themselves had acquired a legal claim for a subsistence from the land on which they were settled, the landholders became exceedingly cautious in permitting the increase of such claimants, and naturally anxious to reduce by every practicable means the number already resident within the limits of their property. The greatest jealousy

jealousy was excited among them lest a population should spring up within the bounds of each parish beyond what was required for the proper cultivation of its soil. So strong had this feeling become at a very early period in the history of the poor laws, that in the thirty-first year of Queen Elizabeth an act was passed 'for the avoiding of the great inconveniences which are found by experience to grow by the erecting of great numbers and multitudes of cottages, which are daily more and more increased in many parts of this realm.' The strongest prejudices have ever since prevailed amongst the owners and occupiers of land against the practice which this statute denounced as penal; and from this period down to the present time the erection of a cottage when not wanted for the residence of a labourer, or indispensably required for the cultivation of his land, has been nearly as much dreaded by the English farmer as the introduction of a murrain amongst his cattle. In the agricultural parts of the country cottages have not for centuries been considered as in themselves a source of profit to the owner. They have been erected and are still maintained solely as accommodations for the labourers, of whom the farmer stands absolutely in need. Wherever more cottages are found upon a farm than its due cultivation requires, they are demolished, and their inhabitants turned adrift to look for labour where their services may be wanted. The impression, that either by the wages of labour, or by parochial allowance, they must support those who are born on their land, is fixed in the minds, and perpetually regulates the conduct, of land occupiers.

Although therefore the promise of relief which the laws hold out to the poor of this country thus appears in theory to have a direct tendency to produce an excessive increase of the number of the people, yet we feel a strong suspicion that this tendency is more than counterbalanced by that dread of parochial expense which the existence of these laws excites in the minds of the occupiers of land. However desirous a labourer may feel to contract marriage, he must first secure some place to live in: this he cannot do in agricultural districts without the concurrence of some occupier of land who may have a cottage to let, and who, if our view of the motives which influence the owners of cottages be correct, must stand in need of his labour.

But entertaining some aversion for mere theories, however plausible or ingenious, we shall state a fact which, if we are not mistaken, will fully bear us out in the view we have been taking of this matter. Because the population of this country has been rapidly increasing for the last half century, it is, we are aware, generally assumed that it had received a gradual and progressive

augmentation during two or three previous centuries. We are not by any means sure that this supposition is correct. We do not feel quite certain that, making a due allowance for the waste and common land which had been brought into cultivation in the intervening space, the population of England was greater in 1750 than it had been in 1550. We are inclined to suspect that in all agricultural districts the population suffered a diminution by no means inconsiderable during this interval. For the purpose of investigating this point, we have consulted a variety of parish registers; considering these as the most certain sources of authentic data for forming an opinion on the subject. The register book of the parish in which we are now writing commences about 1550. On an average of fifty years the number of baptisms annually entered in it stands thus:—

From	1550	to	1600 - -	50 per annum
	1600	to	1650 - -	53
	1650	to	1700 - -	34
	1700	to	1750 - -	19
	1750	to	1800 - -	19
	1800	to	1824 - -	34

There is nothing peculiar either in the situation or circumstances of this parish. It is situated in a county purely agricultural; near one of the main public roads, and at no great distance from the metropolis. The land is divided into farms of very moderate dimensions, and a considerable portion of it is copyhold, a circumstance forming at all times a powerful impediment to the demolition of houses of husbandry, and the consolidation of farms. In other agricultural parishes, situated in different and distant counties, we have pursued the same inquiries, and have arrived at results very nearly similar. As our references to parochial registers have been necessarily limited, we dare not hazard a positive opinion as to the result of a general inquiry throughout the kingdom. But as this is a matter of considerable public importance as well as curiosity, we could heartily wish that either the bishops or the government would call for a return from every parish, stating the number of marriages, births, and deaths, in every year, from the commencement of each register book down to the present time. In this age of political economy, we really wonder that such returns have not already been called for; as it is evident that their aggregate would furnish us with authentic data towards forming an estimate of the population of this country at distant periods, much more satisfactory than the loose and unauthorized conjectures which have hitherto passed current.

With reference to the influence of the poor laws on the population

lation of this country, the abstract from the parochial register, which we have laid before our readers, appears to afford matter for important observations. It shows that between 1600 and 1650, the population of this parish received a trifling augmentation; the annual average of baptisms increasing from 50 to 53. As the poor laws in all their arrangements were not complete before the act of Elizabeth in 1601, it may, we think, be assumed, that their operation was not fully felt by the public until forty or fifty years afterwards. We may thus suppose that about 1650 they came into full play; and if we take this parish as a criterion, their effect was not to augment the population of the district, as some modern writers would fain persuade us to believe, but to diminish very considerably its amount; the annual average of baptisms between 1650 and 1700 falling from 53 down to 34. If the influence of this act was powerful between 1650 and 1700, it is not unreasonable to presume that the practice of half a century had given it an additional impetus; and full of the theories with which we had been crammed upon the subject, we confidently expected to find that, from 1700 to 1750, the population of the parish received a gradual augmentation; on referring however to an authentic register of facts, our illusion was speedily dissipated: we found that the annual average of baptisms, instead of increasing, was actually reduced from 34 to 19, at which number it remained stationary until the end of the century. It thus appears that, in this parish at least, the effect of the poor laws has in this most important particular been directly the reverse of that commonly ascribed to them. How certain theorists will get rid of the facts which we have here stated, we cannot pretend to conjecture.

Writers upon population appear generally much too ready to place implicit reliance upon loose and unauthenticated data. They have constructed a scale, showing the increase of the population of this country from 1600 to 1800, perfectly arbitrary, and upon this they argue, as if it furnished them with indisputable facts. They assume, that in 1600 the population amounted to three millions, and that, from 1600 to 1800, it gradually increased at the rate of about three millions per century. All this is pure conjecture, utterly unsupported by any fact; for before the first population return in 1801 we possess no authority on this subject, except the assertions of political writers. If we can depend upon the abstracts which we have partially obtained from parish registers, no doubt can be entertained that the population of England in 1600 has been usually estimated much below its real number. If we were put in possession of such abstracts generally made throughout the kingdom, it would, we suspect, appear that, be-

tween the years 1600 and 1800, a gradual diminution took place in the number of people engaged in agriculture.

The important change which, about the commencement of the seventeenth century, began to take place in the rural arrangements of this country, formed a new era in the history of English towns. The tide of population, forsaking the country, retired into these seats of industry. Admitting, what cannot be disputed, that the whole population of this country is much greater now than it was in 1600, still it does not follow that the portion of it engaged in agriculture has not suffered an actual diminution. We feel convinced that such is the fact; and that the vast addition which has within the last century been made to the population of this country has been confined entirely to that portion of it which is engaged in manufactures and commerce. Neither do we see any reason to doubt that at least a proportional addition has been made to the supply of food in England. Indeed we are thoroughly persuaded that, comparing the population of the country with its produce at both periods, the portion of food which falls to the share of each individual is greater now than it was in 1600.

That the encouragement to early and improvident marriages, said to be held out by the poor laws, has been at least greatly exaggerated, is likewise proved by a fact which cannot be controverted, that marriages are contracted more early and much more improvidently in many countries where this incitement does not exist. To represent the provision which our laws secure to the poor as a temptation to marry—as an artificial stimulus, exciting the poor to increase and multiply, has always sounded somewhat strangely in our ears, notwithstanding the pertinacity with which such an opinion has been maintained. The scanty allowance grudgingly doled out by a parochial officer does not appear to constitute a very seductive temptation. The force of a sufficiently natural stimulus appears to be much more generally efficient in promoting early and indiscreet marriages in Ireland, where the laws hold out no such promise of subsistence, than in this country, where the legal provision for the poor is said to have a direct influence upon their conduct.

Upon the whole we are of opinion that, as long as these laws were duly administered, they did not produce the deleterious effect upon the population of this country which is generally ascribed to them. As they occasioned, or at least facilitated the introduction of a better arrangement of farms, and a better system of husbandry than had previously been practised, they did no doubt indirectly promote an increase of the people, by augmenting the produce of land; for whatever measures augment the quantity of food raised within any district must necessarily add

to

to the number of its inhabitants. The objection urged against the poor laws is not that they have augmented the population of this country by increasing the food required for their support, but that they have encouraged the people to multiply without any reference to the quantity of food raised for their subsistence; and that, in consequence, the people have increased in a greater ratio than the produce of the land. But we are convinced that every class of the community is better fed, better clothed, and better lodged now, than the corresponding class was before the introduction of these laws; and if the poor laws first multiplied the produce of the land, and *then* an additional population sprung up in order to consume it, we do not see how they can be represented as having operated in a method inimical to the prosperity of the country.

We are, however, forced to acknowledge that within the last thirty years a practice has prevailed in the administration of these laws, changing very materially their character and tendency; and which, if not checked in time, bids fair to inflict upon the country many of the worst evils we have been taught to dread from them: we allude to the practice of paying out of parochial funds a proportion of the wages which ought to be received as the fair remuneration of labour. In many extensive districts a plan has been regularly organized of paying labourers a weekly sum considerably under the fair wages of labour, and giving those who are married an allowance out of the poor rates, proportioned to the size of their families. A single man thus receives less for his work than a married labourer: he is paid no more than six or seven shillings per week: while his married neighbour receives altogether fourteen or sixteen shillings. In a large parish in our own immediate neighbourhood, we find that there is not a single labourer who has not a weekly allowance out of the rates; each receives six shillings per week as wages, and on every Monday night appears before a board composed of a few of the principal inhabitants, when the difference between what he has received and what they consider adequate for the support of his family, is made good to him out of the parish funds. To such an extent indeed does this practice prevail, that we find the magistrates in various districts not only conniving at the system, but actually establishing a regular scale of allowances to able bodied labourers, to be paid out of the parish funds. Under what authority these local administrators of the laws undertake to arrange and enforce a provision which converts the industrious labourer into an eleemosynary pensioner, we have yet to learn; sure we are that the practice which they have sanctioned,

and which they continue to uphold, is warranted neither by the letter nor by the spirit of any laws which they are commissioned to administer. To say the least of it, this appears to us a species of officious meddling with the wages of labour which is extremely injudicious. If we could allow ourselves to speak harshly of a class of functionaries, whose services are in general so useful to the public, we should apply to their interference between agricultural labourers and those who employ them, the language of strong reprobation. But as we entertain no doubt that they mean well, we shall content ourselves with expressing our sincere regret that they should have allowed their judgments to be swayed too easily by the impulse of their feelings. In their eagerness to enforce for the working classes what they consider an adequate maintenance, they overlook those leading principles of economy which no magisterial interference can ever controul. This official meddling does not secure to the labourer a more liberal compensation for his work; for it has the effect of diminishing his wages in proportion to the amount which he receives from the parish. In the united form of wages and parochial allowance, the agricultural labourer now receives no more than, in the absence of this arrangement, he must have obtained from his employer alone.

In truth, this is an iniquitous scheme, devised by the owners and occupiers of land with the view of shifting from their own shoulders a considerable part of the wages of agricultural labourers, to be borne by others who do not employ them. The allowance made out of the poor rates to labourers in agriculture is levied upon the property of manufacturers, mechanics, and tradesmen; and the proportion of the rates thus raised, which is expended in the payment of labourers' wages, is unjustly taken from these classes, and transferred into the pockets of the cultivators and owners of land. That a class of men, who in general appear vigilant enough where their interests are concerned, should thus stand tamely by and suffer themselves to be plundered, is a circumstance for which we cannot account.

Farther, this system is not only grossly unjust towards the manufacturers, tradesmen, and mechanics, who are assessed to the poor rates; it is likewise singularly oppressive towards a numerous class of individuals actually engaged in the cultivation of land. In various districts of the country we still meet with a race of small farmers who, in conjunction with the members of their own families, perform all the regular work of their farms, obtaining, perhaps, some trifling assistance occasionally in the time of harvest. Wherever the system which we are now reprobating has been allowed to prevail, these small occupiers are forced to contribute towards the payment of wages earned by labourers employed

ployed by their more wealthy neighbours. Any thing more iniquitous in itself, or more cruelly oppressive towards this hard-working race of small farmers, can scarcely be devised. It is a monstrous practice, which the timid acquiescence of the helpless classes upon whom it presses has rendered but too prevalent; and which the more opulent and powerful class of farmers will naturally endeavour to perpetuate.

But however forcibly we may feel the injustice of compelling one class of the community to pay labourers employed by another, it is not by any means the strongest objection which exists against the system. The amount of the pecuniary injustice which it inflicts upon those who pay rates and employ no agricultural labourers, might perhaps admit of calculation; but it is quite impossible to estimate correctly its influence upon the character and conduct of that class whom it principally affects. Wherever this pernicious system has been fully matured, it has, as might have been anticipated, produced an entire revolution in the manners and habits of the working classes. Every incentive to individual exertion it has abolished; every motive of sobriety, steadiness, honesty, it has utterly destroyed. Among them exists no longer any anxiety about the interests of their employer, or any regard for their own character. For what motive is there to induce a labourer to work hard when he is aware that he will be paid, not in proportion to the quantity of work done by him, but according to a general standard established in the parish? Among labourers so circumstanced, the point of emulation is not who shall do the most work, and consequently earn the most money, but who shall perform the least possible quantity of labour without appearing to be absolutely idle. The indolent, the weak, and the worthless labourer is now secure of the maximum payment settled by this parochial standard; and the industrious, skilful, and honest workman can expect no more.

This pernicious system is fortunately unknown among manufacturers and mechanics. Among these classes the reward of labour is proportioned to the skill and industry of the workmen—to the quality and quantity of the work done; and it is received exclusively from those who employ them. Hence they depend solely upon themselves: support their families by the fruit of their own industry; and thus escape the contaminating and blasting effect of that social plague which, under the false pretence of relieving, undermines the independence, destroys the comforts, and degrades the character of our agricultural labourers.

This practice commenced about thirty years ago: since which period it has been silently and gradually gaining ground. We trace its origin to an Act passed in the 36 Geo. 3. enabling overseers,

seers, with the approbation of the parishioners, or any justice, to relieve poor persons at their own homes; the preamble recites that

'by the 9 Geo. 1. poor persons refusing to be lodged in houses provided for them by their parishes were not entitled to relief: and whereas the said provision contained in the act above mentioned has been found to have been and to be inconvenient and oppressive, inasmuch as it often prevents an industrious poor person from receiving such *occasional* relief as is best suited to the peculiar case of such poor person, and inasmuch as in certain cases it holds out conditions of relief injurious to the comfort and domestic situation and happiness of such poor persons:' it therefore enacts, that 'the overseers, with the approbation of the inhabitants, or any justice, may relieve poor persons at their own homes, under certain circumstances of temporary illness or distress, and in certain cases respecting such poor person or persons, his, her, or their family, although such poor person or persons may refuse to be lodged within such poor house or houses.'

Until the passing of this act, all that a pauper could demand was to be set at work on materials furnished by the parish: or, if unable to work, to be fed, clothed and lodged in a house provided for that purpose. Now although this sort of maintenance be not such as to satisfy all the wishes of humanity, yet it appears quite as much as sound policy will sanction: an asylum was offered to the impotent or the unfortunate, who could not provide for themselves; which, under proper management, operated as a salutary check to prevent improper applications for relief. The workhouse being the last refuge of the destitute, none applied for admission into it, until all other resources had been exhausted: and no individual was entitled to claim public relief, until every personal exertion to secure a maintenance had proved unsuccessful. The powers which overseers and magistrates have assumed under the colour of an authority granted them by the 36 Geo. 3. have in some districts abolished entirely this wholesome system; and given rise to those gross abuses which have occasioned the clamour that has been raised against the poor laws. The discretion of local magistrates and parochial officers, acted upon by the importunity and imposition of the poor, has become the scale which determines the amount of parochial expenditure. For nearly a whole century before 1795, the poor rates of this country fluctuated but little in amount: they were expended exclusively upon aged, lame, blind and impotent folk unable to work—together with a few orphan or illegitimate children: when it became necessary to place an old pauper on the parish list, it generally happened that an older pensioner had died off to make room for him. The practice introduced since the year 1795 has produced a wonderful

wonderful change in the state of parochial accounts: the rates have gradually and steadily increased in amount. All the previous checks upon the demand of relief were removed, all discrimination in administering relief ceased to be exercised, until at length, in many agricultural districts, all the labourers who do not occupy land have become actual pensioners upon the parish funds.

To the influence of this practice must, we conceive, be ascribed the alarming increase of crime apparent among our agricultural population. Before its introduction in 1795, they formed a hardy race, industrious, honest and faithful: their names seldom appeared in the criminal annals of the country. But the records of our courts of law now present a lamentable contrast; and so inevitable is the connexion between increase of crime and the new practice, that the description of prisoners in a county calendar suffices to furnish those who have attended to the subject with an unerring clue to the names of the parishes in which it prevails.

Many of those writers who declaim against the poor laws have recourse to a very disingenuous and vulgar artifice: they know, as well as we do, that the evils to which we have just adverted, and which form the groundwork of their declamations, do not spring from the laws themselves, but from the impolitic manner in which these have been carried into effect; but this circumstance they studiously keep out of sight, and assume that abuses and practices springing entirely from a mal-administration of the laws, are inseparably connected with the system itself. These much abused laws, in their true spirit and intent, really do no more than provide that the lame, impotent, blind, old and other poor persons not able to work shall be relieved by the parishes in which they have a settlement. We have already shown that the policy of a system which merely provides a bare subsistence for those who, from infirmity or unavoidable misfortune, are incapable of maintaining themselves, cannot be successfully assailed: and we are sure that the principle on which it is founded will not be impeached, except by those who are prepared to contend that the impotent poor ought to be left to perish *through want*. If the spirit of these laws had been duly attended to, it appears difficult to believe that any effects arising from them could have furnished a real ground of complaint. To this matter the attention of the legislature has recently been specially directed: the committee appointed to investigate the subject strongly condemn the practice of making up to the labourer a part of his wages by an allowance out of the poor rates; and parliament will, we trust, lose no time in giving effect to their opinion.

Although we are not insensible to the relief which it would afford to those upon whose property the rates are now levied, still

we

we feel anxious for a return to the old system, which prevailed before 1795, principally for the sake of the poor themselves. The direct savings which would accrue to the public from the adoption of a better system of supporting the poor are not worth consideration, when contrasted with the indirect advantages which the community would derive from the amelioration of the character and habits of the agricultural labourer. In 1795, the rates levied for the support of the poor in this country amounted to two millions; now they amount to upwards of six millions; having trebled themselves in the short space of thirty years. This fact is calculated to inspire fear, by no means groundless, in the minds of those who estimate the evil of our poor laws solely by the burden which they impose upon the public; and we cannot undertake to remove or diminish their fears, by holding out to them the expectation that the burden has as yet reached its maximum. It is true that the lively alarms excited in the public mind by the rapid and overwhelming increase of the poor rates have, within the last few years, occasioned very strenuous efforts to meet the progress of the evil: some reduction has, in consequence, been made in the amount of the rates. But the public mind has pretty well recovered from the panic into which it had been thrown by peculiar circumstances. The temporary check which these efforts put upon the increase of the poor rates begins to disappear; and if the legislature should not think proper to abolish the present system, no reasonable man can entertain a doubt that it will resume the power of progression by which, from the moment of its introduction, it has been generally characterized. The practice of maintaining the families of able-bodied labourers out of the poor rates will silently and gradually spread from one parish to another, until the whole working population of the country shall be reduced to a dependence on parochial allowances; and with the increasing agency of this system, the progress of depravity among the classes upon whom it operates will keep pace.

We are not, by any means, sure that the system on which workhouses, as it is the fashion to term them, are now managed, is not incapable of great improvement. They were originally designed by the legislature as places in which able bodied paupers destitute of employment might be set to work on materials provided by the parish. If the able bodied labourer could not procure more profitable or more agreeable employment, here, at least, he was offered an asylum against absolute want. At the same time the plainness of its fare and the restraints imposed upon its inmates, rendered it an object of dislike to all who were able to earn a maintenance elsewhere. As long as workhouses were thus conducted they answered completely the end of their institution,

which

which was to deter dissolute and idle paupers from throwing themselves unnecessarily upon the parish funds. Since 1795, however, these establishments have been diverted from their original purposes. They are no longer *workhouses* for the employment of the able-bodied labourer who may be out of work; but mere public receptacles in which the aged, the infirm, and the orphan paupers of the parish are lodged and fed—in common, in too many instances, with loose and dissolute characters discharged from penitentiaries and houses of correction. Such an arrangement is at once impolitic and inhuman. It is not consistent with good policy, that the young and orphan children belonging to a parish should be thus exposed to the influence of vicious and profligate characters; and it is incompatible with humanity, that the industrious labourer should, in the 'scar of life,' be compelled to exchange the 'soft attentions of kindred' for the cold and heartless charity of a parish poor-house. We very much doubt whether this barbarous and unfeeling system possesses any advantages even on the score of economy. We are inclined to think that an allowance, not exceeding the cost of their maintenance in the poor-house, would enable aged, infirm, and orphan paupers to live more comfortably and contentedly with their relatives and friends.

If the legislature should, as we sincerely hope it will, take this subject into their early and serious consideration, we shall not despair of seeing the whole system of parish workhouses re-organized. While we would rigidly deprive magistrates and overseers of all power to relieve able-bodied labourers, except under circumstances arising from actual illness, out of the precincts of a workhouse, we would continue to them the power of conferring such relief upon the aged, impotent, and orphan poor, who are unable to work. To close up every inlet for abuse, we would confine the discretionary authority with which they might be invested within some tangible limits. We would, for instance, invest them with discretionary powers to order relief at their own homes to orphan paupers under the age of fourteen years, and to aged and impotent paupers above the age of sixty; and we would render it illegal to relieve children who are not fatherless, or able-bodied labourers between fourteen and sixty, any where but in a workhouse.

The result of this investigation is, on our part, a firm conviction that our poor laws have not proved so inimical to the wealth and prosperity of the country as it has been the fashion of late to represent them. The whole of the funds now actually expended upon the poor (even if we include in this amount the very large proportion which is now paid to able-bodied labourers, and which

to

to all intents and purposes constitutes a part of the wages, of labour,) bears a much smaller proportion to the present resources of the country, than the total amount of the contributions raised for the sustenance of the poor bore to the whole of its wealth in the time of Elizabeth. Indeed if we deduct the sums which are now paid to able-bodied labourers, those paid to the county stock, and the various legal expenses incurred in the administration of these laws, from the amount which is now levied under the general denomination of poor rates, we should find that, taking the augmented resources of the country into consideration, the burden of supporting the impotent poor is much lighter now, than it was towards the close of that reign.

It has been often observed that the present state of Ireland bears, in many points, a very strong resemblance to the state of this country during the sixteenth century. Coinciding in the correctness of this remark, we are disposed to think that the same code of laws which contributed so materially to bring about an improvement in the agricultural economy of England would be attended with similar consequences if introduced into Ireland. The introduction of a system of poor laws administered on the principles which prevailed here before the fatal innovation of 1795, would gradually extinguish the practice of subdividing and subletting land which has proved so injurious to that country; and at the same time it would impose a salutary check upon the sudden and violent depopulation of estates which inflicts upon the ejected tenantry, now totally unprovided for, sufferings at which humanity shudders. We shall not be suspected of wishing to oppose any unreasonable impediments to the abolition of the vicious tenures which now prevail in Ireland; we would only provide against an indiscreet and abrupt alteration of the system, which must prove fatal to the discarded peasantry. While we would give the Irish landowners unshackled liberty to manage their property in the manner which may seem most conducive to their private interests, we would take care that the pursuit of individual gain should not involve the peasantry in absolute destruction; and we know not how this object could be attained, except by imposing upon the proprietors of land a legal obligation to maintain their ejected tenantry until they can be provided for elsewhere.

Wherever a legal provision has existed for some time for the maintenance of the poor, there is no ground for representing it as pressing exclusively or even partially upon the occupiers of land or houses; the poor rates in fact constitute a rent charge, which is calculated when they are let; the amount is deducted from the rent which, in the absence of this burden, would be ex-

acted

acted by the landlord. The only portion of this charge which can fairly be represented as falling upon the tenant is the increase which may happen to take place in its amount subsequently to the commencement of his lease.

In England, therefore, where the law makes a provision for the poor, the opulent yeomanry deduct the amount of the poor rates from the rent which they pay; while in Ireland the case is reversed. In this country the maintenance of the poor is devolved upon the landowner; in the other, it presses exclusively upon the wretched occupiers, who are themselves but one degree removed from a state of actual pauperism. When the general circumstances of the occupiers of Irish land are taken into consideration, we cannot help expressing the most unbounded admiration of their hospitality and benevolence. However contracted his dwelling, however limited his store, the houseless beggar never in vain solicits relief or shelter at the hands of the Irish peasant.

ART. VIII.—1. *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the State of Ireland.* 1825.

2. *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the State of Ireland.* 1825.

'LARGE landed possessions (says a recent traveller) are of rare occurrence in Switzerland, and the agriculture of the country is chiefly in the hands of peasantry, who farm the little portions of land handed down to them from their forefathers, divided and subdivided through all the intervening generations. The minute division of land in the country referred to is a fact which all who have visited it will readily admit: and the division even of a single acre into different properties is not uncommon. The father brings up his son to assist him in the management of his little spot of ground: and thus, for instance, a family, consisting of father, mother, daughter, and two sons, draw their subsistence from that which, under other management, would support, perhaps, no more than a single man, or a man and his wife. The father dies—his small estate is divided into moieties between his two sons, who mutually assist in supporting their mother and sister, until one dies, and the other finds a husband in the son of another little landed proprietor. Her two brothers then marry, and have families: and thus the population rapidly increases, and the original piece of land is more and more minutely divided and subdivided, until at last comes a generation in a state of poverty and deprivation worse than that of the lowest English peasantry. Where is there a more fertile, a more beautiful, and more healthy country than that part of Switzerland called Valais? and where is there to be found a more wretched-looking and disgusting people? In the midst of plenty they are

are poor almost to starvation. Their dwellings, although pitched upon the edges of the purest mountain-streams, and surrounded by native charms, are dark and filthy as the dens of wild beasts: and in their persons they are frequently disgusting even unto hideousness.'—*Tennant's Tour on the Continent*, vol. ii.

Had such a state of things been described as existing in any other continental district, it would have been eagerly ascribed to the pressure of tithes, taxes, and the arbitrary exactions of a despotic and corrupt government. But the instance here adduced is not to be so easily got rid of; it appears that in Switzerland—the vaunted land of liberty and equality itself—the misery and poverty of the peasants form an exact counterpart of the effect which results from a similar system prevailing in Ireland.

The system of subletting and subdividing land being, in the opinion of all unprejudiced persons, the principal cause of the poverty and wretchedness which are so prevalent in that country, it is evident that the remedy for this evil must be sought for in an alteration of the relation at present subsisting between the owners and the occupiers of the soil. Until a radical and nearly universal change has been brought about in the management of Irish estates; until the land ceases to be divided into minute parcels among a pauper race of occupiers, destitute of capital and skill, and stimulated by no motive to industry; vain and delusive must be the expectation that any improvement can be effected in the condition and circumstances of the peasantry.

Some parts of the system now pursued in the management of Irish land operate so oppressively towards the unfortunate occupier, as to call loudly for the direct interference of the legislature: but it is manifest that no such interference can be productive of any great and lasting benefit, without the concurrence and co-operation of the landlords themselves. On this, as well as on many other accounts, it is exceedingly to be lamented that the chief proprietors of Ireland are almost universally absent from the country. Unable to attend personally to the state of their property, they have necessarily devolved its management upon middlemen or agents, in many instances alike ignorant of the true interests of the owners, and careless of the comforts of the occupiers of the land. Had they resided on the spot, and witnessed what was actually taking place on their estates, it is not credible that they would have suffered them to be overspread by a multitude of pauper tenantry utterly destitute of means and resources. They would long ago have made an effectual stand against that system of subdividing land which has proved so detrimental to their own real interests; which has plunged every successive generation of occupiers

occupiers into deeper distress; and which has agitated that unhappy country by internal commotions, caused, in most instances, by the absolute want of the necessaries of life. But absent from the districts whence their revenues are derived, strangers to the tenantry by whose labours they are fed, they feel no concern about the means used to obtain their rents, provided the remittances expected from their agents and middlemen are regularly forthcoming. This is one of the most prominent causes of the inferiority of Ireland when compared with England, in the wealth and habits of its population. The improvements which have taken place in the system of agriculture pursued in England, owe their introduction to the persevering efforts of enlightened proprietors residing upon their estates. 'Few, and far between,' have been the efforts to introduce such improvements into Ireland; where the tenantry are stated to be 'really desirous of following the advice which is given them' on the subject. Hence the land in the south is nearly in a state of nature, and produces infinitely less than it would yield under a better system. No doubt can be entertained that, under an improved system of husbandry, the land of that country would support in affluence and abundance a population at least equal to that which starves on the scanty produce it now supplies.

For about six weeks in spring, and six weeks in the time of harvest, employment may be partially obtained by the Irish peasants; but during the remainder of the year, those who would gladly work for a mere subsistence of milk and potatoes can get nothing to do. We consider this to be the natural and inevitable consequence of the subdivision of land when carried to the extent which has prevailed in Ireland. The great body of these small occupiers, aided by the members of their own families, till with their own hands the very limited tenements which they hold; they seldom, therefore, stand in need of hired assistance. The minute subdivision of holdings gives to each individual occupier a surplus of labour, and it would be preposterous to expect that a demand should exist for a commodity of which each family possesses more than enough. The absence of demand for profitable labour, created, perhaps, by the subdivision of land, is aggravated very greatly by the non-residence of the proprietors of the soil.

'You say non-residence is very much to be deplored: if an estate is managed well, by a good agent on the spot, do you consider that it loses much by the proprietor not being there, supposing the agent fulfils his duties to the tenantry?—I think no agent can do anything like the presence of the proprietor: but where there is a good agent, much of the loss of the proprietor is removed: but we never can have sufficient compensation for the loss of the great proprietor.

'But where there is a good agent, is not the labour taken very often in payment of rent where there is no residence?—I should think that the portion of labour where there is no residence is very trifling to what there would be if there was a residence; but where there is a non-resident who occasionally visits his estate, as in the case of my Lord Lansdowne in our county, his tenantry reap the greatest possible advantage from his visit; and he leaves them all, in a great degree, happy and contented: he gets acquainted with them, and knows their wants, and converses with them, and sees how they are: and they would reap immense advantages from his occasionally visiting them.

'It is your opinion then, if every Irish nobleman and proprietor in Ireland followed the same system as my Lord Lansdowne does, the tenantry would not derive great disadvantage from non-residence?—It is my opinion, that if they were to follow the same example, having such an agent, and occasionally going among their tenantry, a great portion of the evil we sustain from non-residence would be removed.'—*John Dunn, Esq. Ev. before the Lords*, p. 213.

'Do you think any part of the spirit of disaffection which you have witnessed has arisen from distress?—I think the distress arises, in a great measure, from want of employment: because in the Queen's county, where the cottiers are in full work, there is no instance of any outrage committed in that part of the country.

'Are you acquainted with Abbeyleix in the Queen's county?—I am.

'Do you think the situation of that part of the county is more comfortable with regard to the lower orders than it is in many other parts?—I do think it is.

'And the spirit of insurrection less prevalent?—There are no instances of insurrection in that barony.

'To what do you attribute that?—To the great care and attention of Lord de Vesci, besides its being a very opulent neighbourhood.

'Generally are there more disturbances where there is most poverty and misery?—Certainly; for instance, in the barony of Salmony. I do not think there is a resident gentleman in the whole barony, and that is one of the most disturbed: there have been thirteen murders committed in that barony in two years, at least upon report, and there has been no instance of any man being brought to justice.

'Have you observed any difference in the districts in which there is a considerable residence, and where the land-owners are absent?—Very great: the employment is greater where the landlord resides, and the distress is not so apparent.'—*Major Thomas Powell, id.* pp. 107, 108.

We should, however, deal disingenuously by our readers were we to attempt concealing from them that these and many similar statements of the advantages derived from the residence of landed proprietors are rebutted by the theory of a witness who never saw Ireland, viz. Mr. J. R. M'Culloch. Never having attended a Ricardo lecture, and, consequently, never having received a ray of that light of which Mr. M'Culloch is the reservoir, we shall excite no surprize by acknowledging that we had inadvertently fallen

fallen into the vulgar error. On the estates of Lord Oril, at Cotton, of the Marquis of Downshire, at Hillsborough, and those of various other resident proprietors of Ireland, we have with our own eyes seen a race of occupiers yielding neither in opulence, in skill, nor in spirit to any tenantry with which we happen to be acquainted in this country: while in all these points the tenants of absentees exhibited to our eyes an exact contrast; and we hastily conceived that the superior wealth and comfort visible among the tenants of resident proprietors sprung from the vigilant and liberal superintendence of their landlords. It seems, however, that in forming this conclusion we were entirely mistaken; our ignorance made us ascribe the prosperous condition of these tenantry to a cause with which it has not the remotest connexion.

In the 'Lecture' which this Mr. M'Culloch delivered before the select committee, he informed them that 'the income of a landlord when he is an absentee is really as much expended in Ireland as if he were living in it.' This theory possesses two properties which must very greatly endear it to its author. It is new; and it is paradoxical. It has been received, as might have been anticipated, with clamorous exultation by the whole body of absentees. It had, however, been well for their triumph that the 'embryo professor of economy in the University that is to be,' had been content with the mere enunciation of his theory; but in an unlucky moment he was tempted to subjoin an explanation which, we fear, will shiver to atoms the beautiful fabric he had so ingeniously constructed. He states that

'When a landlord becomes an absentee his rent must be remitted to him one way or another: either in money or commodities: when a landlord has an estate in Ireland and goes to live in London or Paris, his agent gets his rent and buys a bill of exchange with it: now this bill of exchange is a draft drawn for equivalent commodities which must be sent from Ireland. The merchants who get 10,000*l.* or any other sum from the agent of an absentee landlord, go into the Irish market and buy exactly the same amount of commodities as the landlord would have bought had he been at home: *the only difference being that the landlord would eat them and wear them in London or Paris, and not in Dublin or his house in Ireland.*'—*Ev. of J. R. M'Culloch, Esq. Fourth Report*, p. 813.

We rather suspect that the learned lecturer is as good a hand at a distinction as the Irishman in the farce, who, speaking of porter, says, 'if it wasn't for the malt and hops, I had as lief drink Thames water.'

Let us try to estimate the amount and the effect of the difference which the lecturer treats so lightly; for this purpose we shall dismiss the machinery here introduced, and which seems to have puzzled him into a belief of the whimsical paradox to which he

has given utterance. We will simplify the process, and suppose the rent of an absentee to be transmitted to him directly, without the intervention of merchants and bills of exchange. For whether rent be transmitted to the absentee landlord directly in the shape of commodities or in bills of exchange employed in the purchase of the same commodities which are afterwards exported from Ireland, the effect upon the Irish population is the same. Let it be assumed, then, that the rent due to an absentee amounts to 100 quarters of wheat, 100 heads of cattle, and 100 firkins of butter; and that his tenants convey these commodities to Cork, whence they are transported to England, France, or Italy, for the use of the landlord. If the owner of this estate lived in Ireland, he would expend his wheat, beef, and butter, on Irish footmen and housemaids; on Irish tailors, coachmakers, butchers, bakers, &c. to whom he would give employment; but, as an absentee, he expends them on the domestics, artisans, and mechanics whom he employs at Westminster, Paris, or Naples. Still, if we are to believe the 'witness,' 'his income is as much expended in Ireland as if he were living in it.'

The extravagant and truly ridiculous blunder into which the 'witness' has fallen arose, we presume, from his overlooking a most material feature which distinguishes the export trade of Ireland from that of every other country. When other countries export commodities of which they have a surplus, they import articles of equal intrinsic value. The advantages of this traffic are therefore mutual. But for the vast quantities of raw produce —for the wheat, beef, and butter, worth, we should suppose, at the least, four millions per annum, which are now sent out of Ireland to pay absentee landlords, that country receives no return, except receipts for rent can be represented in that light. Hence it must be evident that to the parties concerned in this trade there can be no reciprocity of advantages. The hungry population of Ireland are doomed to stand idly by and see a vast proportion (probably not less than one half) of the whole produce of the country exported from its different harbours to be expended by absentee landlords on foreign domestics and artisans. The meal is taken away, while the mouths into which it ought to go are left behind.

It may, perhaps, be urged that the Irishmen to whom, in various ways, occupation would be given by the landlords, if resident, are now employed in fabricating wrought goods which are transmitted to them as absentees. Were this the case the evil of non-residence would, no doubt, be greatly diminished. If the whole of the raw produce of Ireland, which is now exported to pay the rent of absentees, were consumed by the population of that

that country while engaged in manufacturing the carriages, the coats, the shoes, the hats, and various other articles wanted for the use of the landlords and their households; or in the fabrication of linen, cotton, or any other wrought goods which might be given in exchange for such articles; it would make but a trifling difference on the score of expenditure whether the owners of estates used these articles in Paris or in Dublin. The whole produce of Ireland would, in this case, be consumed at home, and profitable employment would be given to its whole population. But the very reverse of this is the fact; of the rent of absentees very little is paid in wrought commodities. For this purpose a large quantity of wheat, oats, beef, and butter is annually exported from Ireland; and of this raw produce no portion is expended in employing and feeding its inhabitants.

The residence of land-owners upon their estates must necessarily create a demand for various kinds of labour highly beneficial to their tenantry: the individuals engaged to fill the different offices of their domestic establishments are naturally obtained from the farm-houses and cottages standing on their property; and in every district employment is constantly offered to menials, mechanics, and artisans. In Ireland, however, there are no resident landlords to employ the children of their tenants as domestic servants; and artisans or mechanics would starve in a country where no demand for their labour exists. To divide among his children the land which he occupies is an expedient to which the poor Irishman is in consequence unavoidably driven by circumstances. Retaining one to assist and succeed him in his farm, he would willingly make a different provision for the rest of his children; but the alternative is not offered him: there is no other way in which they can hope to procure a subsistence. When the children of these, in their turn, grow up, the same impossibility of procuring profitable employment stands in the way, and to save them from starving it becomes necessary to subdivide the fragments into which the land had been already parcelled.

The excessive population which this state of things has produced has at length most powerfully roused the attention of Irish landholders; a perfect panic is stated to prevail among them on the subject of population.

'They are, at length, deeply convinced, that though a stock of cattle or sheep will afford profit, a stock of mere human creatures unemployed will afford none; and they are this moment applying a corrective check of the most violent description to that increase of population which there has been but too much reason to deplore. The principle of depeopling estates is going on in every part of Ireland where it can be effected; in some parts more; in some less.'

 'I have

'I have known instances in the south, where, on the expiration of a lease affording the landlord an opportunity of newly dividing the land, thirty, forty or fifty occupying families have, in fact, been turned adrift, and the land which supported them has been divided into perhaps half a dozen respectable farms. The surplus population, thus turned adrift, wander about the country as mere mendicants, but they more frequently betake themselves to the nearest towns, and there occupy as lodgers the most wretched hovels in the most miserable outlets, in the vain hope of occasionally getting a day's work. Though this expectation too often proves ill founded, it is the only course possible for them to take; their resort to those towns produces such misery as it is impossible to describe.' —*Ev. of Mr. Leslie Foster before the Lords, 23d Feb.* 1825.

The condition of these wretched people when compelled to take refuge in a town is thus described.

'The male part of the family lie very frequently in bed during the day: the wife or daughter perhaps goes abroad and begs about the neighbourhood for some few potatoes, which she brings home: on these they vegetate: it is scarcely to be imagined on what a small pittance one of these wretches endeavours to subsist; in fact, he is almost like a savage of the American deserts; he lies down on a little straw on the floor, and remaining there motionless nearly all the day, he gets up in the evening, eats a few potatoes, and then throws himself again upon the earth, where he remains till morning.'—*Ev.* p. 376.*

This is a growing evil of such magnitude as to require the immediate and vigorous interference of the legislature. Anxious, as we are, for an alteration in the management of Irish landed property, still we cannot consent to purchase this advantage at the expense of the utter annihilation of a large proportion of the existing population of that country. We revolt with inexpressible abhorrence from those violent steps by which an attempt is made to remedy, in a few weeks, evils which have been the growth of centuries. By a long course of mismanagement, arising from the non-residence, indolence, or inattention of their proprietors, Irish estates have become encumbered with a dense population which the whole produce of the land, as it is now cultivated, is utterly inadequate to support: encouragements and facilities have been afforded to the occupiers of the soil to multiply far beyond the means of subsistence: and now that the evils caused by this excessive increase are perceived and felt, it is rather too much that the landlords should expect to be allowed to wreak the consequences exclusively on the heads of the helpless and unoffending peasantry, and to disencumber their estates of this surplus popu-

* It would thus appear that, in its re-action, the system of subdividing land is likely to inflict evils and sufferings upon the Irish peasantry even more intense than any they were exposed to during its progress and continuation.

lation

lation by turning their tenants adrift literally to perish through sheer want.

'Have you any doubt that the system of diminishing the number of tenants is generally acted upon on the termination of all the leases in that part of Ireland?—I should say it is universally acted upon.

'Does not that produce a great deal of misery?—A great deal of misery; we have had several shocking instances of the misery it has produced in the county of Limerick: There was an instance on the estate of Lord Stradbrook; there was the case of a large farm near Croom, in the southern part of the county; in short, there are cases of misery of that sort occurring every day.

'Will you state what has been the consequence of the case which occurred on Lord Stradbrook's property?—That has led lately to murder, burning of houses, and several other outrages; and at Croom there was some difficulty in getting the tenants out, and the military were obliged to be called in.'—*Maj. Gen. R. Bourke's Evidence, Third Report*, pp. 313, 314.

We are fully aware of the difficulty of the situation in which these proprietors are placed: they are naturally anxious to rid themselves of an unemployed and therefore unprofitable tenantry. But we strongly appeal to the feelings of the Irish landlords, and call upon them to pause on the consequences of turning them loose in a country where they can procure neither labour nor land to support themselves. We hope we shall hear no more of those violent and sudden thinnings of the occupiers of land which must appal the stoutest heart, and which, if generally carried into effect, must produce the most dreadful calamities and convulsions.

There is one fortunate circumstance disclosed in the evidence taken before these committees, which, if the landlords of Ireland have sufficient temper and address to avail themselves of it, will very materially contribute to relieve them from the difficulties by which they are now embarrassed. About two years ago, there was but little profitable employment for weavers, even in those districts in which the linen manufacture was most prevalent. The weekly wages of a weaver did not exceed five shillings; and even at that very low rate there was a deficiency of employment. But the removal of what were called protecting or union duties has produced effects infinitely more beneficial than the most sanguine persons could have anticipated; it has produced an entire revolution in the state of manufactures; weavers who, previously to this event, earned five shillings weekly in the linen manufacture, now earn from seven to nine shillings weekly, in manufacturing *cotton*. There is the additional advantage, that this species of industry admits of women and children engaging in it also; while in the much more laborious linen manufacture the work was almost entirely confined to the master of the family.

This branch of the cotton manufacture is, in another respect, peculiarly adapted to the present circumstances of Ireland. Speaking generally, those who are employed as weavers in the linen manufacture, buy their own yarn, and then sell the web of cloth when they have woven it. To a certain extent, therefore, they are capitalists, and must understand not only weaving, but buying and selling.

'But in weaving cotton, no outlay of capital is required; all who can weave and find a loom, which costs between thirty and forty shillings, may obtain constant employment; they have only to tender themselves for employment, and they are furnished with twist by Manchester agents, stationed for that purpose in different districts. These agents attend at different towns, on appointed days, carrying with them a quantity of cotton twist, which they give out to the weavers, who, at a fixed time, bring back a quantity of calico, corresponding with the weight of twist which they have received. And so anxiously sought for by the Manchester spinners is this species of labour, that the wages of the people employed in it are, in many instances, paid in advance. Thus the weaving of cotton gives employment to a poorer as well as a weaker class of labourers than those who are engaged in the linen manufacture.'—*Mr. Foster's Evidence*, p. 49.

The weaving of cotton is at present confined to the counties of Down, Antrim, Louth, and a part of the county of Dublin; but as there are no natural or fiscal obstacles to impede its progress, we entertain but little doubt that it will speedily find its way into every other part of Ireland. This is a subject which deserves the immediate and especial attention of the landlords in the southern and western counties. Whenever a profitable demand for labour shall have been introduced among the peasantry, a better division of their estates will become an easy task for the owners of the land.

The absence of land-owners from their property renders the dispeopling of subdivided estates a much more dangerous proceeding, than it could prove, if carried into effect under their personal superintendence. Few of them possess nerves strong enough to witness, with their own eyes, the dreadful scenes of human suffering which await the cottiers and their wretched families, when ejected from their tenements and thrown upon the world without food or the means of procuring it. But widely different is the case where the owner of the soil is not a spectator of the distress inflicted upon its ejected occupiers. Far away from the district, or perhaps the country, whence his revenues are drawn, he coolly transmits his commands to an agent; and he again is forced, probably against his own wishes and better feelings, to obey orders received from an employer, who, residing at Westminster, Paris, or Naples, is perfectly unconscious of or callous to the sufferings which his mandate may cause in Ireland.

The

The encouragement of emigration is another resource which offers itself to the land-owners of Ireland. Some emigrants have already been carried out to the Canadas, exclusively at the expense of the public. But although we should feel no repugnance to see such a measure occasionally carried into effect for the relief of Ireland, we do not think it either just or politic that government should take upon itself the whole expense of emigration. It is a measure exclusively calculated to relieve the difficulty pressing upon the landlords of Ireland, from the over population which encumbers their estates; and it is a difficulty which they have brought upon themselves, by devolving the management of their property upon agents or middlemen; it would be therefore unjust to saddle the public with the *whole expense* of a measure of relief which the general absence of proprietors from their estates alone has rendered necessary,—to say nothing of the chance that such a method of procedure might act as a bonus upon the production of another stock of Irishmen, which, at a future period, would require to be removed under circumstances of perhaps aggravated difficulty.

If any of our readers will take the trouble to look into Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Annals of Scotland, they will discover that half a century ago, the peasantry of the Highlands laboured under the same difficulties which now press upon the peasantry of Ireland, and that these difficulties sprung precisely from the same causes. In almost every district the land had become excessively subdivided among a numerous race of petty and indigent occupiers, until, in many instances, it had become impracticable for the owner to obtain any rent for his land, its whole produce being barely sufficient to afford the most scanty subsistence for the wretched cottiers by whom it was cultivated. Gradually and almost imperceptibly the landlords disencumbered their estates of this excessive population; as they became empty, cottages were pulled down; many small holdings being thrown into one, farms became gradually enlarged, and the owner is now enabled to obtain a high rent for land which, under the old system, was barely sufficient to maintain the occupiers. The effect of this change in the management of land, is not less conspicuous in the improvement which it has produced in the comfort of the cultivators, than in the addition which it has made to the revenues of the landlords. Formerly they lived in huts and cabins, similar both in extent and accommodation to the hovels which now shelter the Irish cottiers; their food, habits and manners, were as scanty, rude and savage, as those of the Irish peasantry. The alteration in the mode of letting land has brought about a complete revolution in their condition. The population of every parish where no manufactures have

have been introduced to keep it up, has been reduced in its numerical amount; where a crowd of paupers once vegetated in poverty, indolence and filth, a respectable number of industrious farmers now reside in comfortable and well constructed houses, suitable to the circumstances and wants of affluent yeomen; and a considerable number of the cottiers who were formerly spread over the land and existed in listless and half-occupied indolence, have either emigrated into the colonies or into manufacturing towns, where they live in comfort and comparative abundance upon the earnings derived from constant employment.

We gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity of calling the attention of our readers to the improvements which, within the last five-and-twenty years, have been made by the Marquis and Marchioness of Stafford, on their property in Scotland. Down to the close of the last century, the estate of Sutherland, consisting of not less than 750,000 acres of land, was distinguished by the same arrangement of society which formerly existed over all the Highlands of Scotland.

'Few of the lower orders held immediately of their lord: a numerous race of middlemen possessed the land; and along with the farms which they occupied, the inhabitants were abandoned to their controul and management: services of the most oppressive nature were demanded: the whole economy of his house, his farm, securing his fuel and gathering in his harvest, was exacted by the intermediate landlord from the dependents upon his possession.'

Hence resulted a state of things very nearly resembling the present condition of Irish estates. The mass of the tenantry was composed of indigent cottiers, racked and oppressed by intermediate landlords. Scattered over the various glens and sides of the mountains, they continued to raise, without much labour, a small quantity of inferior oats, of which they made their cakes; and of bear, from which they distilled their whiskey. The cattle which they reared were of the poorest description; they had hardly fodder enough to keep them during the summer, and in the winter they perished in numbers for want of sustenance.

The noble proprietors of this vast domain had discernment enough to perceive the real source of the misery and pauperism which prevailed among its occupiers: and they met the evil with a remedy at once efficient and humane; they resolved to abolish the pernicious system of subletting and subdividing land which had impoverished their tenantry. The land was taken out of the hands of the small occupiers among whom it had been parcelled, and relet, in farms of competent size, to enterprizing and substantial tenants. But while they were engaged in carrying this salutary alteration into effect, their humane consideration for the tenants

tenants whom it was found expedient to remove, never slumbered. Although they had the abstract legal right of ejecting these cottiers when their terms of holding expired, without being responsible for the consequences, still they felt bound by moral obligations, which in honourable minds are more powerful than legal ties, to make an adequate provision for the poor occupiers whom for their own good, no less than that of the property on which they had resided, it was necessary to dispossess. Accordingly there has not been a single instance of a tenant being deprived of his ancient holding, without having the offer of a cottage with an allotment of land at least sufficient to keep a cow: in most cases, every cottager had two or three acres of land capable of being cultivated, with a proportional quantity of pasture, allotted to him. We venture to state, in the most unequivocal terms, that on the whole of this extensive estate, no district was newly arranged until convenient lots had been marked out and reserved for those who were to be removed.

No means have been left untried to stimulate the industry and excite the exertions of the population of this estate: neither trouble nor expense has been spared in removing the obstacles which had retarded the improvement of the district. Ninety miles of road have been made; various bridges have been erected; farm-houses, adapted for the new system of husbandry, corn mills, and inns have been built; piers and harbours have been constructed; two fisheries, a colliery and a salt manufacture, with every necessary accommodation for those engaged in them, have been established; and immense tracts of land have been drained, inclosed and planted. It is needless to state that the capital expended in these and various other improvements, much too numerous to be particularly mentioned, has been very great. The hope of immediate profit, though not neglected, has never been permitted to stand in the way of any permanent advantage; and it must be apparent to those who are at all conversant with such matters, that although in some few instances the returns may be immediate and direct, in others they can only be expected indirectly, through the increased industry and improved habits of the people.

The effects of these vast and expensive improvements are now perceptible over the whole estate. Extensive fields of wheat, (some of them drilled after the most improved system of Norfolk husbandry,) a large breadth of turnips sown upon the ridge, and well horse-hoed and excellent crops of clover, are now seen where, a very few years since, there was nothing to be found but a few patches of miserable oats and bear, with which the land was alternately cropped until it was brought to such a state of exhaustion, that

that it would not reproduce even the quantum of seed bestowed upon it.

But the advantages derived from the alterations made upon this estate are far from being confined to the higher class of tenants: they are, if possible, more conspicuous in the augmented wealth and improved habits of that inferior race of occupiers whom it was found necessary to remove, in order to make way for the new arrangements. In their new allotments they have all been made immediate tenants to the proprietor. In lieu of personal services and payments in kind, now abolished, have been substituted fixed money rents on a moderate scale. Emancipated by this means from the slavery in which they formerly lived under intermediate landlords, and feeling that they will now reap the fruits of their own exertions, they have adopted with alacrity every improvement in agriculture which their limited means place within their reach. The improvement of their circumstances has naturally kept pace with the increase of their industry; and their desire of possessing the comforts of life has increased in the same proportion with their means of procuring them. Twenty years ago, they were removed from turf hovels into cottages built of rough stone without mortar: these again have gradually given place to neat houses, constructed of stone and lime. Personal and domestic cleanliness begins to be an object of attention; and the cow and the pig are no longer found the inmates of the same dwelling with the family.

It has, we are aware, been frequently asserted, that the alterations made upon this estate have been the means of driving away a great portion of the population of the district. This statement, if not utterly unfounded, is at least grossly exaggerated. No tenant was *driven* from the estate—no one was obliged to leave the country because he had not the offer of a lot of land equal to his wants and sufficient for the subsistence of his family. The few (and they were but a few) who left the estate, quitted it voluntarily. In an evil hour they listened to the solicitations and representations of speculators in American land. The melancholy letters which have been since received from those who put faith in the hollow promises of these transatlantic chapmen show that happy would they now be to be once more at home, and in the occupation of the lots which they despised.

Our readers can scarcely have forgotten with what pertinacity the effects of alterations which have proved in the highest degree beneficial to every class of occupiers residing upon this property, have been misrepresented for the base and malignant purpose of wounding the feelings of its noble owners. To serve some dark and secret ends, they have been held out to the world as selfish and unfeeling landlords, eager after private gain, and utterly regardless

gardless of the sufferings which their pursuit of it might inflict upon their tenants and dependents. We therefore feel no ordinary degree of satisfaction in bearing our testimony to the humane and considerate manner in which the whole of these important changes have been carried into effect on the Sutherland estate. We entertain no doubt, that sooner or later the owners will derive, in an augmentation of their rents, an ample compensation for the vast sums which they have so judiciously expended in the improvement of this extensive property. Be this, however, as it may, of one thing we feel quite sure: their generous and humane policy must ever remain deeply impressed upon the grateful recollection of their numerous tenantry.

The non-residence of Irish landlords is not an evil of modern origin, although recent events have augmented its magnitude and aggravated its effects. From time to time various efforts have been made to restrain its progress. In the reign of Henry VIII. it formed the ground of loud and reiterated complaints. Indeed, so enormous did the evil effects of non-residence appear to the legislature of that day, that an act was passed inflicting the penalty of forfeiture upon several landlords who neglected to reside upon their estates. The possessions of the Duke of Norfolk and of other extensive absentee proprietors were seized by the crown, and conferred on persons who engaged to reside upon them.

Whenever an allusion is made in either house of parliament to this prolific cause of Ireland's misery, up starts some noble lord or honourable commoner who favours his hearers with a panegyric on the body of non-resident proprietors to which he belongs, and deprecates all attacks upon *absent* members. This is a species of defence of which no man can entertain a very high opinion. It is not practicable to keep the public in the dark upon this subject much longer: and, were it practicable, it would be highly inexpedient. When the public has become convinced that the wretchedness of the peasantry of Ireland springs from the non-residence and consequent neglect of the land-owners as its primary cause, the right remedy will at length be hit upon: they will no longer be led away by delusive schemes for the pacification of that country suggested by those who are interested in throwing dust in their eyes; they will no longer be gulled into believing that a few laws enacted here, and which the want of a resident gentry to carry into effect must at any rate render inoperative, can cure evils so inveterate as those which press upon Ireland: they will discover that the principal means of administering to that country the relief of which it stands in need is the protection and superintendence of a body of resident proprietors; and the

the voice of the public, when their eyes have been once thoroughly opened, will become too strong to be resisted with impunity.

Whether any direct regulation could be introduced with good effect to augment the number of resident landlords is a question on which we can hardly venture to express a decided opinion. We are adverse to the principle of sumptuary laws; but cases do occasionally arise in which general principles may be infringed upon with advantage to the public, and it appears difficult to point out an instance in which a sumptuary law could be more excusable than in enforcing the residence of an Irish landlord. The advantages which would result to the country from the adoption of such a measure would probably far outweigh every reasonable objection that could be urged against its principle.

It is not however, we should hope, impracticable to arrive gradually at the same end by less violent means. It has been suggested that a direct tax should be imposed upon the land of absentees. The bulk of that vast multitude which, under the denomination of Englishmen, are found wandering and squandering their incomes over the continent, are in truth Irish landed proprietors, who desert their duties as landlords, and who contribute nothing, either directly or indirectly, towards the expense of governing that country from which their rack-rent revenues are drawn. The absentee not only forsakes his personal duties, but, by the same unnatural desertion of his place in society, is enabled to evade the payment of those fiscal charges which fall upon the inhabitants of this country. A large annual expense is incurred in maintaining a military force and an extra police establishment, to preserve the peace of Ireland, and enable the agents of those absentees to collect their rents. The absence of the proprietors is the leading circumstance which makes this expense necessary; it is that which renders their tenants so wretched and insubordinate as to require extraordinary and expensive means to controul them: we therefore think that this is a burden which ought to fall upon the land of the absentees: at least it ought not, as it is now, to be shifted entirely off their shoulders, and borne exclusively by the people of Great Britain. In truth we at present offer to the Irish absentees a direct bonus for deserting the duties of their station and taking up their residence in foreign countries. Under its present circumstances, Ireland, instead of being a source of revenue, is a heavy burden upon the exchequer of this country. The expenses of the various large establishments (military and civil) which are become indispensable for the government of a pauper tenantry deserted by their natural rulers, amount, on a low computation, to six millions per annum.

annum. Of this expenditure about one half is levied in Ireland; a balance of three millions is thus left to be made up out of the pockets of the people of this country.

But however just such a tax might be considered as a source of public revenue, it would be still more expedient as the means of lessening gradually, if not of abolishing entirely, the evils inflicted upon the people of Ireland by the non-residence of its landed proprietors. In order to give it this effect, it would be requisite to exempt all resident proprietors from the operation of such a tax. The payment of a portion of their incomes as a tax from which the resident proprietors were exempt, would soon produce a powerful influence on the conduct of absentees. Living at home among their tenantry and dependents would then be rendered as cheap as a residence among strangers. It might then occur to them that their presence in Ireland would enable them not only to evade the tax thus imposed upon the property of non-residents, but also, by encouraging industry and improvements, to augment the incomes derived from their estates, and to increase the comforts of their tenants. Those land-owners who still felt an invincible reluctance to reside in Ireland, would, in the course of time, find it advantageous to part with their estates, and convey them to purchasers willing to live in that country. It is probable that this would be the case with most of those great Irish proprietors who are at the same time the owners of extensive estates in this country.

In behalf of the Irish absentee proprietors it may perhaps be urged, that they have a right to reside wherever they please, and to expend the incomes derived from their estates in any country which they may chuse to select for the purpose; that it would be both cruel and unjust to impose restrictions upon the exercise of a privilege to which they are fairly entitled. We do not think that there is much weight in the objection here advanced. They should be reminded that the right to property in land, all the world over, is not a natural but a social right; it is not a right recognized by the laws of nature, but a right created by law for the benefit of the public. The supreme government of every country possesses the power of abridging even natural rights, if their unrestricted enjoyment should, under particular circumstances, be found injurious to society; much more can it abridge or modify the exercise of those rights which are solely the creatures of public laws. The abstract right to landed property both in England and Ireland is no doubt the same; but in this country the owners of land have voluntarily imposed on themselves many restrictions upon the enjoyment of this right, which the proprietors of Ireland disregard. The obligation of residing

residing upon their property is a social duty which most English landlords discharge of their own accord—municipal regulations to enforce its performance are therefore unnecessary; but this obligation is unfelt, or, what amounts to the same thing, is unfulfilled by the landlords of Ireland. It becomes, in consequence, incumbent upon the state to enforce the observance of an important obligation which individuals neglect.

But it would be quite incorrect to represent such a tax as an infringement of any just rights which the landlords of Ireland are entitled to exercise over their property, or as a penalty upon non-residence; it would simply amount to an alteration in the present mode of raising the supplies required by the state, and the adoption of a system better adapted to the circumstances of the country. The revenue of England is raised by indirect taxation; and as the land-owners, with exceptions not worthy of mention, are resident in the country, the pressure falls equally upon all, in proportion to their incomes and expenditure. This mode of providing for the exigencies of the state is therefore in this country both just and efficient. The situation of Ireland, however, is so totally different, as not only to justify but to require an essentially different system of taxation. It is but just that every owner of Irish land should contribute his fair proportion towards the support of the government which protects his property: while he continues non-resident he makes no contribution towards this object: he is not within the reach of indirect taxes; a direct charge ought therefore to be imposed upon his land. Were the landlords of England to desert their station in society and to squander their incomes in foreign lands, an alteration would soon become requisite in the present system of levying taxes: indirect would speedily give way to direct taxation; in lieu of customs, excise, and assessed taxes, not to be obtained from those who are absent from the country, it would become indispensably necessary to impose a direct tax upon their property, the payment of which no evasion could enable them to escape.

The removal of political disabilities would no doubt be felt as a relief by the higher class of Catholics; but to imagine that this would improve the condition of the Irish peasant is to expect a given effect from a cause with which it appears to have no connexion whatever. This would indeed prove a greater miracle than Prince Hohenlohe ever performed. Whatever other good Catholic emancipation might effect, we feel quite sure that to expect this good from it is preposterous. Would it give the Irish peasant a better cabin to live in; better fare to feed on; better clothing to wear?—No. But—'it would remove from his mind the

the consciousness of political proscription, and cause him to feel more respect for himself.' We beg the counsellor's pardon; as long as the Irish peasantry have half the land parcelled out among them, in allotments seldom exceeding an acre for each family—occupy, in common with their pigs, mud-cabins without chimneys or windows—feed on potatoes—lie on straw—and look up to the beggars of this country for an enviable display of wearing apparel, we cannot but smile at the whimsical conceit that 'Catholic emancipation would fill their minds with respect for themselves.'

The fact is, that the peasantry and politicians of Ireland affix very different ideas to the removal of Catholic disabilities.

'There is a deep feeling on the part of the Catholics that they are not so well off as they ought to be; and they do not feel easy with regard to any thing that relates to government or the state of the country: I conceive the feeling originates in what they call the want of emancipation: *and with the common people the idea, I am aware, they entertain of emancipation, as they call it, is a division of property:* I am fully aware of that: they have little idea, as far as I know, of what it really is; but almost one and all of the common people understand by it *a restoration of the forfeited estates, to which many of them claim to be heirs.*'—*Ev. of the Rev. Henry Cooke, before the Lords, 18th March*, 1825, p. 214.

None of the witnesses venture expressly to deny that these are the views of the peasantry; although some of them attempt to make us infer that no such expectation prevails in Ireland, *because* no difference is perceptible between the selling price of an estate which has been forfeited and that of another which has not. One, of the witnesses, however, naturally and satisfactorily explains this, by stating, that 'no difference of price exists, because there is no such feeling on the part of the buyers; such ideas of the restoration of forfeited estates are confined to the lower order of Catholics; in which class the purchasers of estates are never found.'

We cannot help suspecting that the more active members of that order of Catholics, to whom alone the removal of political disabilities can be an object of real importance, have taken great pains to mislead the peasantry upon this question, with the view of enlisting them under their banners, and giving additional weight to the applications which have periodically been made to the legislature in their behalf. The wretched peasantry have been taught to consider their destitute condition as the effect of the political exclusions to which, as Catholics, they are subject; and not, as in truth it is, of the vicious social system under which they have the misfortune to live, as occupiers of the soil of Ireland.

ART. IX.—1. *Tremaine; or the Man of Refinement.* 3 vols. 1825.
2. *Matilda, a Tale of the Day.* 1 vol. 1825.
3. *Granby, a Novel.* 3 vols. 1826.

THESE three popular works have so many points of resemblance that we are naturally led to consider them together. 'Tremaine,' the first, is not a novel of action, nor does it present any pictures of passion; it is rather a story serving to string together the expressions of certain feelings and opinions; and in this respect resembles, though it is very inferior to them in its portraiture of manners, some of the productions of the Edgeworth family. We should say that it was the work of a polished and sensible rather than of a very brilliant mind; but the book shall speak for itself; and we will first give a survey of the story and afterwards some remarks on the opinions which it inculcates.

It opens with something of dramatic effect in the arrival of Tremaine at his country-seat. He is a man of fortune and accomplishments, and of distinction in the fashionable and political world. From these, however, he had retired, not very well contented with either. His situation and the feelings arising out of it are well portrayed in a chapter, which, though it is but the amplification of the sketch in one of our essayists of a restless man who changes professions and is blown about by every wind of opinion, is so well dilated and detailed, that we recommend it to very especial consideration.

He had also tried love, but a man like Tremaine was even less likely to be satisfied in his pursuit of love than in that of fortune. Yet though often disgusted in his nearer approaches to women, he received a strong impression at last from a natural and pleasing girl, whom he accidentally stumbled upon in a pretty cottage in France, where she was residing with her mother. Concealing his wealth, in his romance, his eccentricity, or his refinement, call it what you please, he conceived the strange design of *experimenting* upon the strength of his young friend's attachment to him, removed from all extraneous influence, even of hope.' The experiment at first promises very happy results; the young lady *loves him for himself*, and his happiness seems assured. It is, however, undermined, and at last blown up. He accidentally learns that his mistress's is not *a virgin heart*; she had had a former predilection for a young officer, the companion of her childhood, which had, however, entirely yielded to her passion for Tremaine. This preference was moreover shown to Tremaine under circumstances highly flattering. The *captain*, who had been some time separated from the

the young lady, had in the interval received a large accession of fortune, while his rival was preferred, though avowedly a lover of uncertain expectations, and supposed to be dependant upon the bounty of a relation. This is not sufficient to satisfy the fastidious man's delicacy. He hears that the *captain* is expected, and acting upon what he considers as a principle of honour, determines to leave him a fair field. He accordingly makes a somewhat ambiguous, though not dishonourable, retreat, which he justifies awkwardly by letter. It is not very wonderful that a young lady, left under such circumstances, and under the tutelage of a mother studious of her interests, should revert to her old admirer. She does so; and, as a piece of poetical justice, is by him abandoned in his turn. But our business is with Tremaine.

Nauseated with love, he determines to study men and manners; and makes the tour of Europe. He returns; and is elected a member of parliament. The result of his attempts in the House of Commons is well imagined. A fastidious person can hardly ever succeed in this place, where a man must, for the most part, blunder into excellence; where he can only thoroughly form himself by practice and failure; and must make himself a useful speaker, as a boy makes himself a useful horseman. He may undoubtedly make a set speech without much risk; and so may the boy put his horse through practised paces, and prance about a riding-school; but in business, as in the field, the comparison holds good. Tremaine is now disgusted by the success of some of those, who owe it to their very coarseness and insensibility. He is disposed, by natural habits, connexions, and ill-humour, to oppose administration; but a man of refinement, the essence of whose character consists in taking nice distinctions, is not fitted for a party-man. A well-imagined accident, however, overrules him; he receives a severe chastisement from the late Mr. Perceval, and, in his anger, enlists with the opposition. He is not happier in his new connexion. The leader of the Whigs plays him a shrewd trick, and he beats a retreat into Northamptonshire. He goes off, however, with a flourish of trumpets.

'Tremaine gave a farewell dinner to his friends, in which professors of politics, professors of *belles lettres*, and professors of good breeding were pleasantly mixed. The *savoir vivre*' (non meus hic sermo) 'shone out on this occasion with a splendour seldom equalled; and it was observed, that the master of the feast was never less listless or splenetic, and never seemingly in such good humour with the world as while thus in the act of taking leave of it—perhaps for ever. Two days after he arrived at Belmont.'

We always hail the arrival in the country, of the hero of a work

of fiction, and the author usually achieves much by dispatching him thither. It is attended with much the same effects as turning a horse out to grass, and produces salutary influence both upon body and mind. Don Quixote is never so delightful as at the Duke's, nor Gil Blas as at Lirias, nor the Spectator as at Sir Roger de Coverley's; and Falstaff eating a dish of cheese and carraway-pippins in Master Shallow's orchard appears to us as a giant refreshed. This charm, however, cannot be expected in the rustication of Tremaine: for a distinguished statesman once well observed 'that it required a great stock of health and animal spirits to bear the country.' A picture of fastidiousness must be wearisome every where, but is most so amidst green fields. Tremaine's retirement opens with new disgusts and new disappointments. A squire calls on him in long breeches and short boots, with many strings and straps. These *priscæ vestigia fraudis* disconcert him. The conversation of the visitor rivets the impression he has received, and Tremaine seems to adopt something like Hall Wharton's opinions, and

> '*to think*
> *Alike about a country dog and squire;*
> *That both are only fit to sleep and stink*
> *By their own fire;*
> *And when awake are only good*
> *To yelp and halloo in a wood.*'

His domestic duties do not satisfy him more, his steward *bothers* him about bills, and his bailiff about bulls. The listless calm which succeeds this short sea of troubles, and which had threatened to overwhelm his ill-found bark before she was yet fairly anchored, is as distasteful to *the man of refinement:* and in the absence of worse vexations, he discovers that he has done wrong in fixing his residence in Northamptonshire, in a small place which had not been the usual residence of his ancestors, but which he had ornamented at a great expense. He accordingly retrogrades again, to speak in the cant of modern warfare, and falls back upon his family mansion-house in Yorkshire. To this immediate resolution he is indeed determined by an accident. He falls sick, and his physician seeks to cure him rather by a change of life than by a course of medicine. That he did well in this we have little doubt; but we cannot help thinking that he would have aided his operations by physic; and we suspect indeed that Tremaine's was what is termed 'a calomel-case,' and as likely to have received benefit from Dr. Gooch, or Dr. Holland, as from *the Reverend* Doctor Evelyn, of Evelyn Hall; a gentleman, who afterwards disciplines his morbid and melancholy humour. A Dr. Asgill, however, who was at that time the patient's physician, certainly

certainly played his part well, as far as moral discipline could go. He made Tremaine read his letters; and to make a man read his letters in the jaundice is no small achievement. Now among these was one on business which required his presence in Yorkshire. This was a glorious opportunity, and not to be neglected. In Italy, make the melancholy man—who thinks he has at some time or other been bit by a tarantula—dance, and you cure him. In England, make the melancholy man—who thinks he has seen the vanity of all flesh—travel, and you do the same. Tremaine is trundled off into Yorkshire, in a barouche and four, which, we rejoice to say, is not in this place, as on another occasion, denominated '*une barouche à quatre chevaux*.'

Though we did not follow Tremaine into Northamptonshire with much pleasure, we contemplate him with more satisfaction in Yorkshire. It is difficult indeed, except when the *St. Leger Stakes* are the order of the day, for any one to keep his ill-humour in the kind circle of that hospitable county, whither we should willingly carry a foreigner as exhibiting the picture of society which is the most creditable to England. Fortunately Tremaine did not arrive at the only evil moment; to wit, about the time of the Doncaster races; did not hear the balance of betting books struck, nor see priests metamorphosed into horse-jockies. On the contrary, he was lucky enough to fall in with an excellent and sagacious man, a specimen of a better and more natural union, that of the rector and the squire, showing a happy resemblance to the graft of the plum upon the sloe, the excellence of the fruit being by no means injured by the rudeness of the stock. This rational man, with

'A healthy body and a virtuous mind,'

is a good contrast to Tremaine, and having been the friend of his youth, though somewhat his senior, applies himself to the correction of his sickly propensities with as much judgment as assiduity. Some exceptions, however, might be taken to his (Dr. Evelyn's) dietetic system. He finds out that *sour wines* such as *sauterne* and *claret* disagree with his patient, and in this he may be right; yet we cannot but question the propriety of making a *bilious* convalescent dine under a tree, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and—*Oh! dura messorum ilia!*—of drenching a weak stomach with that mixture of port wine and milk, which is denominated syllabub. But the doctor of divinity, like the doctor of physic, relies principally upon moral medicines: and a very pretty and amiable daughter (the father was a widower) is a most efficacious assistant. If she reared poultry, she read Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, (we wish she had preferred Tasso's Aminta,) and had 'a pretty soft hand and an airy foot.' Moreover, 'her cheek was

dimpled and gave a play to her countenance such as none else in Tremaine's opinion had ever exhibited. It was the lightning play, so beautifully described by Petrarch in the *lampeggio del angelico riso.'*

Here we stop to enter a small protest; these are *not* the words of Petrarch; we have our reasons for taking such an exception, (as will afterwards appear,) and are contented for the present to be classed with that classical peer, who, filled with the spirit of Eton, called the late duke of Norfolk *to order* for a false quantity, in saying, according to his Douay-prosody,

' Oremus pacem et' *manus* ' tendamus inermes.'

We are, however, losing sight of Miss Evelyn's smile, and we splice the thread of narrative where it was broken. ' Tremaine was in fact peculiarly struck; so much so, that with all his *usage du monde* he seemed lost, till at length he stammered out a sort of a compliment to Evelyn, upon having such a companion in his solitude, which must, he said, for ever have prevented time from hanging heavy.' Tremaine's usage of the world (to abridge the story and to speak English) was sufficient to prevent his compromising himself to the point of obtaining even his own consent to such a mis-alliance, but still an impression was made; and while ' *riant* looks were interchanged by the father and daughter, Tremaine almost experienced a feeling of envy, though he knew not to what it pointed.' Still, however—to translate and abridge—the Man of Refinement is, not more than dazzled by the laughter of her looks, and lightning of her smile. He has the hook in him, but strives for some time with much vivacity against the hand which holds him. We have said that Miss Evelyn was a useful assistant to her father in correcting Tremaine's morbid propensities; but, in truth, rough remedies seem to have done almost as much for him as soothing ones, and he is put through a course of these with much advantage. Some of the most approved, to which he is subjected, are an inclosure-bill, a quarter-sessions, and a public day; but we have not space for these details.

As little are we disposed to exhibit any of the characters which figure upon this provincial stage; they are, for the most part, a *misanthrope, accoutred in a white coat and blue silk waistcoat;* and a Will Wimble, exaggerated and bad copies of good originals. It is true that extravagant, and even bad, drawing sometimes recommends caricature; but then it must be by the exaggeration of truth, not by the false and tawdry character of the colouring, or of the lines. As an illustration of what we mean, take the author's notion of the Yorkshire dialect, as he has put it into the mouth of his Mr. Careless, who is made to say—' But *us* plain Yorkshires wear

wear well enough,' &c. Every one must see the absurdity of making the younger brother of a considerable Yorkshire squire talk such barbarous English: a gentleman moreover who, as we are carefully informed, was the favoured correspondent of a periodical work upon agriculture. As a proof that there is the same want of keeping and of colouring throughout, we will refer our readers to the description of a public day at Lord Bellenden's, the lord-lieutenant for the Riding.—See vol. ii. p. 22. Here there is such prominent vulgarity, exhibited in a contest for precedency, &c. &c. &c., that we should have thought the description too coarse even for that of a dinner-party in the steward's room of the present excellent lord-lieutenant, if, on referring to one able to speak from personal experience, we had not been assured that in *talking at one another*, the company in the real steward's room were the exact counterpart of that assembled in the imaginary dining-room.

We have, however, a much graver accusation to prefer against the exhibitor of these country theatricals, in which are to be seen a few actors from London, who seem brought forward for the usual purpose of gathering and astonishing an audience. We are, we should premise, too well aware of the prescriptive rights of literature (whatever our private opinion may be) to venture to object to the introduction of living characters in works of imagination. Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, and Cumberland have established precedents too strong to be shaken by the breath of our feeble authority, and it is to the mode *in* which it is done, rather than to the practice itself, that we shall therefore tender our exceptions.

An English traveller and a Scotch doctor, who are baited for the amusement of the reader, may by some be considered as recognized *lions*, and therefore as much among the beasts of chase as any other Libyan or Lydian monster that roars. The fields of literature may be open to the novelist or the critic; but surely—to speak the language of Yorkshire—the *preserves* of private life are to be respected: and *ware hen!* is sportsman's law throughout the land. How then can the author of Tremaine, the champion of decorum, in a work 'half novel and half sermon,' vindicate his attacks upon women, one of whom he has personally marked as the victim of his satire, by particularizing an unfortunate and mortifying accident which is well known to have befallen her; and the other whom he has almost as manifestly designated by a remarkable circumstance in her life? However much in relief he may choose to consider them as standing in private life, have they ever wandered beyond its confines? If they have not, who is safe? The author will say, perhaps, that he did not mean

to exhibit either of the ladies, whom we imagine him to have designated, and that he only meant to delineate particular features, filling up the outline from imagination. But he who gives a general caricature resemblance of the person, and hangs upon it something which is peculiar to him or her, supposed to be caricatured, cannot but expect that his pictures will be considered as perfect portraits. At any rate the mischief which he does is monstrous, though perpetrated in the spirit of Mr. Dubster's acquaintance, who only broke the swan's leg 'in a bit of play.'

But we have too long suspended our narrative of the story. This is, however, of the less consequence; as every one must have anticipated the conclusion. Tremaine, nauseated with the fopperies of artificial life, yields to the claims of simple nature in Miss Evelyn, the daughter of the 'rector squire;' and Miss Evelyn, forgetful of some disparity of age, which is not however very formidable, yields to the elegance and accomplishments of Tremaine.

It is, however, necessary that Love's current should never run smooth; and a romantic incident exposes the lover to the suspicions both of Dr. Evelyn and his daughter. This adventure ends as all such adventures do; and an explanation of some mysterious circumstances only serves to exalt their notions of Tremaine's generosity and purity of mind. This storm is scarcely blown over, when the horizon becomes again overcast. Tremaine unfortunately entertains opinions on the subject of religion, which are repugnant to a girl of a devout, though not fanatical disposition, and educated under the paternal care of a sincere professor of the doctrines which it was his duty to inculcate.—Under such circumstances, she veils her love, and the progress of the passion which seemed hastening to a happy conclusion, remains suddenly suspended. In the interim both give the regular and prescribed tokens of attachment. Tremaine saves Miss Evelyn at the expense of an injured arm, *which he wears in a sling*, and Miss Evelyn *refuses a lord*. The attachment is, however, suspended, as has been intimated, and the lovers stand aloof; Tremaine influenced by the feelings of honour, and Miss Evelyn by those of religion.

Tremaine retires; but neither the lady nor her father perhaps had calculated upon the suddenness and distance of the lover's retreat, which was precipitated by the destruction of a letter; for the author's maxim of *stare super vias antiquas* influences him in every thing. Tremaine breaks cover in Yorkshire, and runs to ground in Oxford; is, somehow or other, unearthed; and finally flies the country. Miss Evelyn sickens for his loss; the same Dr. Asgill, who had formerly cured Tremaine, administers

to

to her disease; recommends a foreign tour; and the doctor and daughter set out upon their travels.

The author is fond of coming suddenly upon his game, and a heroine is twice *put up* in a cottage. Tremaine is, however, with a due regard to his superior dignity, surprized in a *chateau;* he is then recalled from *some* of his worst errors, and married by Dr. Evelyn to his daughter, in the hope of his being hereafter *done to a turn* under her very housewifelike management. For this task Miss Evelyn was certainly better qualified than Miss Primrose, having extended her studies in polemical divinity beyond 'the conversations of Robinson Crusoe and the savage, the dispute between Thwackum and Square, and religious controversy in Courtship.' We will hope, therefore, that she may complete her lover's conversion, and turn a deist into a Christian.

This work, however, of Tremaine's partial conversion is, we think, the worst and most tedious part of the book. Tremaine is, unluckily, an old-fashioned metaphysician, leaning, in his religious or rather anti-religious opinions, towards a sort of Epicurean notion of the divinity; but is not very consistent, even in his own unhappy and gratuitous theory. Dr. Evelyn, who is admitted by him to the most confidential discussion of these opinions, instead of desiring to rest the question on a more philosophical and satisfactory basis, successively demolishes the outworks of his antagonist's creed, and obtains the doubtful triumph we have related. All this is, we think, ill-imagined. It is true that the author, who does almost every thing by precedent, may, in some sort, fortify himself by one in Amelia; but Fielding had too much discretion to make his novel a vehicle for a dissertation *a priori* from Mr. Booth, or a metaphysical sermon from Dr. Harrison. Add, that the theories which Tremaine defends, and Dr. Evelyn batters down, are out of date; and we might as well mispend our time in listening to a discussion upon the *vortices* of Descartes, as to the unprofitable dialogue, through which the reader is expected to wade. Surely the author, though sufficiently observant at an earlier period, must have slept during some of the latter years of his life, as may indeed be inferred from sundry petty circumstances, such as Tremaine informing Careless that two or three o'clock continues to be the usual dinner-hour upon the continent, &c. &c. &c. If the author had mixed more in society than he appears latterly to have done, he would have known that infidelity is not the besetting sin of the cultivated fine gentleman of the present day; and that even he who does not think that the system which we believe to have been revealed, is established upon sufficient evidence, has at least too much sense to propose any opposite theory of his own. Moreover, we doubt much whether

all

all the divinity of Dr. Evelyn, though he is exhibited as a pillar of the Christian church, would be considered as orthodox; and some other doctrines which are advanced by him incidentally would, we believe, admit yet greater question. One of these, which struck us forcibly on reading *the first* edition, we observe the author has *qualified* (to use his own distinction) in a note to *the third; videlicet,* the startling proposition of the brain *being dissolved once in forty-eight hours.*

We certainly should never think of putting the *last part* of Tremaine into any young person's hands, with the idea of doing him good, being of opinion that there is much to bewilder even a brain that does not undergo the process of such a periodical dissolution; while, as we have before hinted, we do not think the defence of religion is put upon its broadest and safest foundation. In this respect, indeed, we are much more old-fashioned than the author himself. We are better satisfied with the good effects of the moral which is preached in the earlier part of his work. Though infidelity is no longer *the fashion,* fastidiousness is more than ever the vice, with which the cultivated part of the community may be reproached; and we conceive that the mischiefs resulting from an indulgence in this, were never more faithfully or ingeniously depicted. We are not believers in the efficacy of inculcating the greater morals, in works of fiction; though we think great mischief may be done by making such works the medium either of depravity, or of a false or sickly morality. We believe, however, that the smaller morals may be usefully enforced, and we feel assured that no fastidious person, who is at all awake to his own defects, can read Tremaine without being persuaded that it affords most useful and practical lessons of conduct. We have said that fastidiousness is the folly of the age, and we think that every day furnishes fresh confirmations of this assertion. In proportion as our young men are superior to their fathers in education, they fall short of them in the acquirement of useful attainments. There is no succession in the House of Commons, and a very feeble one at the bar; our youth know every thing, and do nothing. The cause of evil seems to lie in over refinement, as it is well illustrated in Tremaine. Our youth look to the poetry, and not to the reality of life, and it is the object of this book to show that the individual who adopts such an idea, mars his own happiness, as much as he fails in his duty towards the community. It is the object of this novel to show, that no duty or innocent occupation which occupies the rest of the world is to be rejected with contempt; that society, if worthy in other respects, is not to be shunned because it is not supereminently refined, and that even the sweets of literature are to be sipped rather than swallowed

lowed in a draught. Such doctrines will surely be pronounced true by every one of any experience. A venerable person, distinguished for considerable literary attainments, as well as profound knowledge in the most liberal department of the law, once shrewdly observed, *that he found business the best pleasure;* and, to descend in the scale of authorities, Tom Pipes has inculcated, in song, that—

'labour's the price of our joys.'

We pass from the moral to some observations upon the story of Tremaine. This, we have already said, is without passion or action, and is not recommended by its portraiture of manners; yet, such as it is, it is prettily told, and the character of the principal personage is admirably sustained. He is a gentleman, in all substantial points, and perhaps exhibits one of the very few faithful pictures of the gentlemanlike character; of the man who, when uncontrolled by stronger notions, conducts himself instinctively according to the rules of honour, propriety, and good taste. Of such a character there is no instance in our older novels; every hero of these departs, more or less, from the character of a gentleman; and even the faultless Sir Charles Grandison, who is meant to be as majestic as moral and amiable, often compromises the grace and dignity with which Richardson intended to invest him. As a short example of this: there is perhaps nothing better imagined or better begun than the description of his visit to Sir Hargrave Pollexfen in his own house, after the encounter in which he had been engaged with him. His tone is at first such, that we understand the unclean spirits with which that house was filled being rebuked under him, but when he condescends to familiarize himself to a certain degree with the *Mercedas, &c.* and is seduced into a vain and foolish parade of some of his exploits, we expect such a man as Sir Hargrave to exclaim, like Harlequin, *Comment, maraud, pendard, oses-tu nous faire peur?* and wonder that he does not order his butler to kick him down stairs.

There are none of these sins against propriety in Tremaine; but it must be allowed, that his character is not quite so consistent in another respect. He is represented as a man studious of all the conventional niceties, as well as of all the essential characteristics of a fine gentleman, and *that* distinguished judge of such matters now in exile, whom the author terms the King of the Dandies, is represented as not having been able to reproach him with any wider departure from the ways of refinement than that of having studied the law. Now we strongly suspect *that* great authority would have, on other grounds, demurred to the preten-

sions

sions of a man whose favourite phrase was '*as how?*' (to be found *passim*, as the Delphin index has it,) and one of whose habits was '*smiling and rubbing his hands.*'—vol. i. 289.

We cannot be supposed to participate in this sort of feeling; and we can, at least, excuse these *offences* in the author as Falstaff excused rebellion in Blunt, upon the ground that *he took them up because they lay in his way*. But there are other sins which he has gone *out of his way* to take up; we mean such foreign ornaments as *savoir vivre, je ne sais quoi, &c. &c. &c.* Now, not to try expressions like these by such fantastic rules as those of taste, we cannot understand how a man who is the advocate of whatever is exclusively homespun in other matters, should not wish to keep 'our pure well of English' undefiled by such intermixtures. A man who is actuated by a real spirit of patriotism would, we should think, extend this to the language, as well as to the other institutions, of his country. That this is a natural and general feeling may be proved by a single test. No distinguished statesman in the House of Lords or Commons has ever (we believe) interlarded his speeches with foreign phrases; and Mr. Fox, the best French scholar whom modern times have produced, when under the necessity of naming a French place, always gave it its true English pronunciation, calling Toulon, *Tooloon*, and Bordeaux, *Boordux*. Nor is this to be considered as originating in a mere *Bullish* feeling. Foreign statesmen, who cannot be supposed to have been influenced in such a case by any thing but wiser motives, have justified our opinion. Joseph and Kaunitz made Italian, from which they had nothing to fear, the *lingua aulica* of Vienna, instead of French; and the present king of Prussia, on finding himself re-seated on his throne, banished the language of France from his court, though he allowed the introduction of her wines.

We have another objection to this hodge-podge of languages. Both are sure to be spoiled in the concoction. Thus in the third and revised edition, (to say nothing of smaller slips,) we have something about a *naive archbishop*, and the following blunder: 'Then a declaration is at length coming from the refined *fastidieux*;' from which, and other passages, it is evident the author thought that *fastidieux* meant fastidious; whereas it means tiresome. For this, see the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*. 'Fastidieux, euse, adj. Qui cause du dégoût, de l'ennui. *C'est un homme fastidieux, une comédie fastidieuse, un ouvrage fastidieux, des entretiens fastidieux.*' Now though it is no more a reproach to a well-educated Englishman, who finds himself called upon to speak French, to make such a mistake, than it is for one who is obliged

obliged to speak Italian, to suppose that *morbido* means morbid, it *is* a ridiculous thing for any one to make an unnecessary parade of that in which he is unskilled.

> Ludere qui nescit, campestribus abstinet armis,
> Indoctusque pilæ, discive, trochive, quiescit,
> Ne spissæ risum tollant impune coronæ.

The author's English, (as we have hinted,) though the general march of his style is not unpleasing, is sometimes as exceptionable as his French. Thus we have *crapulence* ('we marvel where he found that term') for debauchery; *walls* as an abbreviation of wall-flowers, and other delinquencies of different descriptions. As genuine samples of some of his sins against idiom and propriety, take the following passages; 'and even Sir William Temple's pride in his peaches could never *induce his attention* to fruit trees.' 'You scold us pretty well for it however,' (said Tremaine.) 'Not a stroke at *my lord there, but I felt it in every bone in my own skin.*' But enough of such small criticism! We pass from Tremaine to 'Matilda,' which has some points in common with it; though we do not know whether the author (who writes in a high spirit of aristocratical feeling) will be flattered by the assertion. To relieve him, however, as soon as possible from what are probably *his* worst apprehensions, we will begin by saying, that there are no '*as hows?*' to be found in his pages, and that, though we cannot acquit him, any more than the other, of intermixture of foreign phraseology with his English, we are bound to acknowledge that he has offended infinitely less than the author of Tremaine. We ourselves dislike so extremely the practice, that we consider it as little less nauseous than that of carrying perfumes; but there is a striking difference of degree between the offences committed by the two writers. The author of Tremaine is constantly saying in French what might just as well be said in English, whereas the author of Matilda seldom resorts to other languages, except in cases where he cannot readily find an English equivalent. There is indeed, as a set off against the *savoir vivre* of Tremaine, such a word as *beaux* in Matilda; but as these *beaux* are the attendants of the Miss Hobsons of Manchester, we suppose even the great authority to which we have before alluded, might find in this the justification of such a term. There is much Italian (we ought also to mention) interspersed through these sheets. The fact of the scene occasionally lying in Italy may fairly justify, and may perhaps sometimes call for this. We cannot, however, on any ground, find an excuse for the spelling sometimes exhibited, in phrases so employed; errors which we should have attributed exclusively to the printer, were they not such as are usually committed by English speakers

of

of Italian; to wit, that frequent want of distinction of final vowels, as of *e* and *i*, &c. which leads to such eternal confusion of number and gender, and the introduction of letters and combinations (as *ph* and *y*), which are not to be found in the Italian alphabet; as in 'Pam*phy*li.'—vol. ii. p. 113.*

Having premised one point in which the two works differ, we will proceed to show in what circumstances they agree, though we fear that our process may be likened in some respects to the grounds of Fluellin's celebrated comparison. In the first place both novels seem to have been put forth very much as the vehicles of political opinion. The author of Tremaine, though he is less the partizan of Pitt than of Perceval, is the champion of the Tories, and he of Matilda is *that* of the Whigs. There is another closer and more pleasing point of resemblance. Both authors appear to be the honest advocates of their respective tenets and the steady friends of religion and morality.

Matilda is not, any more than Tremaine, (to pursue our comparison,) a novel of action; it is not, however, without passion. It is an old tale, which has been too often verified. A girl in high life, of amiable qualities, and excellent feelings, with little religious cultivation, falls in love with a young man of her own rank, who is ill provided for by fortune. They are accidentally separated; she is induced to believe that she is deserted, and becoming wholly indifferent to her future prospects, suffers herself to be made over by an ambitious, greedy relation to a wealthy upstart, for whom it was impossible that she could entertain either liking or respect. In the mean time her first lover succeeds, like Tremaine, to a large inheritance and a title. He and the lady meet; the equivocal part of his conduct is explained, and an intimacy ensues, which the author of Tremaine, we suppose, would have said, was maintained between them *en tout bien et en tout honneur*. A sort of instinctive apprehension makes them wish to discontinue this; but Matilda's husband, who is a coarse and foolish man, and who has a selfish object in cultivating the friendship of the lover, is insensible to his own danger, and does every thing to rivet the connexion. The consequences may be anticipated. Poor Matilda sins, sickens and dies. This catastrophe however is ill brought about. The author does not make Matilda, though pained by mortifications incidental to her situation, sicken in sorrow; but dispatches her by such an accident as might have happened to any irreproachable matron.

Such is the short outline of the story which exhibits very pretty touches, though the sketch is not so well finished as it might

* Second edition.

have

have been. In its developement it exhibits many characters delineated with much spirit and delicacy. Among *these*, as in Tremaine, we thought we could recognize a living character; but there is no offensive circumstance which fixes his individuality, and if the person in question was meant, he may well be considered as the representative of his class. Some characters also, like some in Tremaine, may be deemed caricatures; but, if they are so, the license consists in exaggeration, and not in alteration of feature and colouring. But we are very probably wrong in this supposition; for it is hardly possible to set bounds to the extravagances of such persons as the Dobsons of Manchester, while it is as impossible to credit the vulgarity of 'Mrs. High Sheriff' of Yorkshire in Tremaine, as it is to believe in her having been addressed under such a designation, by individuals admitted to the table of the lord-lieutenant. Moreover, if the elder branches of the Manchester family are somewhat caricatured, we can speak ourselves to the perfect resemblance of *young* Hobson to more than one individual of his species. In the delineation of this portrait indeed, the author reminds us much of the sort of charm which Madame d'Arblay has often contrived to throw about a commonplace character, a charm which seems principally to reside in the complete coherency of its parts.

But the great merit of this work consists in the portraiture of manners exhibited in good society; and its opening description of the prelude to a London dinner, if not true *as a whole*, will be acknowledged as having been witnessed in many places, *in parts*.

We are informed that the popularity of this work is not confined to England; and, certainly, the being able to bear the sea is not more a test of the soundness of wines than of novels. This popularity is, we think, deserved, and we consider Matilda as possessing many graces and offering few causes of offence. Still it could hardly be expected that a young writer (such as the author evidently is) should have entirely escaped the errors of the day. Two of the most striking among these—the straining to produce effect, and incorrectness of diction—are sometimes to be found in Matilda, where a mysterious monk more than once *thous* and *yous* the heroine in the same breath, and addresses her in the following melo-dramatic tone; 'That which I gave at yonder font I needs must know again. Nay, more—though I grieve to speak it, Delaval is, or was, your name.—Better than yourself I know you,' &c. Such flourishes, however, are few; and the concluding period, which is in a chaster tone, may stand as an average specimen of the style.

'After a time, he (Matilda's lover) sought some relief to his feelings in active service in the cause of the Greeks; but even in the most eventful moment

moment of his after life, *that* would sometimes obtrude itself, which was never absent from his solitary pillow,—the image of his poor Matilda, as, heart-broken and repentant, he had seen her on the evening preceding the fatal catastrophe which had left him alone in the world.'

'*Granby*' is a third novel of the school upon which we have been commenting, and would claim more room in this Article, did it not very much resemble Matilda; from the root of which it has evidently sprung. Like that work, it is marked by a healthy tone of moral and religious feeling, is written for the most part in an easy and gentleman-like vein, and contains many true sketches of fashionable life. But the magic of these scenes in Matilda seems to have depended upon their freshness; and the novelty of truth in pictures which had always before been exaggerated, appears to have made their principal charm. For after viewing other pieces of the same school, in Granby we grow weary of such a gallery, form the same conclusion respecting fashionable men and women, that an ornithologist did as to fish, and are tempted to pronounce them 'but an insipid people.' Yet in these scenes there is a third improved *avatàr* of the dandy principle in a Mr. Treeby, which has the merit of being a very well-imagined and consistent portrait; and here is the description of a fox-chase, which may very well compete with the dinner-scene in 'Matilda.' Unfortunately almost every thing, or rather almost every part of the author's system is borrowed, and so engrained in him is this habit of appropriation, that he even takes things from the works of his predecessors which are so little worth taking, that we could almost suppose he must have stolen them as mechanically as Jonathan Wild did the Ordinary of Newgate's corkscrew at the moment that he was about to be hanged. Of these we will cite one in which he has an accomplice in the author of 'Matilda.' Granby, as well as the hero of that novel, and Tremaine, is an offset of a generous stock, and succeeds unexpectedly to the chieftainship of his family. The mode indeed in which this event is brought about is widely different from the common-place collateral succession which takes place in Tremaine and Matilda; but even the idea seems suggested by a discovery respecting Matilda's birth, and in the details of this, which are wild enough, we have an imitation, and we do not think a successful one, of another modern novel; for the examination of an old nurse by Granby appears to us to have been evidently suggested by an exquisite picture in the 'Antiquary.' But, alas! it is only the meagre outline which is copied, and we find nothing to remind us of the bold strokes and vivid colouring of the matchless original. We have said that some of what we consider as plagiarisms appeared to us to have been mechanically adopted: there is, however,

ever, a circumstance which leads us to suspect that the author's imitations have not been always made so unconsciously as we should have otherwise been inclined to believe, and which looks very like stealing of *malice prepense*. It is a trick of parodying. The author is very fond of that sort of *circumstantial sentiment*, of which Madame de Staël was, as we believe, the inventress. For example, in one of her romances, we think in Delphine, the heroine enters the room of a man who has died suddenly, and is forcibly struck by circumstances which contrast cruelly with his situation. *His book is open, his watch is still going*, &c. In the same way, Granby enters the room of a sick uncle, who, however, has gone up stairs to die decently and comfortably in his bed, and *finds his newspaper unread and his clock stopt!* &c. &c.*

Without objecting to imitation in the main, (for what good author is there, whose operations can be traced, that has not imitated?) we may say, that this is not the way to imitate. The great masters of the Italian school of picture knew better how to make what they had borrowed their own, according to the principles so well developed by Sir Joshua Reynolds in his lectures; and those of the Italian school of poetry have acted as successfully upon their system. What poet—with the exception of Homer, about whose predecessors we know nothing—appears to be so original as Ariosto? Yet what poet has borrowed so much both of sentiment and incident? If there be a more original poet, it is Dante; yet, imperfectly as we are acquainted with his Provençal and Italian models, do we not find enough to satisfy ourselves that he too had drawn most largely upon others? But these two men, and those who have trodden in their steps, have recast the coin, whose intrinsic value they had discovered, and have given it universal worth and currency, by stamping on it an image of themselves.

From the charge, however, which we have made against the author of Granby we acknowledge some exceptions; and there is one really bold *attempt* at originality in the sketch of a character, mysteriously connected with Granby, who is half dandy and half blackleg, and who, to use the author's system of parody, would have been a gentleman, if he had not been changed at nurse.

We cannot conclude our animadversions on this work without censuring the same fault which we have had occasion to notice in Tremaine and Matilda; we mean the excessive inaccuracy of the *French* that appears in the mottos to chapters, and which is some-

* This system of parody is one of the tricks of the day and characterizes artists as well as authors. Few suspect Canova of being greatly indebted to the antique; yet those conversant with the antiquities of Venice will find the originals of almost all his celebrated works in some bas relief or tripod in the Grimani palace, or the public library there. He has deceived the world by copying small figures on a great scale.

times really unintelligible. Cannot our printers, who do very well in Greek and Latin, print French or Italian? Languages used to be esteemed by the Jesuits as one of the criterions of devils; but our devils ought to be cast out for their utter ignorance of them. At any rate are not our authors conjurers enough to correct the mistakes which they commit?

Having now mentioned every thing which, we think, can be fairly objected to this novel, and having said that, but for Matilda, Granby would not have been—it is but doing this work justice to say, that it is not inferior in substance, though it is in the choice of style, to its prototype, and to repeat that it is written, like the other, in a very praiseworthy spirit. Indeed we might cite Matilda, Granby, and almost all the popular productions of the day, as a contradiction of the assertion respecting the prevalence of infidelity which the accomplished author of Tremaine has insinuated in his work, and vouched in his epistle dedicatory to Mr. Sturges Bourne.

ART. X.—1. *Six Months in the West Indies.* London. 1826. pp. 332.

2. *The West India Question practically considered.* London. 1826. pp. 121.

AMONG many good consequences which we ventured to anticipate from the recent appointment of two bishops of the established church to sees in the West Indian islands, one, and not the least important was, that the personal experience of these distinguished persons would ere long find its way through some channel to the press of this country, and be accepted as furnishing *data* of unquestionable truth whereon the public mind might proceed to form an opinion as to the real state of things in those colonies, and thence on the practical wisdom of the various measures now in agitation with regard to the condition of their labouring population. The asperity with which the writers of the African Institution and their associates have too long pleaded a cause professing to be one of benevolence and nothing but benevolence, has not only offended the good taste of the great majority of English readers, but induced very serious doubts touching the value of the statements as to matters of fact embodied in their multifarious compositions. On the other hand, the gross and vulgar abuse of men holding a high place in the general estimation of society, indulged in by the far greater number of those who, however constituted, have been figuring as the champions of the planters and colonial legislatures, has created at least as plentiful a measure both of disgust and distrust. The public mind—the

mind

mind of the graver, and ultimately, in all cases, the more influential part of the public—has been painfully perplexed as to the real merits of a cause in regard to which one thing at least has been undeniable, namely, that both parties have argued as if they were in the wrong.

The grave importance of the question itself—a question immediately bearing upon so many great interests, and involving in its possible decision some of the very highest interests of the empire itself;—this, indeed, could scarcely even for a moment be forgotten. But it is not less true than unfortunate, that when personal feelings are once fairly mixed up with a great public question, no matter how important, the strong tendency of human nature is to rest upon its too exciting accompaniments, to the comparative neglect at least of its essential merits. Even the most candid observer could scarcely, in some stages of this controversy, avoid being touched in some measure by these unhappy influences; nor is there much cause for wonder, if, after such had subsided, there succeeded in many quarters a certain degree of languor and apathy as to the subject-matter itself of so many unhandsomely conducted disputations. It was high time, in every point of view, that impartial witnesses should intervene; and whether we considered the personal talents and dispositions of the men, or the circumstances under which they were about to visit the West Indies, we certainly looked to the voyage of the new bishops as more likely than any event that had occurred in our time to be productive of such testimony.

The first fruits of these expectations may be seen in the little volume we have named at the head of our paper. It is the work of a young gentleman, a near relation of the Bishop of Barbados, who, his health requiring an excursion to some warmer climate, embraced the opportunity of accompanying his kinsman to his new diocese, in the capacity, as we believe, of secretary. We have no intention to insinuate that Dr. Coleridge ever saw a single line of the book: on the contrary, it is sufficiently manifest, that the juvenile author has followed his own fancies in the style of its composition with all possible freedom:—But here is the record of what a gentleman, who travelled in immediate attendance on the new bishop's person, saw and heard in the course of his lordship's first visitation of his diocese. Here, also, is the record of the opinions which this gentleman formed after six months so spent, and in such society, in regard to the great questions now in agitation concerning these colonies. It appears to us, we fairly admit, under all the circumstances, quite impossible not to consider the book before us as entitled to very particular attention;

nor is this impression at all diminished by the singular contrast which it is impossible not to perceive, between the tone in which the mere narrative parts of it are written, and that of the chapters where sober reasoning and discussion form the principal materials.

The scene of the bishop's arrival at Barbados is thus given: and the passage is a fair specimen of the author's method of description. The party when day broke beheld

'Carlisle Bay sleeping like an infant, and countenanced like the sky on a June morning, the warrior pendants, the merchant signals, the graceful gleaming boats, the dark sailors, the circling town, the silver strand, and the long shrouding avenues of immortal palms, greenly fringing the blue ocean—a beautiful scene in itself, but thrice beautiful to the weary mariner, who deeply feels that land was made for him.'

'I was present,' our author proceeds, 'when the first Protestant bishop arrived in the bay, and the landing was a spectacle which I shall not easily forget. The ships of war were dressed, and their yards manned, and salutes fired; this was pretty and common; but such a sight as the Carenage presented very few have ever witnessed. On the quay, on the mole, on boats, on posts, on house-tops, through doors and windows, wherever a human foot could stand, was one appalling mass of black faces. As the barge passed slowly along, the emotions of the multitude were absolutely tremendous; they threw up their arms and waved their handkerchiefs, they danced, and jumped, and rolled on the ground, they sung, and screamed, and shouted, and roared, till the whole surface of the place seemed to be one huge grin of delight. Then they broke out into a thousand wild exclamations of joy and passionate congratulations, uttered with such vehemence that, new as it was then to me, it made me tremble; till I was somewhat restored by a chorus of negro girls—"de bissop is come! de bissop is come! He is coming to marry us! coming to marry us!—coming to marry us all!" '—p. 44.

Leaving Barbados for the present, we accompany the bishop and his party on a visit which they shortly after this paid to Trinidad. In this settlement they found two of the original Spanish *Indian Missions* still subsisting, and contemplated with much interest the lively contrast presented by these fragments of the aboriginal population to the surrounding negros.

'Their complexions,' says our tourist, 'do not differ so much as their minds and dispositions. In the first, life stagnates; in the last, it is tremulous with irritability. The negros cannot be silent; they talk in spite of themselves. Every passion acts upon them with strange intensity; their anger is sudden and furious, their mirth clamorous and excessive, their curiosity audacious, and their love the sheer demand for gratification of an ardent animal desire. Yet, by their nature, they are good-humoured in the highest degree, and I know nothing more delightful than to be met by a group of negro girls, and be saluted with their kind "How d'ye, massa? how d'ye, massa?" their sparkling eyes, and bunches

bunches of white teeth. It is said, that even the slaves despise the Indians, and I think it very probable; they are decidedly inferior as intelligent beings. Indeed, their history and existence form a deep subject for speculation. The flexibility of temper of the rest of mankind has been for the most part denied to them; they wither under transportation; they die under labour; they will never willingly or generally amalgamate with the races of Europe or Africa; if left to themselves with ample means of subsistence, they decrease in numbers every year; if compelled to any kind of improvement, they reluctantly acquiesce, and relapse with certainty the moment the external compulsion ceases. They shrink before the approach of other nations as it were by instinct; they are now not known in vast countries of which they were once the only inhabitants; and it should almost seem that they have been destined by a mysterious Providence to people a third part of the globe, till, in the appointed time, the New World should be laid open to the Old, and the ceaseless and irresistible stream of population from the east should reach them and insensibly sweep them from off the face of the earth.'—pp. 84—86.

In this neighbourhood a large assemblage of the coloured population took place as soon as the bishop's advent was known among them. Our author sketches this scene again in his liveliest manner.

'At nine the next morning Mr. Mitchell's house was surrounded by a noisy multitude of men, women, and children. Some came to be baptized, some to gossip, and some to be married. Many of the latter brought in their arms smiling arguments that the prayers of the church for fecundity would be superfluous. They all entered the house with perfect nonchalance, roamed about in every part of it, and laughed and gabbled in as unrestrained a manner as they would have done in their own huts. Mrs. Mitchell's parlour, where I had slept, was constituted baptistery and altar. A white cloth was spread on the table, and a large glass vase, filled with pure water, was placed in the middle. After about a quarter of an hour's arduous exertions on the part of the governor and commandant, these light-hearted creatures were reduced to as low a degree of noise as their natures would admit. The bishop then read the first part of the service, the whole party kneeling on the floor; but when the rite of aspersion came to be performed, there had like to have been a riot from the mothers jockeying for the honour of first baptism at the bishop's hand. The two chaplains ministered till they streamed, and never did I hear such incessant squalling and screaming as arose from the regenerated piccaninnies. I think seventy were baptized and registered, which was the most laborious part of all. We had some difficulty in collecting them for the conclusion of the service, but upon the whole, the adult negroes behaved exceedingly well, and displayed every appearance of unfeigned devotion.

'And then came Hymen.... About a dozen couples were agreed, but seven or eight more were influenced by the sweet contagion, and struck up a marriage on the spot, as we see done at the ends of old comedies. One woman, I remember, turned sulky, and would not come to the

 scratch,

scratch, but Chesapeak, her lover, was not to be so done. "Now you savey, Mol," said he, "me no tand your shim shams; me come to be married, and me *will* be married; you come beg me when I got another;" still Mol coquetted it; Chesapeak went out, staid five minutes, and, as I am a Christian man, brought in a much prettier girl under his arm, and was married to her forthwith. I suppose Chesapeak had his reputation. I have known cases in England, where something of this manly sort of conduct would have had a very salutary effect. Now a grand difficulty arose from there being no rings; those in the women's ears being too large by half.' Hereupon I took a gold hoop which my good father bought for me from a wandering Jew; this I proffered for the service of the sable bridegrooms, and it noosed thirteen couples. I gave away most of the brides; one of them, a pretty French girl, of the Romish faith, behaved very ill; she giggled so much that the clergyman threatened to desist from the ceremony, and her mate, a quiet and devout Protestant, was very angry with her. When she was kneeling, after the blessing, I heard her say to her husband, "dit-on, Jean! hooka drole manière de se marier! hè! hè! hè!" I'll warrant she leads her spouse a decent life of it.'—pp. 90—93.

The party make a little excursion along the coast of Trinidad in a steam-boat, and are accompanied by Sir Ralph Woodford, governor of that colony, who tells them a story too good to be omitted.

'Sir Ralph told us that when this steamer was first started, he and a large party, as a mode of patronizing the undertaking, took a trip of pleasure in her through some of the Bocas into the main ocean. Almost every one got sick outside, and as they returned through the Boca Grande, there was no one on deck but the man at the helm and himself. When they were in the middle of the passage, a small privateer, such as commonly infested the gulf during the troubles in Colombia, was seen making all sail for the shore of Trinidad. Her course seemed unaccountable, but what was their surprize, when they observed that on nearing the coast the privateer never tacked, and finally that she ran herself directly on shore, her crew at the same time leaping out over the bows and sides of the vessel, and scampering off, as if they were mad, some up the mountains and others into the thickets. This was so strange a sight, that Sir Ralph Woodford ordered the helmsman to steer for the privateer, that he might discover the cause of it. When they came close, the vessel appeared deserted; Sir Ralph went on board of her, and after searching various parts without finding any one, he at length opened a little side cabin and saw a man lying on a mat evidently with some broken limb. The man made an effort to put himself in a posture of supplication; he was pale as ashes, his teeth chattered and his hair stood on end. "Misericordia! misericordia! Ave Maria!" faltered forth the Colombian. Sir Ralph asked the man what was the cause of the strange conduct of the crew; Misericordia!" was the only reply.

'"¿Sabeis quien soy?" said the governor.

'"El ... el ... O Señor! Misericordia! Ave Maria!" answered the smuggler.

'It

'It was a considerable time before the fellow could be brought back to his senses, when he gave this account of the matter; ... that they saw a vessel apparently following them, with only two persons on board, and steering, without a single sail, directly in the teeth of the wind, current and tide;

Against the breeze, against the tide
She steadied with upright keel.

That they knew no ship could move in such a course by human means; that they heard a deep roaring noise and saw an unusual agitation of the water, which their fears magnified; finally that they concluded it to be a supernatural appearance; accordingly drove their own vessel ashore in an agony of terror and escaped as they could;—that he himself was not able to move, and that, when he heard Sir Ralph's footsteps, he verily and indeed believed that he was fallen into the hands of the Evil Spirit.'—p. 77.

Having visited Trinidad, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent's, the bishop returns to Barbados, where, after some weeks' leisurely observation, our author gives us the following as his view of the slave population of this the oldest of our Caribbean colonies.

'People will differ in their estimates of the degree of comfort enjoyed by the adult slaves, but Mr. Buxton himself could not doubt the happiness of the children. In the changeable climate of Britain, where infants must be wrapped up in frocks and mantles and caps and shoes, we have no notion of the vigorous precocity of life which is so common in the West Indies; there the punchy little Indian Bacchus stands up like a man in twelve months, and, instead of the unmindful vacancy of our babies, stares at you with the good impudent assurance which Raffael puts into the eyes of his child. They dance together in rings amidst their fathers and mothers, who may be working in the farm-court, and throw trash at each other, as Eton boys do chesnuts or snow-balls. One naked urchin ran full butt behind me, thrust his curly pate through my legs, and looked up in my face with irresistible impertinence. I believe I should have licked the scoundrel, if he had pushed me into the pond, which he was near doing. Jerryjorimbo, a particular ally of mine, must needs climb up my back in order to pat my cheeks, and as to not shaking hands with every soul of them all, it would have been such a piece of tyranny as would have destroyed my sleep. Accordingly there was a satisfactory communication of sweat between me and some dozens of his Majesty's subjects and Mr. Jordan's slaves. The nursery is a capital sight. It is a large open room, with the floor covered with wooden trays, and in each tray a naked niggerling. There they are, from the atom born to-day, up to eight or nine months of age, from the small black pudding up to a respectable sucking pig. Such screaming, mewling, and grinning! The venerable nurse sits placidly in the middle, and administers pap to the young gentlemen, when they seem to squall from hunger. They stuff children and turkies in the same way, by placing the victim on its back in their lap, inserting a lump of the food in the mouth, and then seeing it well down with the thumb and forefinger.

The negro women will do this to excess, and there is no convincing them of the evil consequences, though it is notorious that this inordinate repletion is a common cause of death amongst the young in the colonies.

'In Barbados, the slaves have no provision grounds properly so called; these form a part of the estate, and they labour upon them as on the rest of the plantation. But they have all gardens of their own, which they may cultivate as they please, and a dressed meal is always provided for them in the middle of the day, which is exclusive of their daily allowance from the store of their master. That they have time to cultivate their patches of land is clear from the fact that *they always are cultivated*; either yams, Indian corn, plantains, or even canes, are to be seen growing round every hut. The hut is a cottage thatched with palm-branches, and divided into two rooms; one is the chamber of the parents, the other the common hall, with a table, chairs, and a broad bench with back to it for the children to sleep on at night. Some huts are larger and smarter than this. Jack something or other, the driver on the Society's estate, has two large four-post beds, looking-glasses, and framed pictures. Jack is a good-natured fellow, offered me some wine, and hath begotten twelve children or more.'—pp. 135—137.

The following passage occurs in another chapter, but may be advantageously considered in connection with the above.

'I am told that Mr. Buxton, a good man, but, unfortunately for his own true fame and the interests of all parties concerned, very imperfectly informed of the actual state of things in the West Indies, has said, in substance, that he wished the affairs of the planters were even more embarrassed than they are, because, if sugar or other staple were not worth the growing, the slaves would necessarily have less work, and so live a trifle more comfortably. Now this seems to me a simple speech: a very small quantity of political or even domestic economy might have taught a man of so much sense better. Without crossing the Atlantic Ocean, in Freemason's Hall itself, (and it is not easy to remove oneself farther from light of every description,) a person might have reasoned, that if the planters, being, as they are written down in the Reports of the African Institution, a cruel and selfish race of men, could no longer feed themselves, their wives and their children in the manner they were wont, they would be little likely to take much trouble about feeding their despised slaves at all. If the slaves were rendered useless, they would not and could not be maintained at the expense of their masters; and if they were not so maintained, the slaves would of course maintain themselves by open violence. Now if any one wishes this last to be the case, I will be bold enough to say that he wishes in reality not only the entire destruction of the colonies as sources of commerce, but also the demolition of every imaginable chance of ultimately converting the slaves into good citizens and enlightened men.

'But if Mr. Buxton, as a great and heroic act of devotion to the cause of humanity, would go across this ocean stream and see what he is so often talking about, (and upon my word I believe the planters would receive him with civility,) he would then know, as a fact about which there could be no dispute, that the condition of a slave in the West

Indies

Indies bears in its comparative comforts or sufferings a pretty exact relation to the independence or indigence of his master. This in its appropriate degree is certainly the case in England, and really I cannot understand why any body should suppose it to be different in the colonies. This is a point unconnected with the grand question of slavery in the abstract; there are many evils in that state more pernicious than short commons, but this is a topic which is infinitely harangued upon and usually makes the deepest impression.

'That there are degrees in slavery is true; the different education and more different tempers of the masters will operate in various ways upon the condition of the slaves, and between the highest and the lowest stage there will be often a greater space than between freedom and some states of slavery itself. The well-dressed lady's maid or gentleman's butler and groom seem scarcely beneath the same classes of people in England; they receive no wages indeed, and cannot leave their service; but it must be recollected that they enjoy under their master's protection almost every thing which they could buy with money, and that their *country* is so small, and society so uniform in it, that the wish to see the unknown world and to try other services, which would render such a restriction tormenting in England or France, can affect their contentment in a very slight degree. The other extreme of servitude comprises the slaves belonging to the petty land-proprietors, and the white and coloured tradesmen, mechanics and keepers of hotels in the towns. The servi servorum, the slaves of slaves occur so rarely as not to be worth taking into the account, except for the purpose of instancing a curious right of slavery, and of reprobating its allowance. I am far from meaning to condemn all these classes of masters by wholesale; it often happens, I am told, that they are even too indulgent, and admit their slaves to a familiarity which can do no good to either party; but I am bound to say that the only cases of cruelty, which I either met with or heard of in the West Indies, were one and all perpetrated by persons of this description. As the owners live worse, the slaves must of necessity live worse also; as their owners are less enlightened, less affected by public opinion, nay, oftentimes as barbarous or even more so than themselves, they, the slaves, must of course profit less under the instruction, and be more completely at the mercy of the passions of such masters.

'These are the two extremes; the average condition is that of the labourers in the field upon respectable estates. These constitute seven or eight tenths of the whole slave population. In point of ease and shade their life is much inferior to that of the planter's domestic; in food, care in sickness, instruction and regular protection, they are incomparably better off than the wretched thralls of the low inhabitants of the towns.'—pp. 236—241.

These reflections appear to us to be as obviously just as they are calmly expressed.

In the course of another excursion the bishop visits Martinique, Dominica, Montserrat, Nevis, Antigua, Anguilla, Barbuda, and St. Kitt's. The aspect of this last island (the namesake of Columbus)

lumbus) seems in a particular manner to captivate our young traveller's fancy—and we hope there are not many of our readers who will not sympathise both with the feelings which its scenery excites, and the reflections into which these naturally and gracefully lead him.

'There is a spot on the side of a hill, the name of which I forget, in returning from St. Mary Cayonne, from which the vale of Basseterre may be viewed with the greatest advantage. I think there is no place on earth which can surpass the richness and cultivated beauty of this lovely scene. Nothing can be better disposed for completing the effect than the plantations are; the tall and moving windmills, the houses of the proprietors, the palm-thatched cottages of the negros embosomed in plantains, present the appearance, as indeed they are the substance, of so many country villages in England. On one side is Basseterre with the ships, on the other, the ocean to windward, the mountains behind, in front the broken and peninsular termination of the island to the south, the salt lakes gleaming between the openings of the rocks, and Nevis towering majestically over all.

'I agree with Don Christoval; this island *does* deserve to bear the name of as great a man as ever the old world had reason to be proud of. If he considered it so beautiful ere the hand of human industry had levelled the thickets and cast seed into the soil, what would the admiral say of his namesake now, when with all its natural charms undiminished, it is breathing, as I verily believe, with a contented and even happy population, and smiling throughout its valleys with the green harvests of the torrid zone? That there are divers particulars which an European philanthropist would wish to see reformed or removed altogether, is certainly true; but it is also true, that a majority of the planters are gentlemen of understanding and humanity, and prove by their acts, private and public, and their conversation, that they are sincerely willing to promote the true welfare of every class in their community by all the means within their power. The governor, *I know*, and the legislature, *I think*, are both actuated by principles of real liberality towards the coloured part of the population; *an act has been promptly and unanimously passed to invest the bishop with full powers, and I am convinced that there is no amendment, no change, no practical measure of any sort, which could be suggested by him, which could not be carried into immediate effect to the utmost of their political or private power.*'—pp. 221—223.

After the angry polemical pamphlets in which almost exclusively we have been accustomed of late years to hear such subjects alluded to, it must have been pleasing to meet with any writer whose tone of composition had been thus calm and temperate; but we suspect that not the least charm of the volume before us lies in the ease with which little sketches of external nature and living manners are everywhere mixed up among the author's observations and reflexions concerning the topics in question. From the wearisome one-tinted generalities of contending partizans we turn with

with a feeling alike new and delightful to pages in which we recognize something like the actual aspect of the world we have been used to—a mixture of the grave and the gay—of evil and of good—a mixture wherein, as elsewhere, the bounty of nature and providence seems to take care abundantly that, on the whole, the happier elements shall predominate. We are persuaded that many excellent persons have looked at the African Society's placard of 'the bleeding negro kneeling to Britannia,' until it may cost them a little exertion to believe that the English West Indian colonies do really abound in scenes as full of beauty, repose, and contentment, as this vale of Basseterre.

In truth, it is not easy to say whether the ignorance or the vanity of our countrymen has been the more egregiously played upon by those, whose wish to carry a great state question by means of a mere popular clamour, is now all but avowed. The name of LIBERTY is, and ever will be, sufficiently dear to every Briton; but the grossest tricks have been resorted to, in order to persuade the people of this country that the Law, under which they have the happiness to live, is essentially distinguished from the legal systems of all other countries, by absolute hostility to the existence of personal slavery. Some fine verses of Cowper, and Curran's amplification of them, in the paragraph about the slave dropping his fetters, 'released, regenerated, and disenthralled,' on touching the sacred soil of England, have been quoted and echoed until they are 'familiar as household words.' But nobody has ever taken the pains to reflect, that the boast which these passages represent as so peculiarly British, belongs quite as truly and as largely to France, to Holland, to Germany, to Italy, to Spain, to Portugal—in short to every civilized country in Europe. Personal slavery cannot now exist for one moment in any one of these countries, a whit more than in England herself. It existed formerly in every one of these countries—and in England herself quite as extensively as in any of them. Many of our readers will, we doubt not, be somewhat surprised, when they hear that personal slavery did not cease altogether in this island, until the late Lord Melville, then holding the office of Lord Advocate, brought a bill into parliament for altering the condition of the colliers and other miners of Scotland.*

* It is easy to see how these subterraneous people, so entirely separated from the rest of the community, and devoted to a species of work so perfectly peculiar, should have remained in the serf state longer than any other class of the labouring population. That they did so in England as well as in Scotland, may be inferred from (among other matters) the familiar phrases of '*carrying coals*,' 'a man of an *uncoalcarrying* spirit,' &c. which appear to have puzzled the commentators on our ancient dramatists. See the opening scene of Romeo and Juliet—or better still, The Malcontent, (1604,) 'Great *slaves* fear better than *love—born naturally for a coal-basket.*'

A very

A very curious and certainly a very useful and instructive book might be written *on the History of Personal Slavery*; and indeed we are surprised that no considerable attempt towards such a work should have been made either here or on the continent of Europe. The collections which we have in our hands in regard to the slaves of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Hebrews, may indeed be considered by many, as of themselves throwing sufficient light upon the general subject: but valuable as these works are, we are by no means satisfied with them. The history of the Roman slave is the only one of the three that embraces a long space of time subsequent to the introduction of the Christian religion.—And for obvious reasons, we should wish to see his history compared minutely with that of the servile classes of the population, under the various Gothic governments erected on the ruins of the western empire.

The materials of such a book would present sufficient variety—but we venture to say, that it could not be written without bringing out two leading facts, alike proved and illustrated in every particular section of its details: namely, *first*, that personal slavery has existed for a shorter or a longer period in every nation and country under heaven; and *second*, that it never ceased to exist in any one of them, otherwise than by slow and scarcely perceptible degrees,—in other words, through views of policy originating with the masters, or, at least, voluntarily acted upon by them *as individuals*. Nor were these facts, and the conclusions to which they must naturally lead, denied or rejected by the *abolitionists* until comparatively a very late period of this controversy. If the reader will refer to the parliamentary debates of 28th February, 1805, he will find Mr. Wilberforce distinctly saying—

'He did not wish to avoid that part of the subject on which the opponents of the abolition dwelt so much, he meant the eventual emancipation of the negroes in the West Indies. He had never concealed that his hope was, that such might be the ultimate effect of the abolition of the African importation, *but that was a period, the distance of which he had never attempted to calculate*, although his opponents had charged him with having it immediately in view. Had that been his object, or even his hope, he should not deserve the word "HUMANE" to be added to his views, but a shorter one, and that was the word "MAD," ought to be applied to his object. But although he felt that the immediate emancipation of the negroes in the West Indies could not be expected, for that before they could be fit to receive freedom, it would be madness to attempt to give it to them, yet he owned he looked forward, and so, he hoped, did many others, to the time when the negroes in the West Indies should have the full enjoyment of a free, moral, industrious, and happy peasantry.'

The reader will find Lord Henry Petty and Mr. William Smith holding

holding language of the very same tenour; and Mr. Fox himself uttering these words—

'I perfectly agree in what has been said, that the idea of *an Act of Parliament to emancipate the Slaves in the West Indies,* WITHOUT THE CONSENT AND CONCURRENT FEELING OF ALL PARTIES CONCERNED, BOTH IN THIS COUNTRY AND IN THAT, would not only be mischievous in its consequences, but totally extravagant in its conception, as well as impracticable in its execution, and therefore I see no good in discussing that point. The abolition of the African Slave Trade is what I hope will soon be accomplished; but the emancipation of slaves, or the end of slavery in the West Indies, is what I cannot hope to see.'

In 1807, Lord Grey, (then Lord Howick,) Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Wilberforce, again repeated their conviction of the same truths: but not to multiply examples, even so late as 1816, Mr. Stephen himself, (in his Reasons for a General Register, p. 8.) defended himself and his party, from an imputation which he and all the rest still continued to hold as injurious, in these very distinct terms:

'They did not aim at an emancipation to be effected by insurrection in the West Indies, or to *be ordained precipitately by positive law;* but they by no means denied, and scrupled not to avow, that they did look forward to an extinction of slavery in the colonies, to be accomplished by the same happy means which formerly put an end to it in England; viz. by a benign, though insensible revolution in opinions and manners; by the encouragement of particular manumissions, and the *progressive melioration of the condition of the slaves, till it should glide insensibly into general freedom.* They looked, in short, to an emancipation, of which not the slaves, but *the masters, should be the willing instruments or authors.*'

How widely different is the language of Mr. Stephen's last pamphlet of 1825!

'Dismiss'—says the late-enlightened adviser of the nation—'dismiss the idle hope that slavery will ever be abolished, or materially alleviated, by the will of the masters, or by the laws of West Indian legislators. The worst and most destructive branches of this oppression (excess of labour, enforced by brutal means and insufficiency of sustenance) *are as prevalent as ever,* and *must be so from the necessary effects of the system,* till controlled by parliamentary authority.'

These expressions sufficiently indicate the total change of tone which the ultra-abolitionist party have of late years assumed. Even by them, indeed, the great historical facts to which their leaders so often bore witness both in parliament and in pamphlets, are not *denied:* but these facts are now, in the altered state of the controversy, met by invectives such as we have been transcribing, and by broad assertions, that the existence of slavery is an absolute violation of the precepts of the Bible, and, that its toleration in any shape by any Christian country, constitutes a national

national SIN. Upon these grounds it is—not that the question is argued in parliament, but *that the popular clamour on which parliament is called to act has been mainly excited.* That many of those who have ventured to make large use of such means in the furtherance of their cause, have acted under the influence of profound ignorance we do not doubt; but it is difficult for us to believe, that the primary movers of the agitation can have any such apology under which to shelter their proceedings.

These gentlemen can hardly be ignorant that personal slavery is mentioned or alluded to in almost every page of the Scriptures, and that from the first verse of Genesis to the last of the Apocalypse, not one text can be pointed out in which its existence is reprobated. They must know that personal slavery is twice mentioned in the Decalogue—'Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy on that day thou shalt do no manner of work, thou, nor thy MALE-SLAVE, nor thy FEMALE-SLAVE, &c.' And again, 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his MALE-SLAVE, nor his FEMALE-SLAVE, &c.' They cannot be ignorant that when the Hebrew people, under the guidance of Joshua, took possession of the promised land, they reduced the whole population which they found on the soil to the condition of personal slavery. They cannot be ignorant that when our Saviour appeared on the earth, slaves, agricultural and domestic, surrounded him wherever he moved; and that the same was the case with his apostles, wherever they travelled in the discharge of their divine commission. They cannot be ignorant that, among the first converts of Christianity, the great majority necessarily consisted of slaves and slave-proprietors; and that the inspired teachers of our faith never preached any doctrines but those of submission, contentment, fidelity to the one class of their followers—kindness, humanity, conscientious protection to the other. They cannot have entirely overlooked the striking, however, according to their view, inexplicable fact, that not one instance of *emancipation* is recorded in the New Testament history; while, on the contrary, Onesimus, a domestic slave and a favourite convert of St. Paul, is sent back to his master Philemon, by the apostle, charged with an epistle in which the master's right of property is not only assumed, but clearly and *expressly* recognised.* Of these things the prime movers in the petitions, with which the table of the Houses of Parliament are at present loaded, can hardly be ignorant: but the vast majority of those who sign the petitions may be in a very different situation. They, it is extremely probable, have never considered the etymology of the word *servant;* far less are they

* χαρὶς δὲ τῆς σῆς γνώμης ἐθέλησα ποιῆσαι. κ. τ. λ. (v. 14.)

aware

aware that in every instance where the word *servant* occurs in the English Bible the language of the original is neither more nor less than *slave*.

That a condition of human life thus mentioned, thus treated throughout the whole body of the Scriptures, is one that cannot, under any circumstances, be suffered to exist without the commission of actual sin—can scarcely be asserted by any one whom prejudice and bigotry have not utterly blinded. Nay, that such a condition was considered by the inspired writers as not incompatible with the discharge of every Christian duty on the part either of those who occupy it, or of their lands, is obvious. That the existence of slavery is an evil—who is he that will deny? Upon that point there can be no dispute surely among Englishmen.—But the question is not whether slavery be or be not an evil; but whether, once existing, it be or be not an evil capable of reaching a hasty termination otherwise than in the creation of evils greater than itself. Now, if we assume—as who can hesitate about assuming?—that the evil of slavery was abundantly appreciated by the inspired founders of our religion, it is, we must say, absolutely impossible to explain the conduct they pursued in regard to the slavery of the Roman empire, otherwise than by holding them to have deliberately formed and uniformly acted upon the latter of these two opinions.

If such was their conduct in regard to the slavery of the Roman empire, the first question with modern Christians, we think, should naturally be:—Do we find peculiarities in regard to the slavery of the West Indian colonies of England, sufficient to justify and authorize in us a course of conduct entirely unlike theirs? And we venture to add, that no calm and impartial man can compare the two cases, without being satisfied that, in every circumstance of importance, the modern example is surrounded with difficulties greater than any that embarrassed the ancient one. There the opponent of sudden and sweeping measures of emancipation could not assuredly have pointed to any such broad and decisive facts, as—a total and visible line of demarcation drawn by the hand of nature herself, between the master-race and the vassal—a distinct, absolute, immeasurable inferiority in regard to civilization—a soil (taking these islands all together) so rich and so extensive in proportion to the number of its occupants, that no barbarous or semi-barbarous people could be expected, if left to cultivate it in their own way, to concern themselves for ages, in the rearing of any produce demanding more than the *minimum* of human exertion.

The general wisdom of the measures proposed by his Majesty's ministers and adopted by the legislature in the present session, in reference

reference to the situation of our West Indian colonies, has not, we apprehend, been impugned by any rational member of any political party or religious sect in this country. The course taken is, that of communicating distinctly to all the colonial legislative bodies, the deliberate opinion of the British parliament, that it is their duty to promote, to the utmost of their ability, the amelioration of the moral and civil condition of the slaves, for the express purpose of gradually fitting them to assume the character and station of freemen, *without loss to the colonial proprietors*, who have acquired all that they at present possess not only under the sanction and authority of the law, but under the stimulative encouragement of the mother-country. Various particulars are pointed out for the practical consideration of the local assemblies: and the earnest hope of England that her colonies will act so as to prevent the necessity of more summary interference on her part, is expressed in a manner perfectly intelligible to all the parties concerned. As to all the regulations which, stopping short of compulsory emancipation, have for their object the increased comfort and civilization of the slaves, the West Indian proprietors resident here have expressed generally their approbation. It remains to be seen what the colonial legislatures will do in consequence of the communication now made to them: and, in case they should not do what is desired and expected at their hands, it will then come to be a matter of grave debate indeed—in what manner, and to what extent, the authority of the mother-country can be, with justice and wisdom, applied directly to quicken or to supersede their movements.

We think it right to say at once, that we hope rather than believe that the colonial legislatures will act upon this occasion, so as to satisfy the persons who have principally framed or suggested the numberless petitions, that now encumber the tables of both houses of parliament. We are persuaded that no real good could result from the notion getting abroad that such expectations were seriously entertained by any persons capable of comprehending the true circumstances of the case; and it does appear to us that more consideration, than has generally on this side of the water been given, is due to the difficulties under which the colonial legislatures are placed. Their members live in the midst of that strangely constituted population, for the security and tranquillity of which, in all its classes, *they* are responsible. They have under their eye occurrences with which we are, and can be, but little acquainted; and it cannot be denied that occasionally humanity may at a distance contemplate and project innovations, which, upon a closer investigation, reason and policy—and humanity itself—shall pronounce to be premature. Upon these

these and other grounds we cannot conceal our belief that, unless summary interference on the part of the mother-country does take place, the civil condition of the slave population in the West Indies will not be raised by any means so rapidly as to meet the wishes and objects of too many of the individuals in question. Such is our honest conviction: nay, we may as well go a step further, and acknowledge that we do not believe that, even if the necessity of summary interference were avowed on the part of government, it ever would recommend such interference in a shape, or to a degree, commensurate with their notions. The authors of the African Institution reports in particular, we are humbly of opinion, have been urging, and will continue to urge, things not only impolitic but impossible. If their advice were to be openly given and decidedly acted upon, during a period of universal peace, we have no sort of doubt that one of two consequences must ensue: either the West Indian colonies would remain attached to this empire after having passed through all the horrors of a general servile war, or they would become negro states. If a foreign war should arise while the experiment was in progress, the colonies might be lost to us in another way—but lost to us they would be—or preserved after sword and fire had done their best to make them valueless possessions.

Should the view we take of this subject appear cold to any of our readers, they will do well diligently to inquire whether the condition of the slaves in our colonies be really such as the petitioners of the present day have presumed it to be: for in proportion to their notion of the magnitude of the existing evil, will be their impatience under the delay requisite for its effectual removal. That there is much both of law and practice, (and more of the former than of the latter,) which needs amendment in the colonial management of the coloured population, no impartial person will deny—but that the average condition of the slaves is far better in all that relates to their comfort and happiness than the Anti-Slavery Society would lead us to believe can at little be contested. We call the attention of our readers to the following honest and manly passage in the last and best chapter of 'Six Months in the West Indies.'

'I would not sell my birthright for a mess of pottage; yet if my birthright were taken from me, I would fain have the pottage left. So I scorn with an English scorn the creole thought that the West Indian slaves are better off than the poor peasantry of Britain; they are not better off, nothing like it: an English labourer with one shirt is worth, body and soul, ten negro slaves, choose them where you will. *But it is nevertheless a certain truth that the slaves in general do labour much less, do eat and drink much more,* have much *more ready money, dress much more gaily,* and *are treated with more kindness and attention, when sick,* than nine-

nine-tenths of all the people of Great Britain under the condition of tradesmen, farmers and domestic servants. It does not enter into my head to speak of these things as constituting an equivalent, much less a point of superiority, to the hardest shape of English freedom, but it seems to me that, where English freedom *is not and cannot be*, these things may amount to a very consolatory substitute for it.'—p. 313.

The noble lord at the head of the colonial department, in describing the Resolutions of the House of Commons transmitted to the West Indian legislative assemblies, classified their contents under two general heads, 'the first relating to the improvement of the slaves—the second to their final manumission.' Under the first of these heads are included the proposed alterations as to the sabbath—as to the property of the slaves—as to their moral and domestic habits—and as to admission of slave evidence. The second consists of regulations proposed to be carried into effect 'regarding the manumission of slaves, whether by consent of the master or by appraisement.'

Now, Earl Bathurst and Mr. Canning have concurred in expressing their entire satisfaction in the steps already taken in all the colonies with regard to the religious instruction of the slaves—the 'zeal' and 'the Christian spirit' with which all the local assemblies have come forward to aid and support government in the establishment of an adequate and effective church, with pastors and teachers suitable to the habits and necessities of the varied population throughout those islands. As to the regulations concerning slave property, no serious opposition to them can be apprehended—for this obvious reason, that, *de facto*, the property of the slave has always been held sacred in the West Indies—that, in truth, no one instance of the existing law of custom as to this matter being violated has been produced in the whole course of this controversy. Neither do we believe that any stand will be made or dreamed of in relation to any suggestions for the improvement of the moral and domestic habits of the negros—for the colonists are our countrymen and they are Christians; and, besides, they are not absolutely for us. Two points only remain, then, in regard to which, according to our opinion, serious difficulty is to be apprehended—the measure of making slave evidence admissible against freemen—and the far more important measure of bestowing on the slave a legal right to *demand* his freedom upon the payment of a given sum of money.

As to the first of these, it is obvious that the refusal of the majority of the colonial assemblies, to adopt the suggestions of the British parliament, has been and can continue to be grounded on nothing but their persuasion, that in acceding to them, they should be violating a *principle* which it is their interest and their duty

duty to hold sacred. Direct practical evil to themselves, from the adoption of the regulations in question, cannot be apprehended by the British colonists; for although a hundred laws should declare the admissibility of Negro evidence in all cases, this could have no immediate and tangible influence whatever upon any interests of theirs, so long as they alone remain the magistrates and jurymen of the West Indies. And this being the case, it comes to be matter for very deliberate consideration, whether—in regard to the most important of the islands, at least—it is possible to force *these* regulations upon the colonists, and thereby confer any substantial benefit upon the slaves, without, at the same time, entirely overturning colonial CONSTITUTIONS, deliberately granted and up to this hour acknowledged by the mother-country. It is proper that the difficulties inherent in this part of the case should be distinctly stated and looked in the face. Our author well says—

'The colonies of a free state are more embarrassing problems of government than those of a country where the monarch is absolute. A thousand Englishmen leave England and settle an island in another hemisphere. How shall they be governed? Not by the king alone; for the King of England is no despot;—not by parliament,—for they are not represented in parliament; therefore the spirit of the constitution is obliged to grant to them and their heirs the forms of the constitution, and they must govern themselves like the rest of their fellow-subjects with the consent of the common executive. If then they have a charter, or a right without a charter, to be governed in this manner, where is there room for the parliament of another part of the empire, in which their property does not lie, where they themselves do not reside, wherein they are neither actually or virtually represented, to legislate absolutely for them?

'You have no right to tax the people of Massachusetts, said Lord Chatham to the British parliament. Good. The people of Massachusetts were taxed to the amount of a penny or two per cent. on their incomes for stamped paper. They refused to pay this tax and were accounted in the House of Lords good Whigs for so doing.

'Between the refusal of the New Englanders to pay a tax imposed by the British parliament, and the refusal of the West Indians to legislate for their slaves in the terms of the British parliament, I can perceive one collateral ingredient of difference, and one only—Relative Force. The recusants in both cases claim the same British privileges, show the same original foundation, and plead the same express charters; they both insist that they have a right to be governed by those only who, according to the provisions of the constitution, represent them; that they are not represented actually in the British parliament, because they depute no member to that assembly; and that they are not represented virtually in the British parliament, for the best of all reasons—that they are actually represented elsewhere.

'Lord Chatham, Mr. Burke and the old Whigs before the French crons, when they disclaimed the municipal power of the British parlia-

ment to affect the property of the colonists, asserted at the same time its imperial right to controul the measures of the colonies in extreme cases. "As to the metaphysical refinements," said Lord Chatham, "attempting to show that the Americans are equally free from obedience and commercial restraints, as from taxation for revenue, as being unrepresented here; I pronounce them futile, frivolous and groundless." "The parliament of Great Britain," said Mr. Burke, "sits at the head of her extensive empire in two capacities; one as the local legislature of this island, providing for all things at home, immediately, and by no other instrument than the executive power; the other, and I think her nobler capacity, is what I call her imperial character; in which, as from the throne of heaven, she superintends all the several inferior legislatures, and guides and controuls them all without annihilating any. As all these provincial legislatures are only co-ordinate to each other, they ought all to be subordinate to her. It is necessary to coerce the negligent, to restrain the violent, and to aid the weak and deficient, by the over-ruling plenitude of her power." *That this distinction is groundless in theory I do not doubt; that it is absolutely necessary in practice I fully admit. The conflict between the forms of constitution and the necessities of government is the peculiar offspring and inseparable characteristic of free colonies..... We must act with deliberation; we must be firm, but cautious, conciliatory, long-suffering; seeing that we also ourselves have waded to our middle in the system which now we seek to destroy.' -Six Months in the West Indies,* pp. 300—306.

On the other hand, it will be for the West Indian proprietors to consider very seriously, upon what ground it is that they *can* (as rational persons in the present state of affairs) decline to adopt the *repeated* suggestions of the British parliament, as to any one of the points in question. The only feasible statement they can bring forward is, unquestionably, 'our property will be deteriorated —we cannot comply unless we be assured of compensation.' Now government and parliament have all along admitted that the property of the colonists cannot be, in justice and honour, invaded by the metropolis in any way whatever, without compensation. So that, difficulty being started as to any one of the proposed regulations, the subject-matter of the consequent discussion between the colony and the mother-country, at once resolves itself into the question, whether that particular regulation can be carried into effect without substantial injury to the property of the colonists? The author of the very able and luminous pamphlet entitled 'the West India Question practically considered' has some observations on this part of the subject, to which the attention of the colonists cannot be too earnestly called. 'The point'—says this writer, (who evidently understands what he is writing about, in its minutest details, and who treats his subject, in so far as we are able to judge, in a spirit of the most perfect impartiality)—

'The point at which the planter can be entitled to prefer a claim for compensation,

compensation, is that where *regulation of property ends*, and where *compulsory substitution of money for labour commences;* that is, in other words, where a party is forced to part, for a money price, with that which he would wish to retain. It is in vain to talk of the inconvenience arising from slaves having a legal right to appeal to a protector, to refer to the diminished work which the discontinuance of summary punishment in the field is calculated to produce, or to the consequences of the total abolition of female flogging. It is equally in vain to protest against the prohibition of compulsory Sunday labour, the necessity of keeping a record of punishments, the provisions for marriages of slaves, the non-separation of families, the right of slaves to property, the establishment of savings banks, the introduction of slave evidence, or the duties of the protector. These are not regulations of a nature to establish a claim for compensation. It may be admitted that, in the infancy of these regulations, some diminution of work may take place, which may operate to the prejudice of the master; but the analogies of domestic legislation furnish innumerable instances of interference in the way of regulation in the limitation of the hours of work, and prescribing a certain quantity of food for both labourers and artisans, which were calculated, in the first instance, to prejudice the pecuniary interests of their employers, *but which had their compensating advantages in the improved condition of the labourers themselves.* It was in the nature of a compulsion to the capitalist to keep his machinery in good order. It is, therefore, at the point where *regulation of property ends,* and where *compulsory substitution of property* commences, that compensation is to be considered.'—pp. 61, 62.

Among the proposed regulations thus disposed of, the author, however, includes *one,* in regard to which we confess our wish that he had spoken separately—we mean that as to the absolute prohibition of any separation of families by judicial sale. At first sight, nothing certainly can appear more proper than that the union of an affectionate family should be guarded against any risk of being broken either through cruelty or caprice. But we are constrained in fairness to admit, that there is another point of view in which the matter may and ought to be looked to. Suppose the father of a family dies, and leaves his property to be divided equally between six children, and the property consists of six slaves—a father and five youths. Can it be maintained that these six co-heirs, being compelled to sell the six slaves altogether, to a single purchaser, if they do so sell them, and that *necessarily* at a lower aggregate price than could have been procured by separate sales—are entitled to no compensation? The difficulty at least merits an answer.

The great, the serious difficulty, however, is that which attaches to the proposed manumission of slaves *invito domino,* the price at which freedom is to be obtained being struck by appraisers. *In Trinidad* there was no opposition about this matter:—

in fact the Spanish custom, if not the Spanish law,* had always acknowledged the same principle. But very serious remonstrances have appeared from other quarters—even from Demerara, which, on the whole, has shown not only willingness but eagerness to adopt the suggestions of parliament;—and which deserves very particular praise for having done so, when we consider the insurrections that have lately taken place there, and the unjust and most irritating style in which the character of her colonists has been attacked in this country in regard to the business of the Missionary Smith—whose knowledge of the conspiracy, which he did not reveal, no sane man that reads the evidence for himself can possibly doubt. The Demerara remonstrance on this head has not yet been officially answered,—at least no such answer has been made public; but an answer, and a very leisurely and well-considered answer it undoubtedly merits. The colonists say—

'It is fairly calculated that the average number of able effective people upon an estate is about one-third of the whole gang, the remaining two-thirds being composed of infants, who are a burden to the owner, and of the aged, who receive from him support. The parties most able to obtain their freedom are among the former, a class without whose assistance the proprietor would be unable to carry on the cultivation and management of his property. If the power to purchase freedom be absolutely vested in the slave, free from all control on the part of the owner, the latter would hold the same by a precarious tenure, defeasible on the production of a sum of money, either by the slave, or any other on his behalf. Boilers, tradesmen of every description, and others, who form the most useful and indispensable class, might thus be removed from the estate, to the irremediable detriment of the property, and consequent ruin of the owner, as the non-importation of slaves renders the replacing of such slaves so manumitted a matter of impossibility. In progress of a short time, a most valuable estate might thus be rendered useless, for the want of able men, *cultivators* as well as tradesmen.'

The author of 'The West India Question practically considered,' begins his comment on this Remonstrance with admitting distinctly that, 'If the effect of compulsory manumission be to deprive the planter of his means of cultivation to the irremediable

* In spite of all that has been said, there *are* doubts, and grave doubts, whether *Spanish law* ever went on that principle—we have looked much into the subject, and have very serious doubts. Most unquestionably, however, *Spanish custom* did—but under what circumstances? An unlimited supply of *fresh slaves* from Africa.—The master, being always able to replace his manumitted slave by purchase of one or more new slaves, had *no reason* to refuse *the price* which his own slave, desirous of manumission, was prepared to give him. How different the operation of this principle must be under the circumstances of a total cessation of all importation, we need not waste words in explaining.—We are sorry to find that no light is thrown upon this part of the Spanish law, in the 'Institutes' lately published by Mr. Johnston, one of the judges of Trinidad: a work, the execution of which, in general, deserves high commendation.

detriment

detriment of his property and the consequent ruin of the owner, it is impossible for such owner not to have a claim for compensation under Mr. Canning's resolutions.' He goes on to say, that the question is very simply—will the manumitted slave be disposed to work for wages which can be afforded by the master without such diminution of profit as will entitle him to a claim of compensation? Now, in regard to Demerara, where not one-thousandth part of the most fertile soil is occupied, and where a population a thousand times as great as its actual population is, could be with ease sustained from the produce of the land, and where, moreover, the emancipated black, if he wished to leave the colony entirely, would find himself separated by a narrow creek only from Columbia, (where slavery does not exist,) this question assumes a very different character from that which it might bear in some other of our colonies. In Jamaica, however, the difficulties are very nearly, if not altogether, as great as in Demerara. In these great colonies, most undoubtedly, the colonist could not proceed with his cultivation *at all*, if the rate of wages necessary to bribe the free black to do the same work which he had done when a bondsman, materially exceeded the amount gained by the price of the manumission, and his exemption from future expense in the support of the negro. For it is sufficiently obvious that other countries, where the slave system was in full vigour, or where density of population, encroaching on the means of subsistence, compelled the labourer either to work or to starve, would undersell him in the market of the world.

The author of the pamphlet to which we have referred handles this part of the subject in a manner which we venture to pronounce unanswerable.

'Undoubtedly (says he) slaves employed in any mechanical trades, not in themselves severely laborious, or in the discharge of domestic duties as servants, or in any sort of labour which does not involve the necessity of constant, steady exertion, under a tropical sun, may be found, when free, to work for such wages as the master can fairly afford. But the greatest loss which the planter could sustain, would be that of his best agricultural slave; that is, of a slave by whose labour his sugar cultivation is mainly carried on, and who is, by the terms of the proposition, a strong, able-bodied, free-working man. If the planter could, by means of wages, induce such a slave, when made free, to continue the same steady supply of labour which he received from him before his emancipation, and if those wages did not exceed the expense which is entailed upon the master under the slave system, of maintaining the slave and his family from infancy to death, *in that case, so far from suffering an injury in the event of compulsory manumission, even without price, he would receive a benefit;* as he would be able to employ his capital without the insecurity inseparable from slave-property; and the same

beneficial change which took place in Europe, and especially in England, and which matured the feudal villein into a free man, would take place with equal advantage in the West Indies. The extreme abolitionist would not hesitate to assert, that it would so take place, and that there was no doubt but that the operation of *the principle of bettering his condition* would induce the manumitted slave to work steadily and faithfully from day to day, and with physical powers rather increased than diminished, in his new state as a free man, having emerged from the degrading and depressing state of servitude. The West Indian would, on the other hand, entirely assent, in the abstract, to the effect of that stimulus which *the desire of bettering his condition* is calculated to produce on the physical exertions of the labourer; but he would contend that the labourer himself must be, in all cases, left to judge as to what really is "*a bettering of his condition;*" and that, in the torrid zone, sugar-labour is so repugnant to the physical instinct of the black (while at the same time it is impossible to the white,) that no sense of the advantages to be derived from the acquisition of property will ever induce the negro to undergo that labour, and thereby to abandon the luxury of repose; and he will refer to the very arguments of the individual who is going to make a motion upon the subject in the course of the present session, in confirmation of this unchangeable principle. Mr. Brougham, in his "Colonial Policy," borrowing most of his opinions from M. Malouet, Minister of Marine and Colonies under the French government, has enforced this part of the argument in detail, and with a force of illustration which would make it utterly impossible for him ever to contradict such opinions, however he may qualify them. The West Indian will then proceed to assert, that sugar-labour demands a regular unintermitting exertion from day to day, during the course of the cultivation and crop; and that, as the interests of the majority of the West India body are involved in the cultivation of sugar, *and of sugar only*, ruin must ensue if that cultivation cannot be carried on under a system of wages, as well as under a system of slavery. He will also explain that the transmutation of a sugar estate, with all its machinery and buildings, into an estate upon which it is intended to cultivate other produce yielding equal profit to the proprietor, is neither more nor less than impracticable.'

The author of this pamphlet then proceeds to express his conviction, that in colonies in this situation a fair claim of compensation would, under a variety of circumstances which he enumerates, arise in favour of the manumitting colonist. But he asks, 'whether the principle of such compensation is not already sufficiently admitted and provided for under Mr. Canning's regulations'?' He shows that, under these regulations, the appraisers will always be not only entitled, but, if they do their duty, compelled to strike the price to be paid for the slave, *after considering all the circumstances of the individual case.*

'If, for example, (says he) a price which can command a slave *equally good* be given to the planter, he is precisely in the same condition as before. Under that supposition, he receives in fact no money; since the

the money paid by the manumitted slave is immediately laid out in the purchase of another slave. If such a slave be not forthcoming, and he can only procure an *inferior slave*, he will have the services of that inferior slave, and a money price representing the difference. If *no slave* whatever can be bought, he will have a money price calculated with reference to his being able, by means of wages, to obtain from a freeman, that labour which he had previously received from the slave; and if the slave so manumitted, or any other free labourer, will work for those wages, no injury will be sustained by the master; but if the master *can neither purchase a slave nor obtain free-labour*, his compensation for the loss of the manumitted slave ought to be, a definite proportion of the value of the estate as a sugar plantation, deducting its value for any other available purpose of cultivation.'

The author of 'Six Months in the West Indies' reasons much in the same manner, and to the reasoning we have no objection. Nothing can be more fair than it is so far as it goes—but the question certainly does remain, whether it goes far enough, and we, in the present state of our information, are inclined, with all submission, to answer this question in the negative.

Both of these writers, in a word, seem to take it for granted, that perfect justice will in every case be done, provided the master called on to manumit his slave receives, by the verdict of the legal appraisers, a just compensation for the value of that slave, such as he is at the moment when he comes into court and claims his freedom; and the author of the pamphlet appears to us to have laid down the principles upon which such appraisement ought to be conducted in a manner perfectly unanswerable—but is this sufficient? Is there no fallacy behind? We think there is, and shall express the difficulty that still, according to our view, embarrasses the matter, as shortly as possible.

It is the planter who is to make the claim for compensation. What may the planter say? May he not ask whether it is the usual custom with an English jockey, when he wishes to purchase his neighbour's horse, to cry up the value of that horse—or to cry it down? May he not ask whether the negro, who knows that the law entitles him to his freedom provided he can pay for the value of his personal exertions, is more likely to do his best, in order to raise or to sink, *even in the eyes of the master himself*, the value of these exertions? May he not put the simple case, that a negro has honestly and fairly paid the price of his own freedom—settled himself away from sugar plantations altogether—obtained a piece of land on which fruit and pulse sufficient for the maintenance of a family can be raised with very little trouble—and that having done all this, his next object comes to be the acquisition of the freedom of a son, whom he has left behind him in the service of his ancient master. He cannot make this acquisition otherwise

than

than by paying money to the master—he and his son will of course understand each other perfectly;—will it be the interest of either parent or child that the latter should be esteemed on the plantation to which he is attached, a faithful, diligent, hard-working, intelligent, and therefore a very valuable—or a sluggish, idle, stupid, and therefore, comparatively speaking, a worthless slave? And if this question be answered, as, taking human nature for what all experience proves it in general to be, it must—will the master, who receives by the verdict of the appraisers a just and fair price for the exertions of this slave, calculated, as it must be, upon the average usefulness of the slave during a certain number of months or years—will this master have no reason to go home with the money in his pocket, and yet say to himself:—all this is very well so far as it goes; nevertheless my property is at this moment less than it would have been had no regulation ever come from England to make it possible for a slave to procure his freedom *invito domino*.*

The truth is, that, whatever may be said or dreamt to the contrary, all who have ever seen any thing of the West Indies, or taken the trouble to gather authentic information about these colonies, are quite convinced that, whether compulsory manumission be or be not the law, the absolute emancipation of the negro race, if brought about without violence, without bloodshed, must be a work of time—not of three years, nor of ten years, nor of any such period as the ladies and gentlemen of the African Institution are pleased to consider as an age—but, in all probability, of *real bona fide* human generations. The planters, more especially those of the more extensive and thinly peopled colonies, understand this thoroughly; and they object to the regulations in general—but above all to that which we have been considering, *chiefly* because they are apprehensive of the relations between master and slave—relations which they all know must terminate one day, and which they all believe cannot terminate soon—being, in the intervening space, unnecessarily embittered. They foresee a long course of heartburnings and jealousies between slaves tempted to desire the ill opinion of their superiors on the one hand—and, on the other, masters tempted to see deliberate *fraud* in every momentary indulgence of that idle mood to which the climate is eternally

* We had written the above before Earl Bathurst's dispatches to Demerara were made public. From them we learn, that in contemplation of these difficulties, it has been proposed that the slave demanding manumission shall, if he has not procured the means of purchase by his own personal exertions, produce a five years' certificate of industry. But, we confess, even this precaution does not appear to exhaust the case; for is it impossible that obstinate ill conduct should induce the master himself to desire the departure of the slave, and even to facilitate that issue by a certificate—although he well knew all the while, that the slave *might* have been a most useful one?

prompting

prompting all beneath its influence. They dread the termination of those kindly feelings of mutual interest and mutual care which, according to their statements, characterize at this moment the relations between the immense majority of colonial proprietors and colonial labourers. You talk, say they, of compensation: who will compensate us for unhappy days and sleepless nights? who will compensate us for the pain of being surrounded for years and years by cold eyes and unwilling hands—who will compensate to us and to our slaves, for the interruption of charities which, whatever strangers may say or fancy, have been, and are, dear and valuable both to us and to them? who will compensate for the pride of kind protection taken away—the gratitude of humble hearts congealed—the daily habits of confidential intercourse broken—the sense of mutual dependence and good will extinguished? If it be answered that points of feeling can never be estimated in money, it is true; but in all this catalogue of outrages, (assuming such a prospective enumeration of them to be correct,) there is not one injury to feeling, which is not directly or indirectly attended by injury gross and tangible to the purse of the colonial proprietor.

We have not thrown out these suggestions as if they were things that could not be answered; very far from it: we only desire to see it admitted that there are preliminaries connected with this great experiment which still deserve *consideration*. That they will meet with every consideration in the quarter from which the ultimate decision must come, we have no sort of doubt. His Majesty's ministers are not so ignorant of human nature as to suppose that, *cæteris paribus*, a West Indian proprietor prefers to have his sugar-field laboured by a slave *rather* than by a freeman. They are well aware that with the colonists this is a question of property—that all the real difficulties originate in the belief that their pecuniary interests are in danger. Convince them that they are mistaken in this—that the proposed regulations do not necessarily involve any pecuniary loss on their part—and as certainly as they have eyes to see, and ears to ear, their opposition to the suggestions of the British parliament will be for ever at an end.

There is, indeed, one circumstance external to the real merits of the case, which we can easily believe to have some influence—and that, to whatever it may amount, most unpropitious—on the minds of our colonists. We allude to the manner in which their characters are suffered to be assailed, too often without even an attempt at any answer, in the House of Commons. It is from that house that they consider the Regulations in question as emanating; can it possibly dispose them the more willingly to accept of such suggestions, to read in the newspapers that such a lawyer and

and such a gentleman as Mr. Denman permitted himself, and was permitted by others, to speak in St. Stephen's chapel of *one* of the conspiracies detected in Jamaica in 1823-4, as having been '*got up*'—a mere trick in short—a cunning, politic, bloody little jest of a knot of Jamaica magistrates? Is it wonderful that the minds of those men, and the minds of those who know them, should boil with scorn and indignation when the account reaches the colony?—a conspiracy got up! and by whom?—not merely by the magistrates who tried the case, for the evidence in the case was submitted to the governor of Jamaica, and the sentence executed under his warrant—and it is from the character of the evidence itself that Mr. Denman pronounces the conspiracy to which it refers to have been a trick *ab ovo*. And what was the purpose that all these worshipful magistrates and their noble accomplice had in view?—why, according to Mr. Denman, it is their interest that the people of England should believe there are conspiracies in Jamaica! For such purposes the gentlemen of Jamaica and the Duke of Manchester commit judicial *murders!*—But was there even such a shadow of pretence for this enormous cruelty? This conspiracy was only one out of three that took place in the same island within the same twelve months: the evidence in regard to the other two insurrections, Mr. Denman does not dare to attack—and that in regard to the *Hanover* business he expressly admits to be conclusive and unanswerable*—were two conspiracies in the year so very scanty an allowance? were these 'white devils' of Jamaica determined to sup so very full with horrors?

Mr. Denman quoted, from the record of his 'got up' conspiracy, a letter, in which it was said that, 'only one of the wretches confessed the crime before execution.' Mr. Denman sees in this sentence only the one word *wretches*, and expresses his indignation at the magistrate and murderer who could use such a word upon such an occasion. But after all, why did any one negro and, above all, why did this one negro *confess?*—Was Obeah Jack, too—the ringleader—the only one of the set that could not possibly hope for pardon at any period of the investigation—was he,

* In the 'Picture of Negro Slavery, &c.' a pamphlet lately published under the authority of the African Institution, *all* the three conspiracies—that of which *Mr. Denman* admits the proofs to be complete and satisfactory, as well as the others—are boldly pronounced to have been 'got up.' It is also added, that in none of these conspiracies the prisoners were allowed the benefit of counsel: a statement in *direct opposition to the truth*, as may be seen by any one who refers to the parliamentary papers, of which this pamphlet professes to be an abstract, and in which the names of 'Mr. Burke and Mr. James, counsel for the prisoners, occur *passim*. In *one* of the cases, it is true, no counsel is named as having been present on the part of the accused: but the reason was, that the accused were all the slaves of one gentleman, who had formerly practised at the bar, and who appeared at the trial, without gown or wig to be sure, to do all that any barrister could have done for his dependents.

too.

too, with the rope about his neck, a member of the dark-souled junta that *got up* the conspiracy for the purpose of persuading the people of England that parliamentary discussions have an unpleasant effect in the colonies?*

Upon the whole we most cordially agree with both the writers before us in the general conclusion, that 'too strong a protest cannot be entered against any attempt which may be made to wrest from the hands of government this GREAT NATIONAL EXPERIMENT founded in justice, and executed hitherto in a spirit of practical and cautious policy.' If left to government we have no doubt the great experiment will continue to be executed in that spirit, and will terminate in solid good. If the advice of those who call, almost in the same breath, on the country to distrust the government, and on the government to ruin the colonists—if these guides be followed, we foresee no conclusion but one of horrors to 'the West India Question.'

That the government and the parliament will be firm their past conduct gives us no reason to doubt. The agents for the West India colonies have at last called for *inquiry*—they have at last taken this great step, and from its consequences we expect much.

We are satisfied, indeed, that a strict and impartial public inquiry is all that is wanted to set the matter right in the public opinion: and we cannot help thinking the West India colonies will do well to come forward in some still more formal manner and ask it from parliament—not by a parliamentary commission, whose proceedings being removed to a distance might be called in question by one party or the other—but by a committee of the House of Commons, or, best of all, by evidence publicly taken at the bar of that House. Even as it is, the master-agitators in this great and momentous question will now no longer dare to say, 'it does not suit the views of our opponents that their case should be discussed at all,'—'they are conscious that neither the situation of the slaves, nor the conduct of the assemblies, will bear examination.' Scarcely will it be said again, 'that every gentleman who presumes to stir these subjects in the House of Commons is usually treated by crowded West India benches, with rude clamours.' Let the best evidence that can be procured be brought forward from the East and from the West—from foreign colonies as well as from our own;—from the vaunted slave-paradise of Brazil, into one port of which country 25,000 Africans are, on an average, imported every year;—from the *free* labourers of Sierra Leone, of Hayti, and even of China, Cochin-china, and

* It may be as well to remark, that the authors of the African Institution's pamphlet, entitled 'England enslaved by her own Slave Colonies,' suppress entirely the fact of this Obeah Jack's confession. This conduct is much bolder than Mr. Denman's.

Siam.

Siam. Let us know how far the labourers of these countries may be regarded as free, how far as compulsory, and what is the produce and reward of their labour; in what manner they are fed, clothed, lodged, and generally what kind of treatment they experience from their masters or employers. When these facts are fully before us—when the public, by a solemn proceeding of this kind, is put in possession of the true state of the case in all its bearings—Then, and not till then, the question between England and her West India colonies may be brought to an issue worthy alike of the benevolence, the justice, and the wisdom of a great and Christian empire.

ART. XI.—*Recent Discoveries in Africa, made in the Years* 1823 *and* 1824, *by Major Denham, Captain Clapperton, R. N. and the late Dr. Oudney, extending across the Great Desert to the Tenth Degree of Northern Latitude, and from Kouka in Bornou to Sackatoo, the Capital of the Soudan Empire.* London. 1826.

WE consider this work as, in every respect, the most interesting and important that has yet come under our observation (and we are not aware of having neglected any) on the subject of African researches. We will not even except the brilliant discovery of Mungo Park, which gave a new stimulus to enterprize in this the least known quarter of the globe. The importance of the information procured by our enterprizing travellers is not merely confined to geographical discovery, in which, however, a vast blank has been filled up, and a great jumble and dislocation of names on our maps rectified,—it is equally, perhaps more, important in the view which it gives us of the state of society and the moral condition of large masses of people, congregated in the central parts of Africa, and shut out, as it were, from the rest of the world, on one side by a frightful desert, and on the other by ranges of lofty mountains, inhabited by uncivilized beings, of whom little or nothing is yet known. If, from the extreme ill health and final dissolution of that member of the expedition, who undertook the department of natural history, less should appear to have been accomplished than might be wished in that branch of science, the reader will find an ample compensation for this deficiency in matters of a more entertaining description and more general interest. But we must hasten to take a summary view of the various matters contained in the volume; we have the narratives of an excursion from Mourzouk to Ghraat, or Ghaat, a town of the Tuaricks, by Dr. Oudney—of a journey across the desert to Bornou—of various expeditions to the southward and eastward by Major Denham—and of an excursion through Sou-

dan

dan to the capital of the Fellatahs, by Captain Clapperton; we have also an appendix of several letters from the Sheikh of Bornou and the Sultan Bello; and from the latter a curious geographical memoir of the countries conquered by his father, accompanied by a chart of his own drawing; besides notices of natural history, vocabularies, registers of temperature, &c.: and by way of illustration, a great number of very valuable and well executed prints.

On the death of Mr. Ritchie at Mourzouk, and the return of Captain Lyon, Earl Bathurst, relying on the strong assurances of his Majesty's consul at Tripoli, that the road from thence to Bornou was as open and safe as that between London and Edinburgh, resolved that a second mission should be set forth to explore the state of this unhappy quarter of the globe, which annually sends forth so many thousands of its population into hopeless slavery. The consul's information was found to be correct; for although a little army of Arabs accompanied our travellers, under pretence of affording them protection, it was intended, as afterwards appeared, for a very different purpose. Lieutenant Toole subsequently crossed the almost interminable desert with two or three attendants, and after him Mr. Tyrwhit, loaded with presents of great value; and neither of them met with any molestation from the Tuaricks or Tibboos, who inhabit this desolate region, but both arrived in safety at Bornou.

Dr. Oudney, a naval surgeon, was appointed, on strong recommendations from Edinburgh, to proceed, in the capacity of consul, to Bornou; being allowed to take with him, as a friend and companion, Lieutenant (now Captain) Clapperton, of the navy. Lieutenant (now Major) Denham had about this time volunteered his services on an attempt to pass from Tripoli to Timbuctoo, pretty nearly by the same route as that which Major Laing is now pursuing; and, it being intended that researches should be made from Bornou, as the fixed residence of the consul, to the east and to the west, Lord Bathurst added the name of Major Denham to the expedition.

The delay that the travellers were doomed to experience at Tripoli was, as usual, most vexatious. The old bashaw, anxious, as he always has been, to meet the wishes of the British government, and led, as he appears to be, most completely by Mr. Consul Warrington, could not prevail on the Arab escort to stir one step out of their ordinary slow process of preparation for so long a journey. So profound is the respect of the bashaw for the British flag, and such is its influence on the minds of his subjects, that Major Denham tells us 'the roof of the English consul always affords a sanctuary to the perpetrator of any crime, not even excepting murder'; and that 'scarcely a day passes on which some

some persecuted Jew or unhappy slave does not rush into the court-yard of the consulate to escape the bastinado.' One day our traveller met with a poor wretch whom they were dragging along to the place of punishment, when a child and servant of Dr. Dickson were passing; the criminal, slipping from his guards, snatched up the child in his arms, and halted boldly before his pursuers. The talisman was sufficiently powerful; the emblem of innocence befriended the guilty, and the culprit walked on uninterrupted, triumphing in the protection of the British flag.

Another delay took place at Mourzouk, during which Dr. Oudney and Mr. Clapperton made an excursion to the westward as far as Ghaat, the frontier town of the Tuaricks, who, Hornemann says, are 'the most interesting nation of Africa'; he calls them 'a mighty people'—not mighty in numbers, we presume, though they are most extensively spread over Northern Africa, and indeed divide with the Tibboos the whole of the Sahara, or Great Desert; the latter occupying the wells and the wadeys of the eastern, and the Tuaricks those of the western portion of this dry, dreary, naked and sterile belt, which is drawn across Northern Africa from the Nile to the Atlantic, and extends in width from Tripoli to Soudan, (for Fezzan is nothing more than an assemblage of wadeys,) not less than twelve hundred geometrical miles. The poor peaceable Tibboos, who are nomades of a mixed Ethiopian race, are constantly exposed to the predatory excursions of the fierce and warlike Tuaricks, who carry on their marauding expeditions to the very frontiers of Bornou and Soudan.

These Tuaricks vary in colour, in different parts of the desert, from almost black to nearly white, and they seem to take pains to preserve their complexion, not only by being clothed from head to foot, but also by covering the face, up to the eyes, with a black or coloured handkerchief. They have not embraced Moslemism, although they observe some few of its external ceremonies; neither is their language Arabic, but appears to have a great affinity with that of the Berbers—a language which Mr. Marsden and some others have traced to the oasis of Siwah, and also to the foot of Mount Atlas, that is, from the extreme east to the extreme west of Northern Africa. 'Mr. Marsden conjectures it may have been the general language of northern Africa before the period of the Mahomedan conquests, and that, so marked is its affinity to certain forms of the oriental languages, it may not be unreasonable to consider it as connected with the ancient Punic—an opinion in which M. Langlés is disposed to concur.

The wide diffusion of a language of which so little is known, and which has been a subject of so much discussion, is thus accounted for in the geographical memoir of Bello, the sultan of the Fellatahs,

tahs, an extract from which Mr. Clapperton procured at Sackatoo:

'While Africus reigned over Yemen, and the Barbars in Syria, the inhabitants of the latter country, being oppressed by the iniquities and impiety of their rulers, applied to Africus to deliver them from their hands, and, at the same time, they proclaimed and acknowledged him as their legal sovereign. He marched against the Barbars, fought and destroyed them, except the children, whom he kept in Yemen as slaves and soldiers. After his death, and the lapse of a long period, they rebelled against Hemeera, who then ruled Yemen. He fought and turned them out of that country; whence they emigrated to a spot near Abyssinia, where they took refuge. They then went to Kanoom, and settled there as strangers, under the government of the Tawarék, who were a tribe related to them, and called Amakeetan.'—*Appendix*, p. 159.

In another place the sultan says, 'the Tawaréks are of the remnants of the Barbar, who spread themselves over Africa at the time of its conquest;' adding that 'some consider them sprung from Abraham, but others from Gog and Magog, whom the two-horned Alexander immured.'*

Dr. Oudney has given what he calls an alphabet of this language, some of the characters of which approach nearly to the more ancient forms of the Greek letters; these they may have acquired in Syria. Not a single word of the language, however, has he furnished; and as Captain Lyon did not fulfil the promise he made, of printing a vocabulary, we remain in almost total ignorance as to its elements and structure. We hope that Mr. Laing will not omit availing himself of the opportunities which a long journey through the Tuarick country will afford him. It would be a curious circumstance, indeed, if it should be discovered, from their language, and any writings they may possess, that these people are the descendants of the ancient colony of Dido.

At length, after many provoking delays, the whole cavalcade left Mourzuk on the 29th of November. They had before them a wide waste of eight hundred English miles, hitherto untrod by any European foot except that of Hornemann. It occupied them sixty-eight days in crossing, being about the rate of twelve miles a day, including halts, which were frequent.

This dreary journey was somewhat enlivened by the noisy quarrels, the equally noisy and boisterous mirth, the songs, and the stories of the Arab escort. 'Arabic songs,' says Denham, 'go to the heart, and excite greatly the passions. I have seen a circle of Arabs straining their eyes with a fixed attention at one moment,

* Salamé, the translator, observes, that Africus, as appears from 'Mas-oode's History of Yemen,' reigned soon after the death of Alexander the Great.

and bursting with loud laughter at the next, melting into tears, and clasping their hands in all the ecstasy of grief and sympathy.'

Part of one of their extemporary songs is thus rendered by Major Denham:—

'My hopes are but as the fantastic dreams of night; yet with this hopelessness my love does but increase, even as a star shines the brightest in the blackest night. O! Mabrooka! thy head sinks too with sorrow at losing him whose thoughts are still of thee; but as the desert bird* drops and smooths its wing but to display the richness of its plumage, so will thy silent grief but cause thee to appear with increased charms!'

Another, of a very different character, is thus given by Clapperton:

'Give flesh to the hyenas at day-break:
Oh! the broad spears.
The spear of the sultan is the broadest:
Oh! the broad spears.
God is great!—I wax fierce as a beast of prey:
Oh! the broad spears.'†

The country *very gradually* approached to the semblance of vegetation, and at length, at Lari, they got sight of the great lake Tsad: 'My heart bounded within me,' says Denham, 'at this prospect, for I believed this lake to be the key to the great object of our search.' The Kanem people, or Kanemboo, inhabit Lari: the women, we are told, are good-looking, laughing negresses, and all but naked. It was impossible not to feel an anxiety to pay an immediate visit to the Tsad. Accordingly, says Denham:

'By sun-rise I was on the borders of the lake, armed for the destruction of the multitude of birds, who, all unconscious of my purpose, seemed as it were to welcome our arrival. Flocks of geese and wild ducks, of a most beautiful plumage, were quietly feeding at within half pistol-shot of where I stood; and not being a very keen or inhuman sportsman, for the terms appear to me to be synonymous, my purpose of deadly warfare was almost shaken. As I moved towards them they only changed their places a little to the right or left, and appeared to have no idea of the hostility of my intentions. All this was really so new, that I hesitated to abuse the confidence with which they regarded me, and very quietly sat down to contemplate the scene before me. Pelicans, cranes, four and five feet in height, grey, variegated, and white, were scarcely so many yards from my side, and a bird, between a snipe and a woodcock, resembling both, and larger than either; immense spoonbills of a snowy whiteness, widgeon, teal, yellow-legged plover, and a hundred species of (to me at least) unknown water fowl, were sporting before me; and it was long before I could disturb the tranquillity of the dwellers on these waters by firing a gun.'—p. 46.

* 'Ostrich.'

† This may remind the reader of the beginning of the song of Lodbrok.

From

From hence the whole surface of the country was well clothed with wood. At length they approached Kouka, the residence of the sheikh who rules over Bornou :—

'I had ridden on a short distance in front of Boo-Khaloom, with his train of Arabs, all mounted, and dressed out in their best apparel; and, from the thickness of the trees, soon lost sight of them, fancying that the road could not be mistaken. I rode still onwards, and on approaching a spot less thickly planted, was not a little surprised to see in front of me a body of several thousand cavalry drawn up in line, and extending right and left quite as far as I could see; and, checking my horse, I waited the arrival of my party, under the shade of a wide-spreading acacia. The Bornou troops remained quite steady, without noise or confusion; and a few horsemen, who were moving about in front giving directions, were the only persons out of the ranks. On the Arabs appearing in sight, a shout, or yell, was given by the sheikh's people, which rent the air: a blast was blown from their rude instruments of music equally loud, and they moved on to meet Boo-Khaloom and his Arabs. There was an appearance of tact and management in their movements which astonished me: three separate small bodies, from the centre and each flank, kept charging rapidly towards us, to within a few feet of our horses' heads, without checking the speed of their own until the moment of their halt, while the whole body moved onwards. These parties were mounted on small but very perfect horses, who stopped, and wheeled from their utmost speed with great precision and expertness, shaking their spears over their heads, exclaiming, "*Barca! barca! Alla hiakhum cha, alla cheraga!* —Blessing! blessing! Sons of your country! Sons of your country!" and returning quickly to the front of the body, in order to repeat the charge. While all this was going on, they closed in their right and left flanks, and surrounded the little body of Arab warriors so completely, as to give the compliment of welcoming them very much the appearance of a declaration of their contempt for their weakness. I am quite sure this was premeditated; we were all so closely pressed as to be nearly smothered, and in some danger from the crowding of the horses and clashing of spears. Moving on was impossible; and we therefore came to a full stop: our chief was much enraged, but it was all to no purpose, he was only answered by shrieks of "Welcome!" and spears most unpleasantly rattled over our heads expressive of the same feeling. This annoyance was not however of long duration; Barca Gana, the sheikh's first general, a negro of a noble aspect, clothed in a figured silk tobe, and mounted on a beautiful Mandara horse, made his appearance; and, after a little delay, the rear was cleared of those who had pressed in upon us, and we moved on, although but very slowly, from the frequent impediment thrown in our way by these wild equestrians.

'The sheikh's negroes, as they were called, meaning the black chiefs and favourites, all raised to that rank by some deed of bravery, were habited in coats of mail composed of iron chain, which covered them from the throat to the knees, dividing behind, and coming on each side of the horse: some of them had helmets, or rather skull-caps, of the same metal, with chain-veils, all sufficiently strong to ward off the shock

of a spear. Their horses' heads were also defended by plates of iron, brass, and silver, just leaving sufficient room for the eyes of the animal.' —pp. 62—64.

These coats of mail are not uncommon in the East, among the Georgians and Circassians, and were undoubtedly brought from thence by the Egyptian Mamelukes. Dr. Meyrick observes that the scale-armour for horse and man, worn by the Parthians, and sculptured on the Trajan Column, bears a strong resemblance to that of the guards of the sheikh of Bornou, and that their skull-cap is precisely like the Parthian helmet. As that was afterwards adopted in the Roman army, there is no difficulty in accounting for its use (noticed by Burckhardt) in the eastern districts of Africa bordering on the Nile and the Bahr el Abiad.

The introduction to El Kanemy, 'the Sheikh of the Koran,' and named also 'the Sheikh of Spears,' had nothing remarkable in it. The fatigued travellers immediately experienced his hospitality in presents of bullocks, camel-loads of wheat and rice, leathern skins of butter, jars of honey in the comb, &c. &c. About a week after their arrival they paid a visit to the black sultan of Bornou, who dwells at the city of Birnie, sixteen or eighteen miles from Kouka. The sheikh, in rescuing Bornou out of the hands of the Felatahs, adopted the policy of retaining on the throne the native sovereign, while he himself took possession of all the power; just as we kept the great Mogul, the nabobs of Oude, Arcot, and other native princes in India. Previous to their introduction to this nominal potentate, a plentiful repast, in 70 dishes, sufficient for 400 people, was served up, the meats consisting of mutton and poultry, baked, boiled, and stewed. In the morning they were conducted to the front of his residence, where about 300 of his court were assembled, squatting on the ground before the sultan, but with their backs towards him.

'He was seated in a sort of cage of cane or wood, near the door of his garden, on a seat which at the distance appeared to be covered with silk or satin, and through the railing looked upon the assembly before him, who formed a sort of semicircle extending from his seat to nearly where we were waiting. Nothing could be more absurd and grotesque than some, nay all, of the figures who formed this court. Here was all the outward show of pomp and grandeur, without one particle of the staple commodity, power, to plead its excuse; he reigns and governs by the sufferance of the sheikh: and the better to answer his views, by making him more popular with all parties, the sultan is amused by indulging in all the folly and bigotry of the ancient negro sovereigns. Large bellies and large heads are indispensable for those who serve the court of Bornou; and those who unfortunately possess not the former by nature, or on whom lustiness will not be forced by cramming, make up the deficiency of protuberance by a wadding, which, as they sit on the horse, gives

gives the belly the curious appearance of hanging over the pommel of the saddle. The eight, ten, and twelve shirts, of different colours, that they wear one over the other, help a little to increase this greatness of person: the head is enveloped in folds of muslin or linen of various colours, though mostly white, so as to deform it as much as possible; and those whose turban seemed to be the most studied had the effect of making the head appear completely on one side. Besides this they are hung all over with charms, inclosed in little red leather parcels, strung together; the horse, also, has them round his neck, in front of his head, and about the saddle.'—pp. 78, 79.

On their return our travellers visited Angornow, the largest town in Bornou, said to contain at least 30,000 inhabitants. It is the greatest market in the whole kingdom.

'The public market is on a Wednesday, and attended sometimes by eighty or a hundred thousand persons, as the natives say, in peaceable times; but there was a very good market this day in an open space in the centre of the town, which is held every evening. Fish, flesh, and fowls were in abundance, dressed and undressed, and tomatas, and onions, but no other vegetables.—Again my excessive whiteness became a cause of both pity and astonishment, if not disgust: a crowd followed me through the market, others fled at my approach, some of the women oversetting their merchandize, by their over anxiety to get out of my way; and although two of them were so struck with astonishment as to remain fixed to the spot, unconscious of the escape of their companions, they no sooner perceived me quite close to them, than they too ran off, irresistibly affrighted.'—p. 80.

Our travellers had not been many weeks at Kouka, before they discovered that the numerous escort of Arabs, furnished by the old Bashaw of Tripoli, was meant, as we have observed, for a very different purpose from that of their protection, and that Boo-Khaloom, who commanded it, had express orders to negociate with the sheikh for a joint *grazzie*, or slave-hunting expedition, from which he, the bashaw, calculated to receive, as his share, some two or three thousand slaves. It is supposed the sheikh did not willingly embark in this atrocious proceeding, though he ultimately lent his assistance in making up the number of the marauding army to three thousand men, the chief command of whom was given to his favourite general, Barca Gana, a Soudan black slave, of uncommon bravery, great quickness of observation, and, like his master, of a gentle and pleasing disposition. Major Denham accompanied this grazzie to witness in what manner such an army would behave. Their march through a woody country is thus described:

'Chiefs in this part of Africa are accompanied by as many personal followers as they think proper to maintain, both as horse and footmen; some of them form the band, if I may so call it. Barca Gana had five

mounted, who kept close behind him, three of whom carried a sort of drum, which hung round their necks, and beat time while they sang extempore songs; one carried a small pipe made of a reed, and the other blew, on a buffalo's horn, loud and deep-toned blasts, as we moved through the wood: but by far the most entertaining and useful were the running footmen, who preceded the kashella, and acted as pioneers: they were twelve in number, and carried long forked poles, with which they, with great dexterity, kept back the branches, as they moved on at a quick pace, constantly keeping open a path, which would without them really have been scarcely passable; they, besides this, were constantly crying aloud something about the road, or the expedition, as they went on. For example: "Take care of the holes!—avoid the branches!—Here is the road!—take care of the tulloh!—its branches are like spears—worse than spears! Keep off the branches!" "For whom?". "Barca Gana."—"Who in battle is like rolling of thunder?" "Barca Gana!"—"Now for Mandara!—now for the Kerdies!—now for the battle of spears!—Who is our leader?" "Barca Gana."—"Here is the wadey, but no water."—"God be praised!"—"In battle, who spreads terror around him like a buffalo in his rage?" "Barca Gana."'—pp. 105, 106.

The three thousand men were all cavalry, except about eighty Arabs on foot. On approaching Mora, the capital of Mandara, the black Sultan came out to meet them.

'At about a mile from this town, we saw before us the sultan of Mandara, surrounded by about five hundred horsemen, posted on a rising ground ready to receive us, when Barca Gana instantly commanded a halt. Different parties now charged up to the front of our line, and wheeling suddenly round, charged back again the sultan. These people were finely dressed in Soutan tobes of different colours; dark blue, and striped with yellow and red; hornouses of coarse scarlet cloth; with large turbans of white or dark coloured cotton. Their horses were really beautiful, larger and more powerful than any found in Bornou, and they managed them with great skill. The sultan's guard was composed of thirty of his sons, all mounted on very superior horses, clothed in striped silk tobes; and the skin of the tiger-cat and leopard forming their shabracks, which hung fully over their horses' haunches. After these had returned to their station in front of the sultan, we approached at full speed in our turn, halting with the guard between us and the royal presence. The parley then commenced, and the object of Boo-Khaloom's visit having been explained, we retired again to the place we had left; while the sultan returned to the town, preceded by several men blowing long pipes, not unlike clarionets, ornamented with shells, and two immense trumpets from twelve to fourteen feet long, borne by men on horseback, made of pieces of hollow wood, with a brass mouth-piece, the sounds of which were not unpleasing.'—p. 110, 111.

The hills behind Mora were crowded with Kirdy or Kaffir villages, which Boo-Khaloom and his Arabs viewed with great eagerness and with longing eyes, calling out to each other, 'This will do.' Mandara, however, was not disposed to let them poach

on

on his own manors, or rather to allow a *battue* on one of his best and most conveniently situated *preserves;* but the appearance of such a force bivouacking in the valley was a most appalling sight to the unfortunate villagers, some of whom were observed to be running off, whilst others came to Mora to bring presents and to supplicate for mercy. The following is a description of these poor savages :—

'The people of Musgow, whose country it was at first reported (although without foundation) that the Arabs were to plunder, sent two hundred head of their fellow creatures, besides other presents, to the sultan, with more than fifty horses. Between twenty and thirty horsemen, mounted on small, fiery, and very well formed steeds of about fourteen hands high, with a numerous train, were the bearers of these gifts —and a most extraordinary appearance they made. I saw them on their leaving the sultan's palace; and both then, and on their entrance, they threw themselves on the ground, pouring sand on their heads, and uttering the most piteous cries. The horsemen, who were chiefs, were covered only by the skin of a goat or leopard, so contrived as to hang over the left shoulder, with the head of the animal on the breast; and being confined round the middle, was made to reach nearly half way down the thigh, the skin of the tail and legs being also preserved. On their heads, which were covered with long woolly, or rather bristly, hair, coming quite over their eyes, they wore a cap of the skin of the goat, or some fox-like animal; round their arms, and in their ears, were rings of what to me appeared to be bone; and round the necks of each were from one to six strings of what I was assured were the teeth of the enemies they had slain in battle; teeth and pieces of bone were also pendant from the clotted locks of their hair, and with the red patches with which their body was marked in different places, and of which colour also their own teeth were stained, they really had a most strikingly wild, and truly savage, appearance. What very much increased the interest I felt in gazing upon these beings, who, to appearance, were the most savage of their race, was the positive assertion of Boo-Khaloom that they were Christians. I had certainly no other argument at the moment to use, in refutation of his position, than their most unchristian-like appearance and deportment; in this he agreed, but added, "Wolla Insara, they are Christians!" Some of them, however, begging permission to regale themselves on the remains of a horse, which had died during the night in our camp, gave me, as I thought, an unanswerable argument against him. I can scarcely, however, at this moment forget how disconcerted I felt when he replied, "That is nothing: I certainly never heard of Christians eating dead horse-flesh, but I know they eat the flesh of swine, and God knows that is worse!" "Grant me patience!" exclaimed I to myself; "this is almost too much to bear, and to be silent."

'I endeavoured, by means of one of the Mandara people, to ask some questions of some of these reputed Christians, but my attempts were fruitless; they would hold no intercourse with any one; and, on gaining permission, carried off the carcass of the horse to the mountains, where, by the fires which blazed during the night, and the yells that

reached our ears, they no doubt held their savage and brutal feast.'—pp. 118, 119.

Shortly after this the whole army left Mandara, and proceeded southwards to the feet of the great chain of mountains, a part, no doubt, of the Jibbel Kumra, or Mountains of the Moon. Here they made an attack on some Felatah villages, and were completely beaten; Boo-Khaloom was killed by a poisoned arrow, and Major Denham narrowly escaped with life, after being wounded, taken, and stripped quite naked, the particulars of which we have already detailed, (Nos. LVIII. and LXII.)* There is something very striking in the easy and natural yet bold and highly picturesque manner in which this part of the gallant soldier's story is told by himself. Indeed the frank and manly tone of the whole of Major Denham's personal narrative cannot be too highly commended.

The next excursion of our travellers was to Old Birnie, Gambarou, and other deserted towns now in ruins, to the westward of Kouka, and mostly along the banks of the Yeou. On this expedition they proceeded under the immediate protection of the sheikh, who, in person, with his Kanemboo spearmen to the amount of eight or nine thousand, and five thousand Shouaa Arabs and Bornou men, had undertaken it for the purpose of bringing to submission the people of Munga,—a province which had never thoroughly acknowledged the sheikh's supremacy, but had now thrown off all restraint, and put to death about one hundred and twenty of the Shouaas. We have little to notice on this expedition except the manner of the sheikh's taking the field with his Kanemboo spearmen, who had materially assisted him in wresting Bornou from the hands of the Felatahs.

'He was mounted on a very beautiful bright bay horse from Mandara, and took his station on the north side of the circle; while the Kanemboos were drawn up on the opposite extremity in close column, to the number of nine thousand. On the signal being made for them to advance, they uttered a yell, or shriek, exceeding any thing in shrillness I ever heard; then advanced, by tribes of from eight hundred to one thousand each. They were perfectly naked, with the exception of a rather fantastical belt of goat or sheep's skin, with the hair outwards, round their middles, and a few gubkas (narrow strips of cloth, the money of the country), round their heads, and brought under the nose; their arms

* The funeral song of the Fezzaneers, in honour of their slain chief, is thus translated (literally) in Major Denham's appendix. 'Oh! trust not to the gun and the sword! The spear of the unbeliever prevails! Boo-Khaloom, the good and the brave, has fallen! Who shall be safe? Men hang their heads in sorrow, while women wring their hands, rending the air with their cries! As a shepherd is to his flock, so was Boo-Khuloom to Fezzan! Give him songs! Give him music! What words can equal his praise? His heart was as large as the desert! His coffers were like the rich overflowings from the udder of the she-camel, comforting and nourishing those around him! His body lies in the land of the heathen! The poisoned arrow of the unbeliever prevails!'

are

are a spear and shield, with a dagger on the left arm reversed, secured by a ring which goes on the wrist, the point running up the arm, and the handle downwards.

'On nearing the spot where the sheikh had placed himself they quickened their pace, and, after striking their spears against their shields for some seconds, which had an extremely grand and stunning effect, they filed off to the outside of the circle, where they again formed, and awaited their companions, who succeeded them in the same order. There appeared to be a great deal of affection between these troops and the sheikh; he spurred his horse onwards into the midst of some of the tribes as they came up, and spoke to them, while the men crowded round him, kissing his feet, and the stirrups of his saddle. It was a most pleasing sight; he seemed to feel how much his present elevation was owing to their exertions, while they displayed a devotion and attachment deserving and denoting the greatest confidence.'—pp. 165, 166.

The rainy season of course suspended all excursions, and the residence of our travellers at Kouka was dreary enough. Denham seems to have been the only one who retained his health pretty well. Dr. Oudney, Clapperton, and Hillman were reduced to the verge of death, by fever and ague, and incapable of doing any thing for the greater part of the time. When Hillman was able to work, he made several pieces of furniture for the sheikh, and mounted two old swivels on carriages. On one occasion the sheikh sent him a present of gubbuk (current money), which Hillman returned, with the true and honest pride of an English seaman, saying, 'No! the king of England pays me, I don't want that; but I am much obliged to the sheikh nevertheless.' Major Denham amused and terrified the people by firing off a few Congreve rockets, which occasioned an universal scream that lasted for some seconds; but the effects were not so serious here as the major says they were at Mourzuk, where 'several ladies lost all present hopes of blessing their husbands with little pledges of love.' Towards the close of the year 1824, however, the rains having ceased, our travellers thought themselves so far recovered as to be able to resume their researches. Major Denham set out to the southward, to visit Loggun and the mouth of the Shary, a sketch of which journey we have already given in a former Number. Dr. Oudney, ill as he was, and evidently in the last stage of a consumption, and Captain Clapperton, set out for Soudan, having first obtained the consent of the sheikh, who gave them a respectable Arab merchant of the name of El-Wordee to attend them as a guide.

These journeys, as we have before stated, were fatal to two of the travellers; to Lieutenant Toole, who, though just arrived from a rapid and fatiguing journey across the desert, determined to accompany Denham, and to Dr. Oudney. The death of

of the latter was somewhat hastened by the extreme cold of the climate at this period of the year. The lowest temperature, however, which we find noted down, is 42° of Fahrenheit, early in the morning; but the descent of the mercury is not registered, when 'the water in the shallow vessels crusted with thin flakes of ice, and the water-skins themselves were frozen as hard as a board;' not the 'water *in* the skins,' as some French *savans* have misstated the fact, in order to prove it impossible.

Clapperton's narrative of his journey, through the new and untrodden country of Soudan, could not fail of being interesting; and the unaffected and manly style in which it is written makes amends for the want of many particulars that would have been most acceptable. It was at Murmur that his companion died. It is a town on the eastern frontier of the Felatah empire, to the sovereign of which he was proceeding. This province is called Katagum, the capital of which, bearing the same name, is situated in lat. 12° 17′ N. and long. 11° E.; and is described as the strongest city the traveller had seen since he left Tripoli: and containing from 7,000 to 8,000 inhabitants. The province, which before the Felatah conquest belonged to Bornou, is said to be able to send into the field about 4,000 horse and 20,000 foot, variously armed with bows, swords, and spears. Grain, cotton, bullocks, and slaves are its staple articles of trade; and here, for the first time, our traveller met with cowrie shells circulating as the medium of exchange. The whole province is flat like Bornou, and is fertilized by the Yeou and its overflowings, well cultivated in many parts, and highly productive. The people are chiefly Bornouese, and, like them, extremely attentive and obliging to strangers. The governor of Katagum sent out a guard of honour to meet our traveller and conduct him to the city, received him with the greatest kindness, asked if he wished for slaves, or any thing else, for whatever he had or could procure was at his disposal.

A man, who for the first time witnessed the effect of a rifle-gun, would naturally be struck with astonishment. To humour this governor, Clapperton fired his twice, and hit the mark both times, at the distance of sixty or seventy yards, when the other called out, 'The Lord preserve me from devils!' but, says Clapperton, 'he threw over my shoulders a handsome tobe, in token of his approbation.'

The country beyond Katagum began to change its character, rising into ridges of hills running east and west, their summits covered with trees, and their sides and the valleys well peopled and cultivated, while numerous herds of cattle were grazing on the plains. Crowds of people were passing on the road on their return

return from the Kano market, some carrying their goods on their heads, some on bullocks, and others on asses. As our traveller advanced, the hills became broken, and large detached blocks of stone 'gave a romantic appearance to the neat huts clustering round the base, and to the fine plantations of cotton, tobacco, and indigo, which are separated from one another by rows of date trees, and are shaded by other large umbrageous trees, of whose names I am ignorant.' He passed several walled towns, some of them deserted, the inhabitants having been carried off at the Felatah conquest; the country however still highly cultivated, and towns and villages numerous. 'The Felatah women sat spinning cotton by the road side, offering for sale to the passing caravans, gussub water, roast meat, sweet potatoes, cashew nuts, &c.;' and he adds, 'from time to time they surveyed themselves, with whimsical complacency, in a little pocket mirror.' Clapperton speaks highly in praise of these females. In his illness they attended him with as much kindness and care as if they had been his near relations. Nor was he in return ungrateful, or insensible to their charms. An attack of the ague had obliged him to halt and to rest all day under the shade of a tree:—

'A pretty Felatah girl, going to market with milk and butter, neat and spruce in her attire as a Cheshire dairy-maid, here accosted me with infinite archness and grace. She said I was of her own nation; and, after much amusing small talk, I pressed her, in jest, to accompany me on my journey, while she parried my solicitations with roguish glee, by referring me to her father and mother. I don't know how it happened, but her presence seemed to dispel the effects of the ague. To this trifling and innocent memorial of a face and form, seen that day for the first and last time, but which I shall not readily forget, I may add the more interesting information to the good housewives of my own country, that the making of butter such as ours is confined to the nation of the Felatahs, and that it is both clean and excellent. So much is this domestic art cultivated, that from an useful prejudice or superstition, it is deemed unlucky to sell new milk; it may, however, be bestowed as a gift. Butter is also made in other parts of central Africa, but sold in an oily fluid state something like honey.'—p. 38.

We may here notice another trait of innocent simplicity, such as we have often been told prevailed once, but that is a long time ago, in a certain country called Arcadia.

'The weather clear and fine: we rode to-day through little valleys, delightfully green, lying between high ridges of granite; and, to add to the beauty of the scenery, there were many clear springs issuing out of the rocks, where young women were employed drawing water. I asked several times for a gourd of water, by way of excuse to enter into conversation with them. Bending gracefully on one knee, and displaying at the same time teeth of pearly whiteness, and eyes of the blackest lustre,

lustre, they presented it to me on horseback, and appeared highly delighted when I thanked them for their civility: remarking to one another, "Did you hear the white man thank me?" '—p. 71.

On the 20th January our traveller reached the city of Kano, the great emporium of the kingdom of Houssa.

'The city is of an irregular oval shape, about fifteen miles in circumference, and surrounded by a clay wall thirty feet high, with a dry ditch along the inside, and another on the outside. There are fifteen gates, including one lately built up. The gates are of wood, covered with sheet iron, and are regularly opened and shut at sunrise and sunset.' 'Not more than one fourth of the ground within the walls is occupied by houses; the vacant space is laid out in fields and gardens.' 'The houses are built of clay, and are mostly of a square form, in the Moorish fashion, with a central room, the roof of which is supported by the trunks of palm-trees, where visitors and strangers are received.' 'The governor's residence covers a large space, and resembles a walled village. It even contains a mosque, and several towers three or four stories high, with windows in the European style, but without glass or frame-work. It is necessary to pass through two of these towers in order to gain the suite of inner apartments occupied by the governor.'—pp. 50, 51.

Exclusive of the numerous caravans and strangers who flock in crowds from all parts of Africa, from the Mediterranean to the Mountains of the Moon, and from Sennar to Ashantee, Kano is supposed to contain from 30,000 to 40,000 resident inhabitants. The market appears to be well regulated.

'Particular quarters are appropriated to distinct articles; the smaller wares being set out in booths in the middle, and cattle and bulky commodities being exposed to sale in the outskirts of the market-place: wood, dried grass, bean straw for provender, beans, Guinea corn, Indian corn, wheat, &c. are in one quarter; goats, sheep, asses, bullocks, horses, and camels, in another; earthenware and indigo in a third; vegetables and fruit of all descriptions, such as yams, sweet potatoes, water and musk melons, pappaw fruit, limes, cashew nuts, plums, mangoes, shaddocks, dates, &c. in a fourth, and so on. Wheaten flour is baked into bread of three different kinds; one like muffins, another like our twists, and the third a light puffy cake, with honey and melted butter poured over it. Rice is also made into little cakes. Beef and mutton are killed daily. Camel flesh is occasionally to be had, but is often meagre; the animal being commonly killed, as an Irish grazier might say, to save its life: it is esteemed a great delicacy, however, by the Arabs, when the carcass is fat. The native butchers are fully as knowing as our own, for they make a few slashes to show the fat, blow up meat, and sometimes even stick a little sheep's wool on a leg of goat's flesh, to make it pass with the ignorant for mutton. When a fat bull is brought to market to be killed, its horns are died red with henna; drummers attend, a mob soon collects, the news of the animal's size and fatness spreads, and all run to buy. Near the shambles there is a number of cook-shops in the open air; each consisting merely of a wood fire,

fire, stuck round with wooden skewers, on which small bits of fat and lean meat, alternately mixed, and scarcely larger than a pennypiece each, are roasting. Every thing looks very clean and comfortable; and a woman does the honours of the table, with a mat dish cover placed on her knees, from which she serves her guests, who are squatted around her. Ground gussub water is retailed at hand, to those who can afford this beverage at their repast: the price, at most, does not exceed twenty cowries, or about two farthings and $\frac{1}{10}$ of a farthing, English money, estimating the dollar at five shillings. Those who have houses eat at home; women never resort to cook-shops, and even at home eat apart from men.

'The interior of the market is filled with stalls of bamboo, laid out in regular streets; where the more costly wares are sold, and articles of dress, and other little matters of use or ornament made and repaired. Bands of musicians parade up and down to attract purchasers to particular booths. Here are displayed coarse writing paper, of French manufacture, brought from Barbary; scissors and knives, of native workmanship; crude antimony and tin, both the produce of the country; unwrought silk of red colour, which they make into belts and slings, or weave in stripes into the finest cotton tobes; armlets and bracelets of brass; beads of glass, coral, and amber; finger rings of pewter, and a few silver trinkets, but none of gold; tobes, turkadees, and turban shawls; coarse woollen cloths of all colours; coarse calico; Moorish dresses; the cast-off gaudy garbs of the Mamelukes of Barbary; pieces of Egyptian linen, checked or striped with gold; sword blades from Malta, &c. &c. The market is crowded from sunrise to sunset every day, not excepting their Sabbath, which is kept on Friday. The merchants understand the benefits of monopoly as well as any people in the world; they take good care never to overstock the market, and if any thing falls in price, it is immediately withdrawn for a few days.—The market is regulated with the greatest fairness, and the regulations are strictly and impartially enforced. If a tobe or turkadee, purchased here, is carried to Bornou or any other distant place, without being opened, and is there discovered to be of inferior quality, it is immediately sent back, as a matter of course,—the name of the *dylala*, or broker, being written inside every parcel. In this case the *dylala* must find out the seller, who, by the laws of Kano, is forthwith obliged to refund the purchase money.'—pp. 52, 53.

It may be noticed as a singular fact, that our traveller purchased in the market of Kano an English green cotton umbrella for three Spanish dollars, on which he was allowed a discount of 2½ per cent.; this return being an universal custom, by way of blessing, as they term it, or 'luck-penny,' says Clapperton, 'according to our less devout phraseology.' In a separate part of the town, and under two long covered sheds, the slave market is held, one for males, and the other for females, of the unhappy race of negroes; or rather the contrary, for we are told that 'slavery is here so common, or the mind of the slaves is so constituted, that they

they always appeared much happier than their masters; the women especially, singing with the greatest glee all the time they are at work.' The negro is no doubt constitutionally of a very gay disposition, and slavery here is not exactly what it is in the cane-fields of an American plantation; they here become members of the family in which they live, intermarry with the younger branches of the family, and are employed in high and confidential situations. Thus the first man in the Sheikh of Bornou's dominions is Barca Gana, his general-in-chief, a black negro slave. In Kano, the male slaves are employed in the various trades of building, working in iron, weaving, making shoes or clothes, and in traffic; the female slaves in spinning, baking, and selling water in the streets.

During our traveller's residence in Kano, he was visited by all kinds of people, and among others, two *massi dubus*, or jugglers, who exhibited dancing snakes, with which they played all manner of tricks, precisely such as are performed in India; but Mr. Clapperton hardly could have expected to find in such a quarter expert members of 'the fancy;' desperate boxers and wrestlers; and addicted, like the people of Kentucky, 'to gouge, or scoop out one of the eyes.'

Blindness is a prevalent disease; and within the walls of Kano there is a separate village for people afflicted with this infirmity; their huts are neatly and well built, and no one who is not blind, unless on rare occasions a one-eyed man, is admitted into the community; the lame, it was said, had a similar establishment, and both had allowances from the governor, and were besides permitted to be in the markets.

This city is celebrated for the art of dying cotton cloth (especially with indigo) which is afterwards beaten with wooden mallets until it acquires a japan-like gloss. The women dye their hair with indigo, and also their hands, feet, legs, and eyebrows. Their legs and arms thus painted, look as if covered with dark blue gloves and boots. Both men and women colour their teeth and lips with the flowers of the *georgei* tree and of the tobacco plant; which give to the lips and teeth a blood-red appearance, esteemed a great beauty. Both men and women *eat* snuff mixed with trona, but men only are allowed to smoke tobacco; the *gooro* nut (a species of *Sterculia*) is as universally chewed here as the areca nut is in the east.

In proceeding westwards from Kano, population evidently increased; town followed town in quick succession, most of them surrounded with walls and ditches; the country improved in natural beauty, and was highly cultivated. Many villages were romantically situated among ridges of granite, and some of the houses,

houses were perched, like birdcages, on the tops of the rocks. From the fertility and beauty of this part of Haussa, it appeared to Captain Clapperton 'like an ornamental park in England, shaded with luxuriant trees.' Here he was met by an escort of 150 horsemen, with drums and trumpets, which Bello had sent to conduct him to his capital. Our traveller was now received at every town and village with flourishes of horns and trumpets, as the representative of the King of England. Approaching Sackatoo, he was met by a messenger from the sultan to bid him welcome. He had now to make his way among crowds of people thronging to market with wood, straw, onions, indigo, &c. Towards the middle of the day he entered Sackatoo, amidst multitudes assembled to take a look at so extraordinary a personage, and received the hearty welcomes of young and old. He was conducted to the house of the *gadado*, or vizier, where apartments had been provided for him. The gadado was uncommonly civil, told him the sultan would see him in the morning, and assured him of a most cordial reception, an assurance that was most amply fulfilled.

The next morning he was ushered into the presence of Bello, the sultan of all the Felatahs. He found him without state, sitting on a small carpet between two pillars, which supported the thatched roof of a house not unlike one of our cottages. The pillars and the walls were painted blue and white, in the Moorish style; and by the side of the wall was a skreen with a flowerpot painted on it, and on each side of it an arm-chair supporting an iron lamp. The sultan bade him many hearty welcomes, and asked a great number of questions about Europe and the prevailing religious distinctions, and whether the English were Nestorians or Socinians, to which, taking him somewhat out of his latitude, Clapperton bluntly replied, 'we are called Protestants.' 'But what are Protestants?' he rejoined. Here was another dilemma, out of which, however, our traveller escaped pretty well. 'I attempted,' says he, 'to explain to him as well as I was able, that having protested, more than two centuries and a half ago, against the superstition, absurdities and abuses practised in those days, we had ever since professed to follow simply what was written in "the book of our Lord Jesus," and thence received the name of Protestants.' The sheikh of the koran was proceeding with other theological questions, which were put a stop to by the sailor's candid declaration that he was not sufficiently versed in religious subtleties to resolve such knotty controversies. The sultan now produced some books, which turned out to be those which Major Denham had lost upon his Mandara expedition; and he spoke with great bitterness of the late Boo-Khaloom, for making a predatory inroad

inroad into his territories, adding, 'I am sure the Bashaw of Tripoli never meant to strike me with one hand, while he offered me a present with the other'—'but what was your friend doing there?' he asked abruptly; and appeared to be satisfied with the reply, that he merely went out of curiosity to see the country. It is, perhaps, one of the strongest testimonies that could be offered of the good sense and forbearance of Bello, that with the proofs in his hand of *one* of our travellers being present at that atrocious outrage, and the *other* in his possession, alone and unprotected, he took no further notice of this affair, nor suffered his conduct to the latter to be in the slightest degree influenced by it. Indeed he ordered the several articles to be given up, for the purpose of being returned to Major Denham.

On receiving the presents he exclaimed, 'Every thing is wonderful; but you are the greatest curiosity of all!' and then added, 'what can I give that is most acceptable to the King of England?' 'I replied,' says Clapperton, 'the most acceptable service you can render to the King of England, is to co-operate with his Majesty in putting a stop to the slave-trade on the coast.' 'What,' said he, 'have you no slaves in England?' 'No: whenever a slave sets his foot in England, he is from that moment free.' 'What do you then for servants?' 'We hire them for a stated period, and give them regular wages, &c.' 'God is great!' he exclaimed; 'you are a beautiful people.' He lamented the death of Dr. Oudney, as he should have been particularly glad to see an English physician at Sackatoo.

After this our traveller had frequent interviews with this extraordinary personage, for such he really may be esteemed. He appeared anxious to establish a friendly connexion with England. He talked of having an English consul and physician settled at Sackatoo; and expressed a strong desire that a couple of field-pieces and some rockets should be sent to him. He inquired after our newspapers, of which he had heard, and when Clapperton said that many thousands of them were printed every morning, he exclaimed, 'God is great; you are a wonderful people!' He inquired about the Greeks; said we had been at war with the Algerines; that we had conquered all India—on which delicate points the captain seems to have succeeded in setting his mind at ease. He returned to the subject of a trade with England, and asked if he thought the king would send him cloth, muskets and gunpowder; if 'I would come back and bring with me a consul and physician, if he should address a letter to his Majesty to that effect;' adding, 'Let me know the precise time, and my messengers shall be down at any part of the coast you may appoint, to forward letters to me from the mission, on the receipt of which I will

I will send an escort to conduct it to Sackatoo.' A letter to this purpose was addressed by the sultan to the King of England; and accordingly Clapperton, his friend Doctor Dickson, Captain Pierce of the navy, with Dr. Morrison, a surgeon in the navy, and a skilful naturalist, have been dispatched to the bight of Benin, where they have already landed.

It is quite obvious that the mind of the sultan was strongly inclined to a friendly communication with England; for at every interview the subject was pressed upon Clapperton; thus—

'The sultan sent for me in the afternoon. I was taken to a part of his residence I had never before seen. it was a handsome apartment, within a square tower, the ceiling of which was a dome, supported by eight ornamental arches, with a bright plate of brass in its centre. Between the arches and the outer wall of the tower, the dome was encircled by a neat balustrade in front of a gallery, which led into an upper suite of rooms. We had a long conversation about Europe: he spoke of the ancient Moorish kingdom in Spain, and appeared well pleased when I told him that we were in possession of Gibraltar. He asked me to send him from England some Arabic books and a map of the world: and, in recompense, promised his protection to as many of our learned men as chose to visit his dominions. He also spoke of the gold and silver to be obtained in the hills of Jacoba and Adamowa; but I assured him that we were less anxious about gold mines than the establishment of commerce, and the extension of science. He now gave me a map of the country, and after explaining it to me, he resumed the old theme of applying by letter to the King of England, for the residence of a consul and a physician at Sackatoo.' –p. 109.

And again, when the traveller took leave—

'After repeating the Fatha,' says Clapperton, 'and praying for my safe arrival in England, and speedy return to Sackatoo, he affectionately bade me farewell.'

'The sultan,' says he, 'is a noble-looking man, forty-four years of age, although much younger in appearance, five feet ten inches high, portly in person, with a short curling black beard, a small mouth, a fine forehead, a Grecian nose, and large black eyes. He was dressed in a light blue cotton tobe, with a white muslin turban, the shawl of which he wore over the nose and mouth, in the Tuarick fashion.'

Clapperton thought Sackatoo the most populous town he had met with in all Africa, yet the date of its foundation is not farther back than 1805. It is situated, he says, in lat. 13° 4′ 52″ N. and long. 6° 12′ E. near to a river which, taking its rise between Kashna and Kano, is said to fall into the Quarra (or Kowara) at four days journey to the westward.

It is quite clear that European articles find their way to this place from the bight of Benin, as Clapperton says that, during his stay there, 'provisions were repeatedly sent him from the sultan's

tan's table on pewter dishes with the London stamp; and one day he even had a piece of meat served up in a white wash-hand basin of English manufacture.' One of the chief exports of Sackatoo is civet, and it would appear that the animals producing it are kept in a domestic state for that purpose, though never tamed. Clapperton visited the brother of Bello, who told him that he kept 200 civet cats, two of whom he saw in wooden cages; they were four feet long from the nose to the tip of the tail, resembling hyænas in appearance, and extremely savage.

The death of Mungo Park is an event known over every part of northern Africa, and all agree that the place where the accident happened was Boussa, not far from Youri. The following vague document was given to Clapperton while in Sackatoo.

'"Hence, be it known that some Christians came to the town of Youri, in the kingdom of Yaoor, and landed and purchased provisions, as onions and other things; and they sent a present to the King of Yaoor. The said king desired them to wait until he should send them a messenger, but they were frightened, and went away by the sea (river). They arrived at the town called Bossa, or Boossa, and their ship then rubbed (struck) upon a rock, and all of them perished in the river.

'"This fact is within our knowledge, and peace be the end.

'"It is genuine from Mohammed ben Dehmann."—*App.* p. 147.*

Gomsoo, the chief of the Arabs, gave our traveller the following account:—

'They had arrived off a town called Boosa, and having sent a gun and some other articles as presents to the sultan of Youri, they sent to purchase a supply of onions in the market. The sultan apprised them of his intention to pay them a visit, and offered to send people to guide them through the ledges of rock which run quite across the channel of the river a little below the town, where the banks rise into high hills on both sides. Instead of waiting for the sultan, however, they set off at night, and by day-break next morning, a horseman arrived at Youri, to inform the sultan that the boat had struck on the rocks. The people on both sides of the river then began to assail them with arrows, upon which they threw overboard all their effects; and two white men arm in arm jumped into the water, two slaves only remaining in the boat, with some books and papers and several guns: one of the books was covered with wax-cloth, and still remained in the hands of the sultan of Youri.'—p. 87.

The sultan Bello also showed that he was well acquainted with the circumstance, and has actually marked down the spot on his chart where the vessel was wrecked.'

'He then spoke of Mungo Park, and said, that had he come in the rainy season, he would have passed the rocks; but that the river fell so low in the dry season, boats could only pass at a certain point. He told me, that some timbers of the boat, fastened together with nails, remained a long time on the rocks; and that a double-barrelled gun, taken

in

in the boat, was once in his possession; but it had lately burst. His cousin, Abderachman, however, had a small printed book taken out of the boat; but he was now absent on an expedition to Nyffee. The other books were in the hands of the sultan of Youri, who was tributary to him. I told the sultan, if he could procure these articles for the King of England, they would prove a most acceptable present, and he promised to make every exertion in his power.'—p. 90.

We anxiously hope that these papers may be recovered; they must be extremely interesting, as containing this unfortunate traveller's account of Timbuctoo and the navigation of the Kowara from thence to Youri. The recovery of those belonging to Hornemann would appear to be hopeless, if our traveller's messenger brought him correct information,

'that Juffuf Felatah, a learned man of the country, with whom Mr. Hornemann lodged, had been burned in his own house, together with all Mr. Hornemann's papers, by the negro rabble, from a superstitious dread of his holding intercourse with evil spirits.'—p. 59.

But we are warned to stop. On the 8th of July he reached Kouka, where he was joined a few days afterwards by Major Denham, from the southward, when they set about preparing for their return to England. The return over the desert was even more harassing than their former march.

It will be seen, from every part of these narratives, that the native black population of Bornou and Soudan is a peaceable, kind-hearted, well-disposed, happy and contented race of men; whose habits and dispositions a succession of foreign rulers has not been able materially to change. What their condition may have been previous to the arrival of the Arabs among them, or whether the latter first introduced slavery and all its concomitant evils into Africa, cannot now be known. It was, at any rate, congenial with the ancient domestic habits of these conquerors, and with that character which they have maintained from the days of Abraham; a character which the religion of the prophet has not substantially altered, except perhaps in making them more intolerant and more ferocious towards those of a different faith. A few, and but a few Arabs, perhaps not more than 200 in all Bornou, are settled in the towns and mostly employed by the sheikh; the rest are found living in tents in their primitive state, precisely as they did in the eastern world some thousands of years ago, still strictly obedient to that command of Jonadab the son of Rechab, which directed his people 'to drink no wine, nor build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor to have any; but to dwell in tents all their days.' The tribe most numerous and most wealthy in sheep, camels, horses, and cattle, is that of the Shouaas, who pitch their tents to the southward and eastward of the lake Tsad. The man-

ners and the language of these people are described as simple and primitive.

'A girl sits down by your tent with a bowl of milk, a dark blue cotton wrapper tied round her waist, and a mantila of the same thrown over her head, with which she hides her face, yet leaves all her bust naked; she says, "A happy day to you! Your friend has brought you milk: you gave her something so handsome yesterday, she has not forgotten it. Oh! how her eyes ache to see all you have got in that wooden house," pointing to a trunk. "We have no fears now; we know you are good; and our eyes, which before could not look at you, now search after you always: they bid us beware of you, at first, for you were bad, very bad; but we know better now. How it pains us that you are so white!"'—p. 272.

Though it appears from Edrisi and others, that the Arabs had dominion and were spread over the Soudan provinces so far back as the eleventh century, yet in Bornou a coloured person of the mixed race is a rare object. The Felatahs are differently circumstanced; they are nearly as numerous as the native population; of a yellowish complexion not unlike the Tuaricks; and coming, as they did, in a body from the westward, may, perhaps, be considered as derived from the same origin.

In neither of these governments does domestic slavery appear to be attended with any feeling of degradation, nor do we hear of any brutal treatment of those who are the objects of it. The regular slave-traders, who encourage slave-hunting, are the Moors from the north, and the black agents of Europeans on the sea-coast on the south and west; it matters little to the unhappy negros, in point of suffering, to which of these two descriptions of ruffians they are handed over, the misery of the march across the desert and that of the middle passage being pretty nearly the same. The prisoners that are taken in the wars, or in quelling insurrections, by the several governments of the interior, are always considered as slaves, but not always sold; indeed, when once domesticated in a family they are rarely disposed of. They are treated, as we have already observed, in all respects like the rest of the family, and employed in offices of trust and confidence, as well as those which require labour. Barca Gana, who makes so conspicuous a figure in Major Denham's campaigning excursions, was commander-in-chief of the sheikh of Bornou's army, though a negro slave. The following anecdote respecting the sheikh and this slave is curious.

'A circumstance happened during the last two days, which created a great sensation amongst the chiefs; and while it proved that absolute power in the person of the sheikh was not unaccompanied by a heart overflowing with feelings of mercy and moderation, it also displayed many amiable qualities in his untutored and unenlightened subjects. Barca

Barca Gana, his general, and his favourite, a governor of six large districts, the man whom he delighted to honour, who had more than fifty female slaves, and twice the number of male, was taught a lesson of humility that made me feel exceedingly for him. In giving presents to the chiefs, the sheikh had inadvertently sent him a horse which he had previously promised to some one else, and on Barca Gana being requested to give it up, he took such great offence, that he sent back all the horses which the sheikh had previously given him, saying that he would in future walk or ride his own. On this the sheikh immediately sent for him, had him stripped in his presence, and the leather girdle put round his loins; and, after reproaching him with his ingratitude, ordered that he should be forthwith sold to the Tibboo merchants, for he was still a slave. The favourite, thus humbled and disgraced, fell on his knees, and acknowledged the justness of his punishment. He begged for no forgiveness for himself, but entreated that his wives and children might be provided for, out of the riches of his master's bounty. But on the following day, when preparations were made for carrying this sentence into effect, the Kaganawha (black Mamelukes), and Shouaa chiefs about the sheikh's person, fell at his feet, and notwithstanding the haughtiness of Barca Gana's carriage to them since his advancement, entreated to a man pardon for his offences, and that he might be restored to favour. The culprit appearing at this moment to take leave, the sheikh threw himself back on his carpet, wept like a child, and suffered Barca Gana, who had crept close to him, to embrace his knees, and calling them all his sons, pardoned his repentant slave. No prince of the most civilized nation can be better loved by his subjects than this chief; and he is a most extraordinary instance, in the eastern world, of fearless bravery, virtue, and simplicity. In the evening, there was great and general rejoicing. The timbrels beat; the Kanemboos yelled, and struck their shields; every thing bespoke joy: and Barca Gana, in new tobes and a rich bornouse, rode round the camp, followed by all the chiefs of the army.'—pp. 173, 174.

The two Sultans, both calling themselves Sheikhs of the koran, are reasonable men, and not destitute of kindly feelings, though he of Bornou, in his rigid adherence to the precepts of the koran, acts sometimes with a degree of severity far beyond what strict justice would seem to require, particularly against the weaker sex. Thus:

'the gates of his town were kept shut at daylight one morning, and his emissaries dispatched, who bound and brought before him sixty women who had *a bad reputation*; five were sentenced to be hanged in the public market, and four to be flogged; which latter punishment was inflicted with such severity, that two expired under the lash. Those who were doomed to death, after being dragged, with their heads shaven, round the market on a public day, with a rope round their necks, were then strangled, and thrown, by twos, into a hole previously prepared, in the most barbarous manner,' &c.—p. 277.

This severity of punishment exercised against female frailty

comes with a bad grace from an old debauchee, who added to his seraglio 'by one fell swoop,' no less than fifty *seriahs* (select females) taken from the Begharmis. In civil matters he appears to be more considerate. The care that was taken of the property of Mr. Tyrwhit after his death; the inventory that was made of the most minute articles belonging to him, and the report of a case in the court of justice (*Appendix*) would seem to prove that in civil cases justice is administered with a careful and impartial hand.

Bello, we conceive, is more a man both of business and of curiosity than the Sheikh of Bornou. A clever intelligent Englishman, resident at his court for a few years, might mould his pliant mind into a shape that would be of infinite benefit to the natives of the fine fertile valley of Soudan. He has expressed his readiness, in a letter to the King of England, to put a stop to the foreign slave-trade in his dominions, through which, in fact, a great portion of the negroes who are carried from the bight of Benin must pass; the great outlet of all Soudan being from Raca to Yerba, and from thence by kafilas to the coast. He has assented to a proposition of Clapperton that his agent shall meet one from England at Raca, to concert and arrange matters for that purpose, and it is in consequence of such assent that Clapperton and his party have been sent by the route of Benin. We should augur happier results from such an arrangement than the ineffectual endeavours of a naval squadron stationed in the bight of Benin.

The people of Soudan are evidently in a somewhat higher state of civilization than those of Bornou, who are too much huddled together along the western shores of the Great Lake, since the destruction of Old Birnie, Gambarrou, and several other western towns on or near the banks of the Yeou, by the Felatahs; the consequence is that their flocks and herds, and even slaves and children, are constantly exposed to the incursions of, and seized and carried off by, a marauding race of people called Bedoumas, who inhabit the numerous islands of the lake. On the south-eastern frontier they are also subject to frequent invasions on the part of the Begharmis, a powerful race to the eastward of the lake. The Felatahs, on the contrary, would not seem to be much molested; their country, as to soil, is much superior, their fields better cultivated, and the fruits and vegetables generally of a higher class, as dates, figs, papaws, limes, shaddocks, mangoes, water and musk melons, pomegranates, plantains, &c. besides yams, sweet potatoes, several varieties of kidney beans, &c.

The animals of both countries are the same, whether wild or domestic, and are, generally speaking, the same species that are found in every part of northern and southern Africa. In the neighbourhood

hood of the Tsad, the giraffe, the rhinoceros, the lion, and various species of antelopes abound; and the music-loving hippopotamus is very common in the Shary, and the inundations of the Yeou. As to elephants, Major Denham tells us, they may be seen near the margin of the lake in troops of four hundred—if this animal knew its own powers, such a squadron would easily trample in the dust every city of Bornou, and drive out of the country El Kanemy, sultan, though he be, of spears;—but the Major's eyes must have woefully deceived him in estimating their height at sixteen feet! We venture to say there is not in all Africa an elephant eleven feet high, and very few either in Ceylon, or Siam, or Pegu, or Cochin China, where they are found of the largest size, that ever exceeded that height.

This mission has thrown great light on the geography of northern Africa, having proceeded in a route very nearly south from Tripoli, in latitude 32° 30′, to Musfeia in latitude 9° 10′, being 1400 geographical miles in difference of latitude only; and from Zangalia on the east side of the lake Tsad, in 17° west longitude, to Sackatoo in 6° west longitude, making a difference of longitude of 11°, or 660 geographical miles. It was justly observed, a few years ago, by Major Rennell, that, 'in the wide extent of near thirty degrees on a meridian, between Benin and Tripoli, not one celestial observation had been taken to determine the latitude.' That reproach has been wiped off; and we have now observations in almost every degree of latitude from the Mediterranean to within three or four degrees of Benin. We now know where the great kingdoms of Mandara, Bornou, and Houssa are to be placed on the map; what space the several provinces occupy; in what latitude and longitude are situated the various cities and towns, whose names only we had heard of, and one of which, Bornou, had been guessed out of its place more than 600 miles. We need not now have recourse to those *fillings-up* which, we are wittily told by the poet, were employed in his time:—

> 'Geographers in Afric maps
> With savage pictures fill their gaps,
> And o'er uninhabitable downs
> Place elephants, for want of towns.'

There is nothing so easy as to fill up the vacant spaces of maps with points and lines according to some favourite hypothesis; but to fix with precision the exact spot that the point ought to occupy, to give the flowing line of river or mountain its proper direction, require not only personal presence and actual and minute observation, but for the most part great patience and perseverance, much bodily fatigue and danger, and but too frequently loss of health and life itself. This has been peculiarly the case with

regard to African geography, in the elucidation of which many a brave and enterprizing traveller has fallen a sacrifice, either to climate, to accident, or to imprudence. Yet, if the physical and moral state of so considerable a portion of the earth's surface must continue to interest the European world in this enlightened and inquiring age, we suspect such curiosity cannot be gratified but at the expense of individual peril. It has been said, why not employ the natives themselves, merchants, conductors of kafilas, fighis or teachers, &c.? Our answer is simply this—that from the time of Edrisi down to the present moment, no reliance whatever can be placed on any one native writer or narrator; even Leo Africanus, who had an European education, and who would lead us to suppose that he was at Kabra and actually embarked on the Niger, tells a direct falsehood in stating that the current flowed to the westward. In fact, any thing that such persons could report would be utterly worthless. The Sultan Bello himself, who may be considered as one of the most enlightened men in central Africa, evidently has little local knowledge of the country beyond the immediate neighbourhood of his own capital.

A circumstance, however, is mentioned in his Memoir, which, if true, is of some importance; namely, that the people of the province of Goober, which adjoins that of Sackatoo, are descendants of the Copts. The Felatahs found them on their arrival already established where they now are, and would seem not to have subdued them, though they have often attempted it, and were actually in a state of hostility with them when Clapperton was there. He was told that they spoke their own language and had their own books, some of which he tried, but in vain, to procure, though we trust he will be more successful in his present attempt. This is confirmed in the Memoir of Bello, who says, that 'the people of Goober are free-born, because their origin was from the Copts of Egypt, who had emigrated into the interior of the Gharb, or western countries.' 'This tradition,' he adds, 'his friend, Mahomet El-bákery, found in the records which they possess.'

There has always been a popular belief of Christians residing somewhere in the interior of northern Africa, but no one had conjectured those Christians to be Copts of Egypt, who certainly have not much distinguished themselves as conquerors. It is possible that they may have been among those Jacobite Christians with whom Nubia was filled a few centuries ago, and who have in a great measure disappeared before the successive invasions of the Mahomedans of Egypt. Part of them, we know, were converted to Islamism, and the remainder, it is likely enough, may have fled into the desert, and afterwards found their way into Soudan,

dan, through Darfour and Bornou; or they may have been driven from Lower Egypt, and taken the route to Mourzook, by the Oases, as Hornemann did.

Much as our travellers have done for geography, they have left undecided a point of great interest which has long exercised the conjectural ingenuity of philosophers. To such speculations we have no objection; they are frequently the parents of exact geography, and to them are owing some of its most brilliant and important discoveries:—such, for instance, as those of Columbus, Vasco da Gama, Tasman, Cook, and Parry, which were all undertaken and effected on hypothetical grounds. Even the Romans, from their anxiety to discover the source of that river which

> '—— in extremum fugit perterritus orbem,
> Occuluitque caput, quod adhuc latet——'

enlarged the boundaries of their geographical knowledge, by extending it to Upper Egypt and Abyssinia. No wonder then that the mysterious stream of the Niger, so unexpectedly brought to light in our times, after a lapse of two thousand years, should be an object of extraordinary curiosity.

The information obtained by Clapperton respecting the course of this river has entangled the question more than before. We have now a second river called the Yeou, which takes its rise to the southward of Kano, and flows easterly into the lake Tsad, whilst the old river, which we have been accustomed to call the Niger, turns short at Timbuctoo, flows to the south-eastward as far as Nyffe, or to the tenth degree of latitude; but beyond this all is still a mystery. If Clapperton has not misunderstood the meaning of Sultan Bello in conversation, it continues in a southerly course to the sea, somewhere or other in the bight of Benin.

'He (the sultan) drew on the sand the course of the river Quarra, which he also informed me entered the sea at Fundah. By his account the river ran parallel to the sea-coast for several days' journey, being in some places only a few hours', in others a day's journey, distant from it. Two or three years ago the sea, he said, closed up the mouth of the river, and its mouth was at present a day or two farther south; but, during the rains, when the river was high, it still ran into the sea by the old channel.'—*Clapperton*, p. 89.

On a subsequent visit to Bello, he says—

'The sultan again drew on the sand the course of the Quarra, with the outline of the adjoining countries. I now requested him to order one of his learned men to make me a chart of the river, on paper, which he promised to have done. The sultan re-stated that Fundah is the name of the place where the Quarra enters the sea, during the rainy season; and that Tagra, a town on the sea-coast, where many Felatahs reside, is governed

governed by one of his subjects, a native of Kashna, named Mohamed Mishnee.'—*Id.* p. 96.

This is in direct contradiction to what is laid down by the sultan on the map which he caused to be drawn for Clapperton, of which a fac-simile is given in the Appendix. It is there made to flow easterly, at a point a little below Nyffé, and continues to do so as far as the meridian of Katagum, or to the end of the paper; and along the line of the river there is written in Arabic, 'This is the river (*bahr*) Kowara, which reaches Egypt, and which is called the Nile.' How then are we to reconcile these contradictions? Has Clapperton been led astray by the ambiguous meaning of the word *bahr*, which signifies equally a sea, a lake, and a river? That the sultan did not mean the *ocean* may, perhaps, be inferred from a note in another part of his map, which says, 'from this part of the country to the *salt* sea,' &c. Besides, neither in his map nor his memoir are there any such names as Fundah or Tagra, nor are any such known along the coast. It is true he calls Raka his port or harbour; but this means nothing more than that it is the last town in his dominions, lying on the Kowara, where the canoes from Timbuctoo discharge and receive cargoes, the word *mára-kéb* applying to all manner of floating craft. From hence to Yarba, which he states to be the great mart where slaves for the Christians assemble, kafilas go *by land*, and also from Yarba to a place called Atagara, near the sea-coast, of which it is said on the map—'in it the talking bird is found; in it the Christians meet the people of Yarba for trade; in it the slaves are sold; and to it the wadáa, or cowrie-shell, is imported.' The Sheikh Bahana, of Gadamis, told Major Laing that the river was checked in its southerly course, below Youri and Raka, by the intervention of a high chain of mountains, and that in the dry season it had scarcely any water in it at those places; which is, in fact, the true character of all intra-tropical streams, more especially in flat countries; but as the sheikh's knowledge of the river terminated at Raka, from whence he crossed the mountains, Major Laing has an hypothesis of his own, that it turns westerly, and discharges itself through the Volta;—the least likely, in our opinion, of all the conjectures which have as yet been hazarded.

Major Denham seems to incline to the opinion that the Shary is the Kowara. There is a note in Clapperton's rough journal, made when on the Shary, purporting that the inhabitants of Showey all agree that the Shary comes from the south, and that its source is in the mountains, to the southward of Boussa; that at Boussa a branch is thrown off, which passes to the southward of Darfoor, Wadai, and Baghermie, and that it enters the Nile at Sennaar.

Sennaar. We give little credit to this 'throwing off branches,' which rarely happens except on level tracts of swampy lands, or on the deltas of rivers; and a very intelligent man, of the name of Bellal, who had been at Boussa, told Major Denham that the Kowara did not give off a branch, but that a confluence of two branches took place at Boussa, the one from the south, the other from the north-west. The southerly branch no doubt exists, as the Shary was found to be in a state of flood in January and in June, which could not happen unless from the influence of rains to the southward of the line.

Thus, with regard to the Kowara, the present mission has afforded us little information. We know, indeed, that the Shary and the Yeou pour their waters into the Tsad, but we know not yet whether the lake has an outlet to the eastward, or whether the water is carried off by evaporation. The information which Major Denham received from the Arabs would seem to favour the latter hypothesis. This is, to be sure, only Arab information, but the story is substantially the same that Burckhardt collected to the eastward, namely, that the Bahr-el-Ghazal, once a river flowing out of the lake, is now a dry valley, in consequence of the water of the lake having subsided. The high bank on the western side, which obviously once formed its shore, but is now in some places two or three miles from the water, would seem to countenance the story of the diminution of the lake; which may have happened from a very natural cause, and not by a miracle, as the Arabs believe, in consequence of a holy man being murdered at the outlet through the Bahr-el-Ghazal, which from that moment ceased to flow—just as the Greek epigram makes the fountain to be dried up by a murderer washing his blood-stained hands in it.

'Ἡ πάρος εὐύδροισι λιβαξομένη προχοαῖσι,
Πτωχὴ νῦν Νυμφῶν, μέχρι καὶ εἰς σταγόνα.'

If the fact be as stated, some new outlet, the result of the softer materials giving way, must have found a lower level than the old water-course, and robbed it of its stream; or, as another Arab story has it, the water may have forced its way under ground, and now rush out near Fittre. It would be idle to suppose that the climate has changed, the quantity carried off by evaporation decreased, or the rains diminished; or that the Yeou and the Shary have failed of their usual supply. The story, therefore, of there being no outlet is, we think, inadmissible. But having discussed this question in a former Number, and come to the conclusion, on physical principles, that a lake perfectly *fresh*, like that of the Tsad, must necessarily have an outlet, either above or below the surface, it will not be necessary to notice the frivolous objections of M. Jomard to a point so well established.

established. We may just observe, however, that the example which he offers to the contrary, of the lake Segistan in Persia, does not apply, as it is well known that the water of the Hirmand river is merely dammed up by sand, through which, after forming a lake, it percolates, and does not pass off by evaporation: but as he boldly asserts that, 'from positive facts, and on scientific data,' the confluence of the waters of the Tsad with the Nile of Egypt is impossible, we feel ourselves called upon to show that it is not only possible, but probable.

He says that Debod, near Syène, 250 leagues from the mouth of the Nile, has been found by barometrical observation to be 543 feet above the Mediterranean, to which it has a fall of two feet per league; that as Debod is 325 leagues from the confluence of the Bahr-el-Abiad, the latter must be 1193 feet above the level of the sea. This deduction being neither from fact nor observation, but from an absurd theory of his, 'that rivers run on a logarithm,' or, as he now has it, 'by the Rule of Three,' will, we presume, not go for much; still less his assertion that the source of the Bahr-el-Abiad is, 'd'après les meilleures autorités,' about 350 leagues from its confluence with the Nile. The best authorities! he knows there is not *one* authority, good or bad; we are only supposing the Tsad to be the source of this river, and we are ready to grant him his 350 leagues, which concession gives him, by his rule, an additional elevation of 700 feet, making the source of the Bahr-el-Abiad, or the lake, 1880 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. It is quite certain that if the Tsad be only 1200 feet above the sea, as Dr. Oudney makes it, and the confluence of the Bahr-el-Abiad with the Nile 1193 feet, as gratuitously assumed by M. Jomard, the waters of the former could never reach that point of confluence; but the fact is, we are utterly ignorant of the elevation of this point; and even that of the Tsad is but an approximation. We find it stated that, at Tripoli, the barometer was registered regularly three times a day for three months, the mean height during that period being 30.39 inches; that about the middle of the desert it generally stood at 28.50, and at Kouka from 28.72 to 29 inches. Here we have some data to go upon. Taking, then, the mean of the two latter, we shall have 1340 for the approximate height of the lake, which is 140 more than Dr. Oudney has stated it to be. We are content, however, with taking the elevation at 1200; the direct distance from the lake to the confluence of the Abiad with the Nile at 1100; and from thence to the Mediterranean the same; we have then 2200 miles, with an elevation of the source equal to 1200 feet, which gives a fall of 6½ inches per mile. Comparing this with that of the Amazons, which Condamine makes to be less than 7—

with

with the Mississippi, which Schoolcraft's data make less than 6* —with the lower part of the Ganges, which Major Rennell makes less than 5—we need not hesitate to admit the fall of the Bahr-el-Abiad and the Nile to be amply sufficient to convey the waters of the Tsad into the Mediterranean.

But to pass over the, at best uncertain, results of barometrical admeasurements, if it should be found that the country to the eastward is of the same kind as that to the westward of the lake, a fall of two or three inches per mile† would be quite enough for a series of lakes and swamps to drain off the water; and the supposition that such is the fact is consistent with every information that has as yet been collected. The Bahr, now Wad, el-Ghazal, the very name of which implies the nature of the surface, and which, according to the accurate Burckhardt, is 'a wide extent of low ground, without any mountains,' is the first beyond the lake; then Fittre, in which by all account there is a great lake, or chain of lakes; beyond, in Dar Karka, there is said to be a great river, called Bahr-el-Freydh, or the inundating river, and beyond this a large fresh-water lake, called Wadey Hadaba; and then farther on is Dar Saley, of which Burckhardt says—'In the rainy season, which usually lasts two months, large inundations are formed in many places, and large and rapid rivers then flow through the country. After the waters have subsided, deep lakes remain in various places, filled with water the whole year round, and sufficiently spacious to afford a place of retreat to the hippopotami and crocodiles which abound in the country.' Then we are informed by M. Jomard, that a French gentleman, of the name of Ney, has been up the Bahr-el-Abiad 180 miles, and that it there maintained the character given to it by Bruce, of being a 'dead-flowing river.' Putting these notices together, and considering what the Yeou is to the westward of the lake, as far as Katagum, where not a pebble is to be found on the surface, which is one flat of lake, swamp, or sand, we think we need not boggle much as to the insufficiency of the *fall* for carrying the waters eastward of the Tsad. We must therefore adhere to the conclusion we came to in a former Article, viz. that the junction of the waters of this great lake with those of the Nile is not only *possible*, but extremely *probable*.

* Schoolcraft, by an extraordinary blunder of making the *dividend* the *divisor*, gives a mean fall of *two feet three inches* to the Mississippi; and Jomard, who has written three pamphlets on the slopes of rivers, repeats the blunder.—See *Quart. Rev.* No. LVII.

† The lower part of the Mississippi has no more fall than this. Major Long has calculated the head of the Illinois at 450. The length of this river to its junction with the Mississippi is 1200 miles, and of the latter from thence to the Gulph of Mexico 1200 more: the fall being 450 feet in 2400 miles, or 2¼ inches per mile—yet with this gentle slope its current is impelled with a velocity of more than three miles an hour.—*Quar. Rev.* No. LVII.

ART.

ART. XII.—*A Letter to Sir Henry Halford, Bart. President of the College of Physicians, proposing a Method of inoculating the Small-pox which deprives it of all its Danger, but preserves all its Power of preventing a second Attack.* By R. Ferguson, M. D. Member of the College of Physicians of London and Edinburgh. 1825.

ABOUT twenty years ago, when it was proposed to purify the medical profession from quackery and ignorance by legislative enactments, the late Dr. Gregory of Edinburgh published a letter on the subject, in which he remarked that 'England is a free country, and the freedom which every free-born Englishman chiefly values, is the freedom of doing what is foolish and wrong, and going to the devil his own way.' This is strikingly exemplified in the present state of vaccination in Great Britain, compared with its state in other countries of Europe. In the latter, general vaccination was ordered by government; no one who had had neither cow-pox nor small-pox could be confirmed, put to school, apprenticed, or married. Small-pox inoculation was prohibited; if it appeared in any house, that house was put under quarantine; and in one territory no person with small-pox was allowed to enter it. By such means the mortality from this disease in 1818 had been prodigiously lessened. In Copenhagen, it had been reduced from 5500 during 12 years to 158 during 16 years. In Prussia, it had been reduced from 40,000 annually to less than 3000; and in Berlin in 1819 only 25 persons died of this disease. In Bavaria only 5 persons died of small-pox in eleven years, and in the principality of Anspach it was completely exterminated. In England, on the other hand,—in England, the native country of this splendid and invaluable discovery, where every man acts on these subjects as he likes, crowds of the poor go unvaccinated; they are permitted not only to imbibe the small-pox themselves, but to go abroad and scatter the venom on those whom they meet. A few years ago it broke out in Norwich, and carried off more persons in one year, than had ever been destroyed in that city by any one disease, except the plague. A similar epidemic raged at Edinburgh; and last year it destroyed within one of 1300 persons in the London bills of mortality.

Before the introduction of inoculation, the small-pox was the most loathsome and fatal disease with which Great Britain was afflicted. It killed about one out of four of those whom it attacked, and left many of the survivors with blinded eyes, scarred faces, and ruined constitutions. When, therefore, inoculation was introduced into this island, it seemed a prodigious improvement; by this simple contrivance, especially after the method

method had been improved by the Suttons, a disease which killed one out of four, was transmuted into a disease which killed only one in several hundreds. If this had been the only result, the benefit would have been unmingled, and great in a degree almost incredible, but it brought with it an evil still greater than the good; by perpetually keeping up a supply of the contagion, this disease, which had been propagated only at intervals before, was now propagated perpetually, far and wide, among those unprotected by inoculation; the annual mortality was greatly increased, and that, which all had hoped to find a blessing, turned out to be a national curse.

It is not surprizing, therefore, that when Jenner disclosed the wonderful truth, that the artificial production of a trifling and harmless disorder would impart a charmed life over which this loathsome disease should have no power, his discovery was soon hailed with enthusiasm by almost the whole medical profession. In the general exultation, its infallibility was over-rated; the advocates for vaccination affirmed that it was an infallible protection from the small-pox, and every instance of small-pox after cow-pox was explained away. Such cases are now no longer to be denied. Patients have caught the small-pox who had been vaccinated by the most skilful vaccinators, even by Jenner himself, and it is generally acknowledged that out of a number of vaccinated persons, some do not resist the contagion of the small-pox.

The time has now arrived when all intemperate excitement on the subject is at an end. Vaccination has been tried on a vast scale for seven-and-twenty years, and we have a stock of experience whereon to determine (not with mathematical precision, yet with enough for the guidance of our conduct) to what extent vaccination has disappointed our expectations, and whether this disappointment is sufficient to induce us to abandon the practice altogether.

This general question resolves itself into two particular ones: 1st. What is the proportion of the vaccinated who are liable to the infection of small-pox; 2d. Do they suffer when infected as severely as those who have never been vaccinated, or is the small-pox in their case mitigated and converted into a harmless disease?

From the introduction of vaccination down to the present time, numerous instances have been recorded of an eruptive disease, similar to small-pox, in persons previously vaccinated. But though these records afford specimens of this occurrence, they throw no light on the question of its frequency; we pass them over, therefore, and select a few instances in which the security afforded by vaccination has been tried on a large scale, and the first

first which we shall notice is a small-pox epidemic* which raged in Norwich in 1819, and which has been described by Mr. Cross, a well-informed and indefatigable surgeon of that city. 'The small-pox had been extinct in Norwich from 1813, to June, 1818, when a country girl, travelling from Yorkshire, caught it in a market-town through which she passed, and was taken ill soon after her arrival at Norwich. This girl was the innocent cause of the death of more than 500 persons; all of whom might have been saved if there had been a small-pox quarantine. For several months it crept from house to house like a spark of fire along a streak of gunpowder, but in February, 1819, it reached a charity school, a magazine of combustibles, and the explosion scattered firebrands all over the city. More than 3000 persons caught the disease; it proved fatal to 530; 43 were buried in one week, 156 in June, and 142 in July.—Now, there were in Norwich about 10,000 vaccinated persons exposed to the full rage of this very contagious and malignant small-pox. How did they stand it?

In 42 poor families, there were 91 persons who had been vaccinated at various periods from 1798 down to the commencement of this epidemic; these persons were continually in the same room, and many in the same bed, with those suffering small-pox; of these 91 persons, only two caught the small-pox. But besides those exposed to the contagion, several hundreds of the vaccinated were inoculated with small-pox. In one out of 40 or 50 there came out a slight eruption, which lasted only four or five days. Thus it appears that the proportion of vaccinated persons who were susceptible to the contagion was rather more than two out of every hundred. But when vaccinated persons caught the small-pox, what degree of severity did this disease assume? 'In no instance,' says Mr. Cross, 'has regular small-pox, as far as I have been able to ascertain, been produced. In about one in 40 or 50 a spurious eruption has appeared, in some presenting a few irregular pimples, in others resembling the small-pox; but I have not learnt that the latter have ever proceeded regularly, invariably drying up in four or five days, and never taking the course of regular small-pox.' 'Full-length small-pox in those who have been vaccinated,' continues Mr. Cross, 'has been so rare that I have not met with a single instance either in my own practice, or in my inquiries amongst the poor.' A few such cases, how-

* An *epidemic* is a *prevalent* disease, whether its prevalence arises from contagion, or from an unhealthy state of the air. In our last Number, under the article Plague, we consented to restrict this word to the latter class of diseases; this had been already done by the Anti-contagionists, and we were unwilling to waste time in a dispute about words when we have so heavy an account to settle with them about facts and reasonings.

ever,

ever, occurred under the care of some other surgeons. Six vaccinated persons caught the small-pox, which ran its full length, and two out of the six died. Those who were believed to have had small-pox formerly did not escape. Mr. Cross relates several instances in which the disease seized and ran its full length upon persons who were even *marked* by small-pox; and he gives at length the story of one patient who died; adding, 'such examples have been very frequent.' When the small-pox occurred in those who had had small-pox, it does not appear to have been rendered short and mild, as in those who had had cow-pox. The result of this Norwich epidemic, therefore, was as follows: of those persons who had neither had cow-pox nor small-pox, about 3000 caught the disease, and 530, that is more than one in six, died; of those who had previously had the small-pox, many caught it again, as severely as if they had never had it before, and one died; of those who had been vaccinated, amounting to 10,000, rather more than two in every hundred were affected by the small-pox contagion, but it almost invariably produced a short and trifling disease. In only six instances did it occasion the full-length small-pox, and in two only did it terminate fatally—two instances out of 10,000!

In the 52d volume of Hufeland's Journal for 1821, Dr. Gittermann has described a small-pox epidemic which prevailed at Emden in 1819 and 1820. In an hospital in which there were 200 children, most of them vaccinated, 8 of the vaccinated either caught the small-pox, or took it by inoculation; but it was that short and mild disease which is called modified small-pox. Here one in twenty-five took the abbreviated small-pox. In a letter from the island of St. Vincent, quoted by Dr. Thompson of Edinburgh in his 'Historical Sketch of the Opinions of Medical Men on the Secondary Occurrence of Small-pox,' (page 379,) the writer states that he had inoculated with the small-pox 130 negroes whom he had formerly vaccinated. Of these, six took the mild and abbreviated small-pox, that is, about one in 21.

We have here selected, out of a multitude of records, instances in which the vaccinated were exposed, under the most unfavourable circumstances, to singularly contagious epidemics, and in which the estimate of security is stated at the lowest. We could crowd our pages with statements on respectable authorities of many thousand persons who had undergone vaccination, and in which no individual had been known to have been subsequently affected by the small-pox.

During the years 1818 and 1819 the small-pox was epidemic in Edinburgh, Lanark, and other parts of Scotland, and an account of it has been published by Dr. John Thompson of Edin-

burgh, professor of military surgery in that university, a man whose ability, zeal, and learning are universally recognized. This account affords no information about the proportion of vaccinated persons who caught, and the proportion who resisted, the small-pox; but it affords very valuable information about the degree of severity which the small-pox assumed when it attacked those who had been previously vaccinated. It was almost invariably an abbreviated and mild kind of small-pox, so exactly resembling chicken-pox, that Dr. Thompson believes them indistinguishable. 'In the characters,' says he, 'by which it has of late been supposed that chicken-pox may be distinguished from modified small-pox, observation leads me to place no confidence whatever.'

Dr. Thompson saw 836 cases of small-pox: of these 281 occurred in persons who had never had either small-pox or cow-pox, and rather more than one-fourth of the number died; 71 had already had small-pox, and of these two died; 484 had been vaccinated, and of these one only died. The numerous cases of small-pox in persons who had already had it before, are very remarkable, and will teach the public that, although vaccination is not an infallible preservative against small-pox, neither is small-pox itself. Notwithstanding the numerous cases of small-pox in persons who had been vaccinated, it was so trifling a disease, that only one died out of nearly 500: 'results,' says Dr. Thompson, 'which evince the beneficial effects of vaccination in protecting the human constitution from the *dangers* of small-pox, and the great advantages which must ultimately arise from the universal adoption of this practice.' In another place, he remarks,

'It must now be universally allowed, that the protection which vaccination affords against the *fatality* of small-pox is at least equal, if not superior, to that which is afforded by having passed through the small-pox themselves, even in the natural way—a degree of security which, though it may not be absolute, is surely as great as can reasonably be expected of any human invention.' 'It has been impossible to see the general mildness of the varioloid epidemic in those who had undergone the process of vaccination, and the severity, malignity, and fatality of the same disease in the unvaccinated, and not to be convinced of the great and salutary powers of cow-pox in modifying small-pox in those who were afterwards affected with this disease. Proofs cannot be imagined more convincing and satisfactory of the efficacy of the practice of vaccination, and of the incalculable benefits bestowed upon mankind by its discoverer, than those I have had the pleasure of witnessing. It has been very agreeable, also, to observe, that the terrors at first excited by the occurrence of this varioloid epidemic in the families of those who had undergone cow-pock inoculation, have gradually given way in the progress

progress of the disease; and that the comparison of small-pox in their modified and unmodified forms has often forced a conviction of the advantages of cow-pock inoculation upon the minds even of the most ignorant and prejudiced, and induced them to seek protection for themselves and their offspring in a practice which they had formerly neglected or despised.'

Last year (1825) the small-pox was singularly prevalent and fatal in London. Before the discovery of vaccination, the average annual mortality of twenty years within the London bills, from small-pox, was 1809 persons. This had been gradually diminishing since the introduction of vaccination, until in 1818 it was reduced as low as 421. Last year no fewer than 1299 persons died of small-pox, within the London bills of mortality; 419 cases of small-pox were admitted into the Small-Pox Hospital; of these, 263 occurred in persons who had neither had small-pox nor cow-pox, and 107 died; that is about 41 out of each 100, an enormous mortality; two had already had small-pox, and one of the two died; 147 were supposed to have previously had the cow-pox; of these 122 had the disease in a mild and abbreviated form, technically called the modified small-pox; in 25 it ran its full length, and in 12 of these it terminated fatally. Thus, if we are to take it for granted that these 147 persons who declared that they had been vaccinated, really had had the cow-pox, nearly one in 12 died. But had these 12 persons really had the cow-pox in a perfect and satisfactory way?

'My rule,' says Dr. George Gregory, the physician to the Small-Pox Hospital, on whose authority this statement depends, 'my rule throughout the year was never to exclude any one from this class who could show a scar, or, failing in that criterion, who retained a *distinct recollection* of having undergone some kind of protecting process. In many of the unmodified and fatal cases just referred to, *the evidence of prior vaccination was very imperfect*, but in others the proofs of vaccination were distinct and undeniable.'

Thus, in five the scars are described as not perceptible, which means, we suppose, that they had no scars at all. In one the scar resembled that of a burn, and in two others it was small, and wanted the characteristic appearance. All of them had been vaccinated in the country.

In the cases of small-pox after cow-pox, which occur among the poor of this metropolis, the history of the previous vaccination, which is an essential part of the evidence, is often singularly unsatisfactory. A country bumpkin comes to town, catches the small-pox, goes into the hospital, says that he was vaccinated some years ago, and shows his arm, on which there is sometimes a large scar, sometimes a small one, and sometimes none at all. All that can be learnt is, that some village Esculapius had pricked

his arm with a lancet, and has left a mark or no mark on the part, but nothing can be learnt of the progress of the disease.

That when the poor are vaccinated in numbers, many of them pass through the disease in a way not to be relied on, is not a matter of conjecture. When the small-pox was raging in Norwich, in 1819, Mr. Cross vaccinated 500 persons; of these 28 had the disease in an unsatisfactory way, either from the vesicles being broken, or from their appearance deviating from that of ordinary cow-pox; 35 did not take the disease; and 24 either never returned after they had been vaccinated to show the progress of the disease, or ceased to attend after the first few days; so that Mr. Cross had no opportunity of ascertaining whether the vaccination had been complete. It is not, therefore, a probable conjecture, but an absolute certainty, that when a multitude of the poor are vaccinated, there are many cases in which there is no evidence of the perfection of the vaccination. It may have been perfect, it may have been imperfect, but it is impossible to determine either the one way or the other. We are far from referring all the cases of small-pox after cow-pox to imperfect vaccination, yet we cannot resist quoting Mr. Cross's pointed remark, that the number of vaccinated persons in regard to whom there is no evidence whether they had the disease satisfactorily or not, is *as great* as the number of persons who have the small-pox after cow-pox.

From the facts and calculations which we have laid before our readers, and the multiplication of which would be attended by no equivalent advantage, the following inferences may be safely drawn: 1st. That vaccination in a vast proportion of cases affords complete security against the contagion of small-pox: 2dly. That in a small proportion varying under different circumstances, but at the highest not to be estimated at more than one in 20, vaccinated persons do not resist the contagion altogether,—but resist it so far as to suffer none of its dangers, having its violence diminished, its length curtailed, and converted into a short, mild, and trifling disease: 3dly. That out of numerous cases in which small-pox occurs after cow-pox, the small-pox is sometimes undiminished in length and violence, and sometimes even terminates fatally; but that these cases—trifling even if compared with those in which the small-pox is abbreviated—when contrasted with the number of vaccinated who resist the contagion altogether, dwindle down to a number scarcely worth calculation.

It has been remarked, even by medical men, as surprizing and inexplicable that small-pox after cow-pox is now more frequent than formerly, and that it most commonly occurs in persons who

have

have been vaccinated several years. Where is the mystery? More vaccinated persons take the small-pox now than formerly, because there are more vaccinated persons to take it. From the discovery of vaccination to the present time their numbers have been augmenting; for although death would every year subtract some, vaccination would every year add a vast many more. That it has been gradually spreading over a larger surface of the population, and encroaching upon that which is unprotected from the small-pox, is obvious by comparing the mortality from small-pox in London during the first ten years after vaccination, and the mortality from the same disease during the second ten years. The former amounted to 13,690, the latter only to 8729, and in the year 1818 it was reduced as low as 421. Again, more persons catch the small-pox among those whose vaccination is old than among those whose vaccination is recent—because the former are far more numerous than the latter. The old are the gatherings of many years, the new the gatherings of only a few. This is not conjecture. When the small-pox raged in Norwich in 1819, the recent vaccinations were about one-tenth of the whole, nine-tenths being from three years old to more than twenty. In this instance, too, the proportion of recent vaccinations was unnaturally swelled, as the panic produced by the epidemic occasioned numbers to be vaccinated who would have neglected this precaution under ordinary circumstances.

It is a prevalent notion that vaccination affords protection only for a time; that its influence gradually wears out; and some have pretended to state how many years it lasts with undiminished force, how many years it gradually decays, and in how many it ceases altogether, leaving the constitution open to the inroads of small-pox. However probable this opinion may at first sight appear, on more attentive consideration it will be found not even probable, for it is contrary to analogy, as far as we have any; in all other instances in which a disease destroys the susceptibility to a repetition of it, it destroys it through life. The influence of small-pox, scarlet fever, measles, hooping-cough, which leaves the constitution insusceptible to a recurrence of these diseases, never wears out; we do not find that in these instances the patient is secure for so many years, less secure for so many more, and at length as susceptible to a repetition of these diseases as if he never had them. A few persons, it is true, take these diseases twice, but these are only the very rare exceptions to the general rule. But the notion is contradicted by experience; if it were true, ought we not to find that, in all the instances in which small-pox occurred after cow-pox, it occurred several years from the date of vaccination, and that the far greater

number of such cases lay among those whose vaccination was the oldest? Is this the fact? No. We find instances of small-pox after cow-pox at all periods, from a few months after vaccination up to many years; and on the contrary, grown-up women who were vaccinated on the first introduction of the practice, nursing their children for the small-pox, without catching it themselves.

To *prove* that the protecting power of vaccination lasts only a few years, would be the hardest stone that has been thrown at the name of Jenner; but hitherto the charge has not been proved. That small-pox after cow-pox is more common now than formerly, and among those who have been vaccinated many years than among those who have been vaccinated a few, for the reasons we have already stated, proves nothing. If among a number vaccinated lately and an equal number vaccinated long ago, a far larger proportion of the latter caught the small-pox than of the former, this would go to prove the fact; but no such case has ever been made out.

Let those who would abandon vaccination because it is not infallible, look the consequences of such conduct fairly in the face. Would they omit both inoculation and vaccination, and expose the nation unprotected to the natural small-pox, a disease which kills one-fourth of those who catch it, and disfigures the countenances, or ruins the health of a crowd of the survivors?—or would they return to small-pox inoculation, which renders the disease mild in those who are inoculated; but, by keeping up constant supplies of the contagion, spreads it continually among the uninoculated, and occasions a greater mortality than if inoculation was neglected?—or, lastly, will they continue vaccination, which affords perfect security from small-pox in an immense proportion of instances—when it does not prevent it, deprives it of its danger—and permits a severe or a fatal disease in only a few rare instances?

The importance of the general question has occupied us longer than we intended, and delayed our notice of the interesting pamphlet the title of which stands at the head of this Article. There are many persons whose prejudices against vaccination are utterly insurmountable; they dwell on the few instances which they have known of small-pox after cow-pox, and forget the many in which the latter has afforded complete protection from the former; they dwell on a few instances of inoculated small-pox which were mild and ended prosperously, and forget that even the inoculated disease sometimes occasions death, disfigurement, or ruined health. We advise these unreasonable persons to mix a little wisdom with their folly, and if they insist on inflicting the small-pox on their infants, to adopt the method recom-

recommended by Mr. Ferguson in this pamphlet. If a person who has had neither cow-pox nor small-pox is first vaccinated, and a few days afterwards inoculated with the small-pox, the two diseases proceed together; but the cow-pox so completely curbs the small-pox as to deprive it of more than half its length and all its danger. Of this curious and important fact Dr. Ferguson proposes to take advantage;—his object is, by vaccinating a few days before inoculating with the small-pox, to generate a disease as mild as chicken-pox, and as capable of protecting the patient from subsequent small-pox as full-length small-pox itself. The plan, the way in which he learnt it, and the whole developement of the scheme betray an observing, thoughtful, and judicious mind.

The incident which first led him to this view of the subject is very striking. There were three children in a poor family, two boys a few years old, and one infant at the breast; the two boys caught the small-pox—the mother, fearing that the infant, from its tender age, would sink under this formidable disease, consented to have it vaccinated, but it had already imbibed the small-pox, of which the eruption came out a few days after vaccination. But although the cow-pox was too late altogether to prevent the small-pox, it effectually curbed its violence, rendering it so mild and short that it resembled chicken-pox, so that, although the infant had not sickened till some time *after* the two elder boys, it was quite well several days *before* they were convalescent.

'Reflecting,' says Dr. Ferguson, 'on these three cases, it was evident to me that that form of small-pox known by the name of the modified small-pox, or the varioloid disease, was the mildest. I thought then that if I could generate it artificially, I should produce a disease which would unite all the certainty of small-pox in defending the constitution from any subsequent attacks of this horrible malady with the mildness of the chicken-pox. I saw, too, that the experiment had already been made in the case of the infant, for it had been exposed to the contagion of the small-pox, and also to that of the cow-pox, and that the result was a mild form of disease.'

The proof that, when cow-pox and small-pox meet at the same time and in the same person, the former restrains the violence of the latter, and converts it into a disease as trifling as chicken-pox, is corroborated by numerous experiments accidentally made before the nature of the process was understood. When vaccination was first discovered, Dr. Woodville vaccinated 500 persons in the Small-Pox Hospital, and soon afterwards inoculated several of them with the small-pox. In many (about three-fifths) of these patients there came out an eruption resembling that of small-pox; most of them had no fever, and the eruption disappeared in a few days. The disease

thus produced was so short and slight that Dr. Woodville took it for the effect of vaccination. It is now certain that these patients had caught the small-pox about the time when they were vaccinated, and that the eruption was that of small-pox restrained by cow-pox. A few years afterwards Dr. Willan published some similar observations, together with the true explanation. He found that if the small-pox was inoculated within a week after vaccination, the patient had an eruption of small-pox pustules; but that if the inoculation was delayed till the ninth day after vaccination it produced no effect.

Thus, the fact had been ascertained by numerous experiments, but it remained for Dr. Ferguson to employ it as a means of restraining the violence of small-pox; and for this he deserves great credit. These little steps in thought are great steps in the progress of human power; even Jenner's discovery consisted only in employing that as an art which was already known by numerous accidental experiments.

Before adopting the scheme two questions will occur to the considerate reader—1st. Whether previous vaccination may be depended on for abbreviating and ameliorating small-pox?—2d. Whether this abbreviated small-pox secures the patient from subsequent small-pox, like small-pox in the ordinary form? As to the first of these questions, the restraining efficacy of previous vaccination has been proved by ample experience. It rests not merely on the cases which have been witnessed by Dr. Ferguson, but on the experiments of Dr. Willan, and on the numerous cases which occurred to Dr. Woodville in the Small-pox Hospital. As to the second of these questions, we have all the evidence which the nature of the subject admits of. From the introduction of vaccination down to the present time, cases of abbreviated small-pox after cow-pox have been continually occurring; every one of these is an instance of the disease which Dr. Ferguson proposes to generate, yet we do not remember to have heard of one which was ever followed by a subsequent attack of the disease.

When the small-pox is inoculated, medicines are used to prepare the constitution, and to diminish as much as possible the violence and danger of the disease; but for these objects there are no medicines equal to a previous vaccination.

We do not recommend Dr. Ferguson's scheme as a substitute for vaccination—there is this decisive reason against its general adoption, that, like common inoculation, it would keep up a perpetual supply of the small-pox contagion, and thus augment the mortality occasioned by the small-pox: but the large class of *extremely cautious* persons we have already alluded to, cannot find elsewhere a guide either so ingenious or so safe as this author.

ART.

ART. XIII.—1. *Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. R. B. Sheridan.* By John Watkins, LL.D. 2 vols. 1817.

2. *Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. R. B. Sheridan.* By Thomas Moore, Esq. 2 vols. 1825.

3. *Sheridaniana.* 1 vol. London. 1826.

THE life of MR. SHERIDAN by Dr. Watkins is a work neither of high pretension nor of felicitous execution. The author does not boast of having had access to any rare or peculiar sources of information: nor does he quote, throughout the whole of his performance, a single private letter or document of any kind. While the death of Sheridan was fresh in the public recollection, he collected the details of his career from newspapers, annual registers, and other periodical works of his time, and threw them together much in the style of those historians who are described, in common parlance, as writing for the booksellers—which is, we are afraid—in that department of letters at all events—the same thing as writing for the hour. The doctor, who appears to be himself a strenuous Tory, seasoned the political part of his narrative with a sufficiently copious condiment of high Tory maxims and reflections, and of course condemned much more frequently than applauded the public conduct of his hero. Biographers are so generally eulogists, that one is surprized to find a continued strain of censure running all through a work of this description; but as Doctor Watkins happened to agree in his politics with the immense majority of the English nation, no general displeasure certainly was excited against him by this particular feature of his work. Of Sheridan, as a dramatist, he embodied common-place criticism in magniloquent and ponderous paragraphs; and although he gave copious, and in general well-selected, extracts from his printed speeches, his dislike to the politician rendered him no very favourable critic of the orator.

Nobody could pretend to consider such a book as doing justice to the remarkable person of whom it treated; yet few competent judges, we think, were disposed to complain seriously of any thing but its *literary* criticism—for they appreciated the difficulties which must have embarrassed even a far abler writer than Dr. Watkins in the execution of such a work so soon after the death of Sheridan, and while so many of the distinguished persons with whom he had been connected in public and in private life were still alive, and, according to the Homeric amplification, ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομενοι. There was a certain tone of candour and liberality, wherever the personal character of the man was touched upon, which pleased every body, and the more so in consequence of the openness with which the biographer expressed, on all occasions, his

his own political principles and predilections. Indeed there was *throughout* a delicacy and forbearance on private topics and towards *individuals*, which some of his successors in the same walk might have done well to imitate. On the whole the book was well received, and passed, we believe, through several editions.

The announcement of a rival work, from the pen of Mr. Moore —an Irishman, a wit, a poet, and a Whig—must, under any circumstances, have excited a much higher degree of interest than could ever have attended either the promise or the performance of his predecessor. But Mr. Moore, (if the public be right in ascribing to him certain poetical effusions of a semi-political cast,) not contented to rely on the unassisted effect of his own reputation, condescended to aid it by a precautionary disparagement of Dr. Watkins. In the 'Fudge Family,' for example, the Doctor's not very notorious name was introduced in a style of contemptuous sarcasm, which, at the time when that little volume appeared, considerably puzzled us. The announcement of Mr. Moore's own work solved the mystery of this persecution of an eminently good-natured and unpretending 'brother of the trade,' though we are still rather doubtful, both as to the discretion which dictated, and the taste which directed it. We find a like bitterness diffused over the pages of the present work; and though the vituperation is, in certain instances, not only unnecessary but unjust, we confess that, on a comparison of the two histories, Mr. Moore's apprehensions of his rival do not seem to have been altogether so imaginary as we should à priori have thought them.

Mr. Moore states in his preface that the family of Mr. Sheridan supplied him with whatever materials they had in their possession: and that he must have had abundant access to other valuable sources of information could not be doubted by any one who knew the society in which he is accustomed to mingle. Accordingly frequent references to the authority of personal friends of Mr. Sheridan occur throughout the volumes before us. It is, nevertheless certain that, in many important particulars, Mr. Moore's narrative is entirely erroneous; and it is equally certain—and more to be regretted—that, in some of these instances, he might have escaped censure had he adhered to the statements of the rival whom he so sedulously depreciates.

We have heard it suggested that the prosaic Dr. Watkins may have exerted an unfavourable influence over the style of Mr. Moore's book, as well as over a considerable portion of its substance: but, although we can well believe that Mr. Moore made every effort to eschew any resemblance to Dr. Watkins—we cannot wholly account for the taste of his historical composition upon this hypothesis.

hypothesis. All Mr. Moore's prose writings, in truth, and particularly the 'Memoirs of Captain Rock,' exhibit a manner sufficiently unlike that of any acknowledged master of narration not fictitious; and it cannot be denied that the airy and fabulous strain in which the last-mentioned book was written, when considered in reference to the deeply serious character of its subject, gave almost universal displeasure. There were not many men of any political party, on this side of the water at all events, who could be brought to sympathize with an author that discussed the miseries of his country with equal rancour of feeling and levity of language. The lovers of Ireland and the lovers of wit were equally dissatisfied. While Mr. Moore's eternal points and puns tempted unfriendly judges to ask whether the bigotry of so very merry a penman could be accompanied with perfect good faith, the most charitable felt that, with whatever sincerity the author might have been animated, such a book upon such a subject as his could be productive of no good effects whatever—

'Curentur dubii medicis *gravioribus* ægri.'

But the style even of 'Captain Rock' was in better taste than that of the present performance. The manufacture of literary *Mosaic* had not then reached, by many degrees, that last perfection which shines out in the 'Memoirs of Sheridan'—a work throughout which the ingenious author certainly appears to have kept steadily in mind the advice (quoted by himself) of his countryman Curran—'when you can't talk sense, talk metaphor.'

If the conception of such a style be not in itself very happy, the application of it to such a subject as the present is, we strongly suspect, still less so. What would Sheridan himself have said, had he foreseen that his life and his writings were to be recorded and analyzed after such a fashion that, if he had happened to handle the same idea twice, and, as might naturally be supposed, to handle it better the second time than the first, his biographer would think it necessary to stifle this simple and single idea under the flowery profusion of such metaphors as—

'The *hyle* or first matter out of which the more perfect creations were formed;'

Or—

'The chrysalis, after a transforming sleep, took wing in a more brilliant shape;'

Or—

'The ivory *melting* in the hand of Pygmalion,' and losing in the course of that process, 'all its first rigidity and roughness;'

Or—

'Sketches of character and particles of wit waiting, like the imperfect forms and *seeds in Chaos*, for the *brooding* of Genius to *nurse* them into system and beauty;'

Or—

Or—

'Making the *vintage* of his wit as rich as possible, by distilling into it every drop that the *collected fruits* of his thought and fancy could supply;'

Or—

'Stripping away from the *thyrsus* of his wit every *leaf* that could render it less light and portable'?

Or—for we must not multiply examples beyond all bounds—what would Richard Brinsley Sheridan, author of the Critic, have thought—could he have seen, with his own keen eye, the following sentence:—

'The character of PUFF was our author's first dramatic attempt, and, having left it unfinished in the porch as he entered the Temple of Comedy, he made it worthy of being his farewell *oblation* in quitting it. Like EVE'S FLOWERS it was his

'Early visitation and his last.'!!

The mind that could convert Mr. Puff into Milton's Eve, however fitted for the invention of a Christmas pantomime, is hardly perhaps entitled to judge with critical severity

'the ambition of Sheridan's *boyish* compositions;'

and our readers will, we think, be amused with the *Gracchos-de-seditione* style in which Mr. Moore condemns those writers

—'who wander after Sense into that region of Metaphor, where, too often, *like Angelica in the enchanted palace of Atlante*, she is not to be found;'

reprobates

'that *ordinary ambition* of Style, whose chief display consists of ornament without thought, and pomp without substance'—that 'mere verbal opulence which mistakes the *glare of words* for the *glitter of ideas*, and like *the Helen of the sculptor Lysippus*, makes finery supply the place of beauty;'

and shakes his head with the gravity and the significance of another Burleigh over the enormities of ARISTÆNETUS—

'one of those weak *florid* sophists who *flourished* in the decline of ancient literature, and strewed their gaudy *flowers* of rhetoric over the *dead muse* ——of Greece.'

The English writers of a former age indulged in classical allusions to an extent which none among the moderns have emulated, except this one accomplished person—who indeed has caricatured it: for their use of such ornaments is of a totally different character from his. With them 'out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh'; their minds were saturated with the spirit of antiquity; and they could not express their own most habitual feelings without calling to their aid the images with which these were inextricably interwoven. But so far from being in the same situation as to this matter, if we were called on to say who of all

our

our living authors appears to us to be the *least* embued with the spirit of the ancients, we should scarcely hesitate to name Mr. Moore. To the severe simplicity of antique *taste* he is eminently a stranger; so much so that we have great doubts whether a person of his imitative powers could have written as he has done if he had ever 'drunk deep' of the pure and original 'Castalian spring.' A duller man than he, though he confined his reading to Suidas and his painful brethren, might, we venture to say, find himself equipped very gallantly for this particular species of display; and indeed we have occasionally suspected our ingenious author of having treasured up very carefully another maxim much older than Mr. Curran's and at least as shrewd: to wit—'Quote Lycophron—and Homer will be taken for granted.'

He has himself marked the distinction between the figurative part of Burke's speeches and that of his hero's, in terms which might be applied with almost equal propriety to a comparison between the pedantic garnish of Mr. Thomas Moore and the classical illustration of such an author as Sir Thomas Browne. 'The images of Burke,' he says,

'being called up on the instant, like SPIRITS, to perform the bidding of his argument, minister to it throughout with an almost co-ordinate agency; while the figurative fancies of Sheridan, already prepared for the occasion, and brought forth to adorn, not assist the business of the discourse, resemble rather those SPRITES which the magicians used to keep enclosed in vials to be produced for a momentary enchantment, and then shut up again.'

Though these figurative sprites are, as Mr. Moore insinuates, generally of a meaner order, yet they are sometimes, as we learn from the Diable Boiteux and Mr. Moore's own example, too hard for those that employ them; and indeed it must be acknowledged that our historian's fancy is not unfrequently, in the language of Mrs. Malaprop, 'as *headstrong* as an *allegory* on the banks of the Nile.' So much for the taste of Mr. Moore's historical style, and the consistency of his practice and his precept.

The friendship of Swift has immortalized the grandfather, and Dr. Watkins has occupied more than a hundred of his pages in the attempt to confer a similar service on the fantastic father of Mr. Sheridan. Mr. Moore judiciously makes short work both of the pedant and the humorist, and begins his book with the juvenile history of the classic himself; in whose early life there is nothing very remarkable—for Mr. Moore is quite mistaken in considering Sheridan's dulness as a schoolboy in the light of an exception to a general rule. Many of the greatest scholars have passed through their forms with as little distinction as he did; but Sheridan was not only an unhonoured pupil at Harrow,

Harrow, but adhered through life to the same indolent habits that made him so. That he never owed much of his fame to study of any kind most people were sufficiently aware; but we confess we were rather surprized with Mr. Moore's confession, that down to the day of his death so great a statesman '*knew nothing of French;*' and was 'extremely liable in hasty writing' to mis-spell his own language. The Poet of Love expresses this last defect by saying that Sheridan

'almost invariably reduced double *m*'s and *n*'s to *single blessedness;*'

a periphrase the exact propriety of which escaped us until we recollected the prominent situation assigned to these favoured consonants M and N in the church service for Matrimony. Dr. Parr, who was one of the ushers at Harrow school at the time when Sheridan was there, indites a very pompous letter to Mr. Moore, in which, after acknowledging the sluggishness and contented ignorance of the youth while under his tuition, he pronounces him nevertheless to have been in after life fond of classical reading, well skilled in Virgil and Horace, an enthusiastic if not a critical student of Homer, &c.; adding, that 'his *path* to knowledge was his own—his *steps* were noiseless—his *movements* were rapid but irregular'—and other fine things that would have looked still finer, had the writer found time to clothe them in the language of his preface to Bellendenus. Mr. Moore, while obliged to admit that the old pedagogue had been entirely deceived, exclaims, 'it is not one of the least of the triumphs of Sheridan's talent to have been able to persuade so acute a scholar that the extent of his classical acquirements was so great; and to have thus impressed with the idea of his remembering so much, the person who best knew how little he had learned!' We should not have expected much wonderment on this head from any one that had enjoyed the personal acquaintance of Philopatris Varvicensis, who assuredly applauded Sheridan's Greek for exactly the same reason that made as shrewd a critic, and as indefatigable a talker and smoker, of a former age, we mean Parson Adams, discover a mine of lore in a certain bottle companion of his that *never said a word the whole evening.*

Sheridan's father could not afford to send him to the university, and he appears to have spent several years after leaving Harrow in nearly the same idleness in which he had vegetated there. He translated part of Aristænetus into verse, in company with a schoolfellow, Mr. Halhed, who had removed to Oxford; and Mr. Moore has, for the first time, printed some specimens of a performance which its juvenile authors could get no bookseller to publish. Various other attempts in prose and verse, some of them

made

made in copartnership with the same friend, others singly, are also recorded; and one of these was a volume of 'Crazy Tales,' the non-completion of which, says Mr. Moore, 'is little to be regretted, as from its title we may conclude it was written in imitation of the clever but licentious productions of John Hall Stephenson:' adding a remark natural and proper in itself, but which Mr. Moore evidently means, and which we cordially accept, as a Palinode—viz. that 'if the same kind oblivion had closed over the levities of other young authors, who, in the season of folly and the passions, have made their pages the transcript of their lives, it would have been equally fortunate for themselves and for the world.'

Such trash is never produced by the heart: at best, it is the mere scum of overboiling youth; and for our part, we see nothing clever even in John Hall Stephenson himself. Whatever poetical genius Sheridan really possessed, was inspired to its first efforts by the passion which, scarcely on the verge of manhood, he conceived for Miss Linley, the far-famed 'Maid of Bath.'

The intimacy of two theatrical families, thrown together in such a place as Bath, was sufficiently natural, nor was it likely, to adopt the *historic* style of Mr. Moore, that 'such youthful poets and musicians should come together, without Love very soon making one of the party.' Sheridan and his elder brother Charles both became devoted admirers of the beautiful songstress; and both at an early period of the acquaintance avowed feelings, to which the object of them made no favourable response. Miss Linley, we all know, became in the sequel the wife of Richard; and Mr. Moore's narrative of the romance which reached that consummation, though infinitely more copious, is, however strange this may sound, considerably less accurate than that of Dr. Watkins. The doctor, not pretending to secret information, not prone to delve into private intrigues, and by no means anxious to set up his hero's or heroine's character at the expense of others, repeats what all the world had said upon the subject. His rival, on the other hand, affects to bring many novelties to light, and to treat the matter in the authoritative style of one who knows all the *dessous des cartes*; yet in one important particular he contradicts, not only the doctor but, the positive facts of the case; and in another point, still more interesting, betrays to those—*and to those only*—who know the real history of the matter, his consciousness of circumstances, which it was his duty either to suppress entirely or to explain distinctly to all the readers of a work bearing the title of 'Memoirs of Sheridan.'—These are painful topics: we are reluctant to draw such 'frailties from their dread abode,' but as

all

all we have to say on the subject is already in one shape or another in print, we think we should be guilty of conniving at a *suppressio veri* if we did not lay before our readers what, in our opinion, Mr. Moore either blameably neglected or unfairly concealed.

Dr. Watkins had said that obstacles intervened which prevented Sheridan and Miss Linley from being married in France. Mr. Moore takes upon himself to affirm that they *were* married there, in March, 1772, and only *re-married* in England in April, 1773. The young lady is reported to have exclaimed, on hearing, in the intervening space, that Sheridan had been mortally wounded in a duel fought on her account, 'My husband! my husband!' and this Mr. Moore considers as proving the fact that a marriage had actually taken place abroad. Mr. Moore does not state on what testimony he reports this exclamation: but even should we admit, which we certainly do not, such an interjectional claim to be valid, we should still have to inquire whether the husband was *in esse* or *in posse*. But in support of Dr. Watkins's account we have not only the avowed belief of most of Sheridan's friends, that no continental marriage ever had been performed, but the evidence of the lady herself, who, in a very curious letter dated Bath, May 2d, 1772, (which Mr. Moore will find printed at length in the 95th volume of the Gentleman's Magazine,) uses language altogether inconsistent with the possibility of her being at that time the wife of Mr. Sheridan. So much for the French marriage: but the document we have referred to, throws light not to be resisted on what Mr. Moore has apparently chosen to leave in darkness and mystery—the history of the courtship that preceded it. Mr. Moore informs us (vol. i. p. 44.) that when Sheridan first addressed Miss Linley,

'her heart was not so wholly unpreoccupied, as to yield at once to the passion which her destiny had in store for her. One of those transient preferences, which in early youth are mistaken for love, had already taken lively possession of her imagination';—

and he quotes (without, however, directing attention to the very extraordinary inference to be drawn from them) the following lines of Sheridan's Address 'to the Recording Angel'—

'Oh! if Eliza's steps employ thy hand,
Blot the sad legend with a mortal tear,
Nor when she errs, through *passion's wild extreme*,
Mark then her course, nor heed each *trifling wrong*;
Nor when her *sad attachment* is her theme,
Note down the *transports* of her erring tongue.'

The unrequited attentions of Charles Sheridan and Mr. Halhed

are

are subsequently mentioned, and Miss Linley's rejection of the latter is expressly accounted for by

'her having *long*, like *that* Saint Cecilia, by whose name she was always called, welcomed to her soul a secret visitant whose gifts* were of a higher and more radiant kind than the mere wealthy and lordly of the world can offer.'

The strange story of Mr. Long's love and generosity towards Miss Linley is told in the same chapter, though not, we think, with that clearness and emphasis which the almost romantic liberality of the rejected lover deserved. And then—after all this—we are *for the first time*, and without any clue to connect him with the '*transient preference*' and '*sad attachment*' avowed before, told that Captain Mathews,

'a married man, and intimate with Miss Linley's family, presuming upon the *innocent familiarity* (?) which *her youth* and *his own station permitted* between them, had for some time not only rendered her remarkable by his indiscreet attentions in public, but had even persecuted her in private with those unlawful addresses and proposals, which a *timid female* will sometimes rather endure than encounter that share of the shame, which may be reflected upon herself by their disclosure.'

'To the threat of self-destruction (the narrative proceeds) often tried with effect in these cases, he is said to have added the still more unmanly menace of ruining her reputation, if he could not undermine her virtue. Terrified by his perseverance, and dreading the consequences of her father's temper, *if this violation of his confidence and hospitality were exposed to him*, she at length confided her distresses to Richard Sheridan; who, having consulted with his sister, and, for the first time, disclosed to her the state of his heart with respect to Miss Linley, *lost no time in expostulating with Mathews, upon the cruelty, libertinism, and fruitlessness of his pursuit.* Such a remonstrance, however, was but little calculated to conciliate the forbearance of this professed man of gallantry.'

'In consequence of this persecution, and an increasing dislike to her profession, which made her shrink more and more from the gaze of the many, in proportion as she became devoted to the love of one, she adopted, early in 1772, the romantic resolution of flying secretly to France, and taking refuge in a convent, &c. &c.'—vol. i. p. 65.

Now who that reads this story of a transient preference—a sad attachment—a secret visitant—a *timid* female *persecuted* by a married man's addresses, dreading the fatal consequences of her father's hearing of them, and confiding her distresses to a youth who *lost no time* in *expostulating* with the Lothario—who that reads all this would guess—that Miss Linley, in her own deliberate and elaborate epistle, represents herself as having been, long before she saw Sheridan's face, the victim of '*an unhappy passion for Captain Mathews!!*

* It would be unfair not to quote Mr. Moore's note on this passage—'The youth, *found in her chamber*, had in his hand two crowns or wreaths, the one of lilies, the other of roses, which he had brought from Paradise.'—*Legend of St. Cecilia.*

Mathews!! whom (though she thought him equally to be pitied) it 'was criminal even to think of;'—'exposed to all the artifices of a man whom she already loved but too well, and who was too sensible of it;' and who subsequently 'brought her, finding it *impossible to conquer her inclination*, to a confession of her weakness, which has been the cause of all her distresses'? Who could be prepared to find Miss Linley telling her friend, 'My father convinced me of the folly, *if not wickedness!* of it;' 'My mother went with a full intention to upbraid him, yet so far did his arts prevail, that he *not only made her forgive but pity him*, and promise that this should never make any *alteration in our behaviour to him*, and we would still continue our *visits and intimacy* with him'? Who, finally, would expect to find Miss Linley stating that Richard Sheridan had been for a long period the confidant of Mathews in this profligate intrigue, 'making him believe he was as bad as himself'? It is sufficiently apparent, that if Mr. Moore had seen this document he has made a disingenuous use of it. In doing so he may, without question, have acted from motives of humanity towards the Linley family; but—whatever we may think of Mr. Mathews—we must ask if Mr. Moore, as an historian, (since he chose to tell the story, told it more copiously, and professed to tell it more correctly than his predecessor,) had a right to suppress facts which so materially alter the case as it affects the only one of the parties who is alive to feel his misrepresentation? The character of Sheridan himself gains no honour from the disclosure in question: the verses 'To the recording angel,' the *expostulation* with Mr. Mathews, and all the subsequent events, assume a very different aspect. It is difficult, in matters of this kind, to draw the line between what an historian owes to truth, and what should be conceded to delicacy and feeling: but of this we are sure, that the story which any man volunteers to tell, should be told truly.

Mr. Moore's course in this particular is the less intelligible when we compare it with what he has said in regard to Mrs. Sheridan, in a subsequent chapter of his book. He is rather fonder of *hinting* things than historians ought to be; but we think the following note (at p. 189, vol. ii.) gives an injurious and gratuitous confirmation of what might have been left to the unhesitating and not very authoritative assertion of Madame de Genlis. After having read that lady's Memoirs, Mr. Moore should have been either wholly silent, or a great deal more explicit than he is when he says,

'Lord Edward Fitzgerald was the only one, among the *numerous suitors* of Mrs. Sheridan, to whom she was supposed to have listened with any thing like a return of feeling; and that there should be mutual admiration

admiration between *two such noble specimens of human nature*, it is easy, without injury to either of them, to believe.

'Some months before her death, when Sheridan had been describing to her and Lord Edward a beautiful French girl whom he had lately seen, and added that she put him strongly in mind of what his own wife had been in the first bloom of her youth and beauty, Mrs. Sheridan turned to Lord Edward, and said with a melancholy smile, "I should like you, *when I am dead*, to marry that girl."'

This lamentable and, considering the *dramatis personæ*, degrading anecdote, we should have repelled as utterly incredible, if it had come from any pen which had not the pretension, advanced by Mr. Moore, to domestic information. The world cannot be the dupe of the idle *verbiage* of 'two such noble specimens of human nature'; but even if it were, what must it think of that third specimen of human nature, which sat by in the shape of a husband?

But we are anticipating grievously.—A few days before his marriage, Sheridan entered his name on the books of the Middle Temple; but he never gave one serious hour to the law. Indeed, the scantiness of his income compelled him to provide for the dinner of the day by the paragraphs of the day, and his wife cheerfully assisted him in this labour, which, accordingly, he was accustomed to call 'a *joint* concern.' In fact, the interest of £3,000 most generously settled on the lady by Mr. Long was all that the young pair had at their command.

They continued to lead a life of uncertain resource, gaiety, and idleness for two or three years after their marriage, until at last Sheridan changed his position by a happy effort in the department of literature which was destined to class him in the sequel among its brightest ornaments. How or where the author of the Rivals found money to buy his first shares in Drury-lane, Mr. Moore professes himself unable to guess. We have a shrewd suspicion that the family papers of one of his co-proprietors might have thrown considerable light on the mystery, and from the circles in which Mr. Moore lives, we cannot doubt that he might have had easy access to all those stores. But passing over this—the smiles and the concerts of his beautiful wife and his own exquisite convivial qualities, had already well prepared the way for the social distinction to which Sheridan was raised by the splendid success of his first comedy. He rapidly made his way into the very highest circles: Mr. Fox pronounced him the wittiest man he had ever met with; and his ambition being kindled, as well it might be, by such applause, the *bon vivant* dramatist determined to try his fortune in parliament. He who had found money for Drury-lane stood successfully for Stafford; and Sheridan, to a

considerable extent *notorious* from the verge of boyhood, now surrounded in the early prime of manhood with all the fascinations of wit, genius, fame, and fashion, stept into political life amidst the triumphant congratulations of the then powerful party to which he had pledged his allegiance.

Mr. Moore describes in glowing colours the delight with which success in this new path must have inspired his hero—the proud consciousness of having now at last 'surmounted the disadvantages of birth and station and placed himself on a level with the highest and noblest of the land.' He adds,

'This footing in the society of the great he could only have attained by parliamentary eminence;—as a mere writer, with all his genius, he never would have been thus admitted *ad eundem* among them. Talents in literature or science, unassisted by the advantages of birth, may lead to association with the great, but rarely to equality;—it is a passport through the well-guarded frontier, but no title to naturalisation within. By him, who has not been born among them, this can only be achieved by politics. In that arena which they look upon as their own, the legislature of the land, let a man of genius, like Sheridan, but assert his supremacy,—at once all these barriers of reserve and pride give way, and he takes, by right, a station at their side, which a Shakspeare or a Newton would but have enjoyed by courtesy.'

Mr. Moore professes, like his hero, to be a man of the people; and we have no doubt expresses in this passage the genuine feelings of his own mind after considerable intercourse with some of the leading circles of that haughtiest of English parties, the Whigs. In another passage, treating of the personal relations of Burke and Sheridan, he attributes to the former (justly no doubt) considerable jealousy of the political eminence achieved by the latter, and goes on to remark

'how much, even in feelings of this description, the *aristocratical bias* of his (i.e. Mr. Burke's) mind betrayed itself.'—'For, (he proceeds,) though Mr. Fox, too, had overtaken and even passed him in the race, assuming that station in politics which he himself had previously held, yet *so paramount did those claims of birth and connection*, by which the new leader came recommended, appear in his eyes, that he submitted to be superseded by him, not only without a murmur, but cheerfully. To Sheridan, however, who had no such hereditary passport to pre-eminence, he could not give way without heart-burning and humiliation; and to be supplanted thus by a rival son of earth seemed no less a shock to his superstitious notions about rank, than it was painful to his feelings of self-love and pride.'

Does Mr. Moore then mean to say, that there was really no intrinsic merit in Mr. Fox, to account for Mr. Burke's thinking him more worthy of taking the first place in a political party than Mr. Sheridan? We presume he would hardly venture to say so

in

in terms, and as little, if a great distinction between the characters and resources of the two men must be acknowledged, would he hesitate to admit that Mr. Burke had perspicacity enough to observe it, and principle enough to act upon his observation. The truth, however, is that if mere descent were to be taken into consideration, Mr. Burke could himself have shown "a gentler strain' than the great grandson of old Sir Stephen could make any pretension to. Family *connections* without doubt did much for Mr. Fox, but no superiority of birth and station, unsupported by an adequate endowment of personal qualities, could ever have enabled him to become the unquestioned chief of his party; and to see (as the Walpoles and the Chathams had before him) the proudest in the peerage on the one hand, and the ablest of the people on the other, eager to follow his banner, and exulting to be called by his name.

But laying all accidents of birth and natural connection out of view, and even forgetting for a moment all Mr. Fox's splendid qualifications for leading a political party, can Mr. Moore be at a loss to understand why such a man as Mr. Burke should have felt a peculiar repugnance at seeing Sheridan assuming a high and permanent rank in the party to which they both belonged? The disfavour which Mr. Moore desires to connect with the epithet 'aristocratical,' is a miserable remnant of the days when Robespierre was obeyed as a sovereign, and Marat worshipped as a divinity: and however neological Mr. Moore's political vocabulary may be, we had thought that his intercourse with our aristocracy would have saved it at least from furnishing him with a bye-word of injury and contempt. But even if we use his own expression, can we call that feeling blameably aristocratical, which, in almost every age and country, has required from those who aspire to the conduct of public affairs the renunciation of the trivial habits and theatrical displays which are the amusement and the admiration of inferior society? The rabble alone of Rome are mentioned as having

> 'Laughed at the Fabii's tricks, and grinned to hear
> The cuffs resound from the Mamerci's ear'—

Sheridan's close and continued connection with even the lowest people and the paltriest business of the stage hung heavy on him in the very brightest period of his life. But this was not the worst of the matter. The loftiest pedigree in England would not have enabled any man to lead, with impunity, the buffoon life in which Sheridan too often found an ignoble delight and a temporary glory. A lineage imperial, if not divine, could not shelter from scorn the heir of all the Cæsars, when he thought fit to exhibit himself before inferior natures as a mime and a musician.

We cannot but think that both Dr. Watkins and Mr. Moore have done injudiciously in writing the Life of Mr. Sheridan so much as if they had been composing the political history of his time. In truth, after closing their four bulky volumes, which are swollen to double their legitimate dimensions by matters of this complexion, it is impossible that the reader should not ask himself how many, after all, are the events in the public history of England with which posterity will, in any manner whatever, connect the name of Sheridan? That he will always, in spite of the inadequacy of the reports of his speeches, preserve the traditional fame of a great speaker, there can be no question. But granting that *one* of his orations against the Governor-General of India was the best of all that were delivered upon that occasion,* the impeachment of Hastings—after all no very laudable proceeding—will never be considered as the work of anybody but Burke. Mr. Sheridan's exertions in that business form the most conspicuous part of his public career; yet they were only those of a brilliant advocate, induced to take a subordinate part in the conduct of a cause, the agitation of which would never have occurred to his own mind, and the responsible management of which no one of all his contemporaries would ever have dreamed of entrusting him with. Sheridan, Mr. Moore says, confessed himself to be 'an *ignoramus*,' but professed his 'willingness to do his best' for his party on all occasions, provided they took the trouble of 'instructing'—or, as Mr. Moore renders it, 'training and feeding,'—in plain school-boy phrase, of *cramming* him. Such are never the men in whom after-ages recognize the arbiters of the destinies of nations. Yet such was Sheridan in every one instance in which he acted with his party. On a few occasions he acted for himself, and on two, and on two only, of these was his conduct such as to reflect unmixed honour upon him—we allude to his gallant support of the government at the time of the mutiny at the Nore, which Dr. Watkins has commemorated as it deserved, and which Mr. Moore, for whatever reason, has not; and his equally noble behaviour when the grand movement of Spain took place in 1808—in regard to which Mr. Moore clothes in lofty language the natural but to his own particular friends rather humiliating reflection, that 'had Sheridan's political associates but learned from his example thus to place themselves in advance of the procession of events, they would not have had the triumphal wheels

* 'When Fox was asked what he thought the best speech he had ever heard, he replied—Sheridan's on the impeachment of Hastings, in the House of Commons (not that in Westminster Hall). When asked what he thought of his own speech on the breaking out of the war, he replied, "That was a d——d good speech too." I heard this from Lord Holland.'—*Lord Byron's MS.*

pass

pass by them and over them so frequently—.' But of all the important measures in the policy of this country during his lifetime, there is *not one* of which it can be pretended that Mr. Sheridan was the principal mover, or even the principal opposer. In fact, the history of England might be written without a single introduction of his name, and in all probability hereafter it will be so written. His dramas, his bonmots, and a subaltern share in one or two political intrigues, will, we have no doubt, be the chief means of keeping his contemporary celebrity as a statesman from total oblivion. Such, indeed, must be the fate of the ablest man who condescends to enter the field of politics avowedly '*an ignoramus*,' and as avowedly ready to take up and defend, upon grounds suggested by others, any thesis which the party he belongs to may think proper to advance.

Mr. Moore appears to have no hesitation in confessing that Sheridan acted with lamentable want of principle and good faith in regard to the most important questions of domestic policy which divided the nation and the legislature during his time. Frank indeed, and of the frankest, is the view which the author of 'Captain Rock' gives us of his present hero's advocacy of the Roman-Catholic claims. It is known to all that, from the commencement of his public life, Sheridan professed himself to be the devoted friend of the Catholics, and convinced that their emancipation was not only just in itself, but necessary to the salvation of the empire; and it is also well known that in one of his very last speeches in parliament, he said these words—'I will never give my vote to any administration that opposes the question of Catholic Emancipation;—in fine, I think the case of Ireland a *paramount consideration*.' Such were Mr. Sheridan's avowed opinions at the commencement, and such were they also at the close of his career. But what were they when he was called upon to *act!* Every one knows that Mr. Sheridan joined the anti-Catholic administration of Lord Sidmouth; or made, to borrow Mr. Moore's unaffected phraseology,

'one of those convenient changes of opinion by which statesmen can accommodate themselves to the passing hue of the treasury-bench, *as naturally as the eastern insect does to the colour of the leaf on which it feeds.*'

Again, what was his feeling in 1806, when a Whig administration was turned out of office, chiefly, if not entirely, in consequence of their taking up the Catholic question?

'It is sometimes,' says his honest biographer, 'a misfortune to men of wit, that they put their opinions in a form to be remembered. We might, perhaps, have been ignorant of *the keen, but worldly view* which Mr. Sheridan, on this occasion, took of the hardihood of his colleagues,

if he had not himself expressed it in a form so portable to the memory. "He had often," he said, "heard of people knocking out their brains against a wall, but never before knew of any one building a wall expressly for the purpose."'

'It must be owned that, though far too sagacious and *liberal* not to be deeply impressed with the justice of the claims advanced by the Catholics, he was not altogether disposed to go those generous lengths in their favour, of which Mr. Fox and a few others of their less calculating friends were capable. It was his avowed opinion, that though the measure, whenever brought forward, should be supported and enforced by the whole weight of the party, they ought never so far to identify or encumber themselves with it, as to make its adoption a *sine qua non* of their acceptance or retention of office.' ! ! !

Such is the comment:—But Mr. Moore has selected Mr. Sheridan to bear upon this occasion a greater blame than, we believe, if the whole truth were told, he is fairly liable to. No well-informed person can be ignorant of the mode in which the Roman-Catholic question was juggled by the Whig administration of 1806. As long as Mr. Fox lived it was kept quiet by his authority, and the measure which was proposed after his death, and which ultimately led to the dissolution of the cabinet, was a mere half-measure, miserably calculated for the purpose of maintaining at once the empty praise of consistency and the solid pudding of office. The measure, like most other half-measures, failed: and it is rather too hard that Sheridan, who had no share in the determination of the cabinet, but on the contrary laughed at it, should be charged not merely as a *particeps criminis*, but as the chief offender, and prominent betrayer of the Roman-Catholic cause.

We may here notice an incidental topic which Mr. Moore thinks fit to handle with, we think, the same neglect of living feelings, for which he is too often answerable; but as the subject is of notoriety, and in some degree *publici juris*, and as Mr. Moore attributes to his hero blame which he does not merit, we shall simply observe that when he represents Mr. Sheridan (vol. i. p. 478.) as successfully invited to make a certain statement in the House of Commons, concerning Mrs. Fitzherbert, which Lord Grey had previously been asked, and, from lofty feelings, had declined, to make—the imputation of mean subserviency is cast on Mr. Sheridan without the smallest justice. We may safely appeal to Earl Grey whether he ever had any opportunity, such as Mr. Moore describes, of showing his 'unaccommodating high-mindedness in collision with royalty'? Whatever Mr. Sheridan did, he did *ex mero motu* of his own mind. His interference in all probability arose from his personal regard for a beautiful and afflicted lady—aided, perhaps, by a natural apprehension of anything that might by possibility disturb the unity of his party; and,

after

after all, we do not see in Mr. Sheridan's expressions in regard to Mrs. Fitzherbert anything like a corroboration of the absurd rumours which Mr. Moore has thought fit to recall to public notice.

As to the great matter of Parliamentary Reform, Mr. Moore's account of his hero is, if possible, still more explicitly discreditable than in regard to the Roman-Catholic cause.

'His first appearance before the public as a political character was in conjunction with Mr. Fox, at the beginning of the year 1780, when the famous resolutions on the state of the representation, signed by Mr. Fox as chairman of the Westminster committee, together with a report on the same subject from the sub-committee, signed by Sheridan, were laid before the public. Annual parliaments and universal suffrage were the professed objects of this meeting; and the first of the resolutions, subscribed by Mr. Fox, stated that "annual parliaments are the undoubted right of the people of England."

'Notwithstanding this strong declaration, it may be doubted whether Sheridan was, *any more than Mr. Fox*, a very sincere friend to the principle of reform; and the manner in which he masked his *disinclination or indifference* to it was strongly characteristic both of his humour and his tact. Aware that the wild scheme of Cartwright and others, which these resolutions recommended, was wholly impracticable, he always took refuge in it when pressed upon the subject, and would laughingly advise his political friends to do the same:—"Whenever any one," he would say, "proposes to you a specific plan of reform, always answer that you are for nothing short of annual parliaments and universal suffrage—*there you are safe*." He also had evident delight, when talking on this question, in referring to a jest of Burke, who said that there had arisen a new party of reformers, still more orthodox than the rest, who thought annual parliaments far from being sufficiently frequent, and who, founding themselves on the latter words of the statute of Edward III., that "a parliament shall be holden every year once, and *more often if need be*," were known by the denomination of the *Oftener-if-need-bes*. "For my part," he would add, in relating this, "I am an Oftener-if-need-be." Even when most serious on the subject (*for, to the last, he professed himself a warm friend to reform*) his arguments had the air of being ironical and insidious. To annual parliaments and universal suffrage, he would say, the principles of representation naturally and necessarily led—any less extensive proposition was a base compromise, and a dereliction of right; and the first encroachment on the people was the act of Henry VI., which limited the power of election to forty-shilling freeholders within the county, whereas the real right was in the "outrageous and excessive" number of people, by whom the preamble recites that the choice had been made of late. Such were the arguments by which *he affected* to support his cause, and it is not difficult to detect the eyes of the snake glistening from under them.'

That Mr. Moore, who perceives in Mr. Pitt's eloquence a strong resemblance to 'the trumpet of Misenus,' and is put in mind of 'a peacock's tail' by the multifarious brilliancy of Mr. Sheridan's

Sheridan's accomplishments, should discover 'the eyes of a snake glistening' under the *liberality* of the reforming speeches in question, no one can wonder. But Sheridan is not the only Whig Reformer in whom he detects the antetype of that old incarnation of cunning, falsehood, malignity and meanness.

'It is' (says Mr. Moore) 'a proof of the little zeal which Mr. Fox felt at this period (1792) on the subject of reform, that he withheld the sanction of his name from a society to which so many of his most intimate political friends belonged. Some notice was taken in the house of this symptom of backwardness in the cause; and Sheridan, in replying to the insinuation, said that "they wanted not the signature of his right honourable friend to assure them of his concurrence. They had his bond in the steadiness of his political principles and the integrity of his heart." Mr. Fox himself, however, gave a more definite explanation of the circumstance. "He might be asked," he said, "why his name was not on the list of the society for reform? His reason was, that though he saw great and enormous grievances, he did not see the remedy." It is to be doubted, indeed, whether Mr. Fox ever fully admitted the principle upon which the demand for a reform is founded. When he afterwards espoused the question so warmly, it seems to have been merely as one of *those weapons caught up in the heat of a warfare*, in which liberty itself appeared to him too imminently endangered, to admit of the consideration of any abstract principle, except that summary one of the right of resistance to power abused.'

From this Mr. Moore returns again to Sheridan:—

'It may be concluded that, though far more *ready* than his friend *to inscribe reform upon the banner of the party, he had even still less made up his mind as to the* PRACTICABILITY *or* EXPEDIENCY *of the measure*. Looking upon it as a question, *the agitation of which was useful to liberty, and at the same time* COUNTING UPON *the improbability of its objects being accomplished, he adopted at once the most speculative of all the plans that had been proposed*, and flattered himself that he thus *secured the benefit of the general principle*, without risking the inconvenience of any of the practical details.'

Such is Mr. Moore's humiliating confession! and yet it is of these very men—these 'clear spirited' gentlemen, who 'inscribed reform upon their banner,' without having 'made up their minds either as to the *practicability* or *expediency* of the measure:' it is to these upright and single-minded statesmen, who at a period of unprecedented peril, foreign and domestic—at the moment when France was revelling in the first bloody orgies of her revolution, and traitors and atheists were banding themselves from one end of this country to the other for the overthrow of the throne and the altar—it is to the heroic patriots who *thus* and *then* attempted to gull the populace of England in the hope that they might shake a minister from his desk—it is to them that this very author, after having so openly recorded the looseness of their

principles,

principles, modestly thinking himself entitled to fill both trumpets of Fame, calls upon this nation to devote eternal and unbounded gratitude.

'Never indeed,' the rapturous historian exclaims, 'never indeed can England be sufficiently grateful to the *few patriot spirits* of that period, to whose *courage and eloquence* she owes the high station of freedom yet left to her: who, however much they may have sometimes sacrificed to false views of expediency, and, by compromise with friends and coalition with foes, too often weakened their hold upon public confidence; however the attraction of the court may have sometimes made them *librate in their orbit*, were yet the *saving lights of liberty* in those times, and alone preserved *the ark of the constitution from foundering* in the foul and troubled waters that encompassed it.'—vol. ii. p. 345.

Brilliant lights, indeed, they were. They were false lights, however, and 'the pilot that weathered the storm,' did so only by avoiding the rocks upon which one moment's following of their guidance would have thrust his bark.

Of Sheridan's personal influence on the political affairs of his party not the least important instance was one upon which Dr. Watkins throws no light, and Mr. Moore very little—we allude to an occurrence which constituted the proximate cause of personal alienation between Burke and Sheridan, and which had besides a considerable effect upon the general course of affairs at a very delicate crisis. In this transaction it is fair to say that no blame attaches to Sheridan, except perhaps that of a little imprudence. In introducing his history of the Regency Question in 1789, Mr. Moore takes care to inform us that,

'On an occasion which *may be called* a Regency Question, Ovid represents the Deity of Light as crowned with movable rays which might be put off when too strong or dazzling;'

and proceeds to dispute the wisdom of the Whigs in adopting a theory different from that of Ovid! In the course of his narrative he mentions the celebrated letter addressed by the Prince of Wales to Mr. Pitt; and occupies two of his pages with a discussion as to the probabilities of its having been drawn up by Mr. Burke, Sir Gilbert Elliot, or Sheridan. He expresses his opinion that 'there are, besides the merits of the production, but very scanty grounds for the supposition that it was written by Burke.'

'So little,' Mr. Moore proceeds, 'was he at that period in those habits of confidence with the prince, which would entitle him to be selected for such a task in preference to Sheridan, that but eight or ten days before the date of this letter (Jan. 2.) he had declared in the House of Commons, that "he knew as little of the inside of Carlton House as he did of Buckingham House." Indeed, the violent state of this extraordinary

ordinary man's temper, during the whole of the discussions and proceedings on the Regency, would have rendered him, even had his intimacy with the Prince been closer, *an unfit person for the composition of a document requiring so much caution, temper, and delicacy.*'

'The conjecture that Sir Gilbert Elliot was the author is,' he proceeds, 'somewhat more plausible.' But the final conclusion is drawn in favour of Sheridan—various authorities are formally quoted in support of this judgment; and so ends page 52 of the second volume of Mr. Moore's Memoir.

But ere he wrote page 53 new lights broke in upon the mind of our historian, who, by the way, has acted rather unskilfully in giving us so many hints as to the trivial manner in which he thinks historians *ought to* prepare themselves for the exercise of their grave function. First of all he resolved to ask the opinion of

'a person above all others qualified by *relationship of talent* to "speak to" the mighty spirit of Burke, in whatever shape the "Royal Dane" may appear.'

Sir James Mackintosh's opinion was in favour of his cousin 'the Royal Dane,' and this opinion stimulated Mr. Moore to still more diligent inquiry before he ventured to indite page 54. This inquiry produced a contemporary letter written by Sir Gilbert Elliot which at length settled the question. 'It was originally (says he) Burke's—altered a little, but not improved, by Sheridan and others.'—(p. 54.)

Now Mr. Moore might have erased pages 51, 52, and 53, if he had had a mind, and given us *at once* the fact as stated by Lord Minto. However he chose, he tells us, 'to leave what he had written as a memorial of the fallacy of all such conjectures—': and with such candour who can find fault? But we must confess that the note to the passage in which this apology for the retention of his own unfortunate conjectures is contained, does somewhat surprize us.

'It is,' says Mr. Moore, 'amusing to observe how tastes differ;—the following is the opinion entertained of this letter by a gentleman, who, I understand and can easily believe, is an old established Reviewer. After mentioning that it was attributed to the pen of Burke, he adds,—"The story, however, does not seem entitled to much credit, for the internal character of the paper is too vapid and heavy for the genius of Burke, whose ardent mind would assuredly have diffused vigour into the composition, and the correctness of whose judgment would as certainly have preserved it from the charge of inelegance and grammatical deficiency."—Dr. Watkins, *Life of Sheridan*.

'Such'—Mr. Moore adds—'in nine cases out of ten, are the periodical guides of public taste.'!!!

We are really at a loss to account for the mighty self-gratulation

in

in which Mr. Moore indulges on this occasion. The old Reviewer (Mr. Moore will call Dr. Watkins by any name rather than that of an historian) undoubtedly made a sad blunder in considering the letter which Burke did write, and which all the world admires, as so badly written that Burke could have had nothing to do with it: but the Reviewer of the Reviewer was not so very much more happy when—left as yet to his own ingenuity,—he pronounced Burke to have been *unfit* for the composition of the letter, and hesitated between Sir Gilbert Elliot and his own hero, neither of whom, most assuredly, could ever have penned one complete paragraph of that masterly and most dignified composition.

Sir Gilbert Elliot, however, does not develope the influence which this letter had on the personal relations of Burke and Sheridan. The truth is, that the letter as it came from the hands of Burke contained several passages and expressions so violent as to require some alteration. Mr. Sheridan suggested some amendments, and although the epistle in its altered state was not submitted to the original author's eye with any of the real corrector's handwriting upon it, the vanity of Sheridan betrayed the secret to Burke's perspicacity. He defended the new clauses at a meeting (an after-dinner meeting?) at Burlington House with a zeal in which Burke detected the stirrings of self-love; Mr. Fox too approved the amendments—and Burke from that hour *hated* Sheridan. The author of the Duenna had been invited, and had presumed, to tamper with the 'golden sentences' of the modern Tully. Such, in the opinion of the best informed of their mutual friends, was the origin of that alienation. Probably other causes of difference may have supervened, but on the whole the blame must be, in as far as we are informed, charged upon Mr. Burke.

But though we admit Mr. Burke to have been so far in the wrong, we must beg leave to dissent altogether from Mr. Moore when he endeavours to attribute that great man's separation from his party at the breaking out of the French revolution, to his having been *personally* irritated by one circumstance and mortified by another. Mr. Moore may be assured that Mr. Burke and the French revolution are not to be so easily disposed of. It is not by Mr. Moore's hand, nor in Mr. Sheridan's history, that such a man, or such an event, can be discussed. The enormities of the French revolution Mr. Burke, with the prophetic eye of genius, foresaw, and with a warning voice denounced. It was when the modern Whigs espoused the French revolution, and made common cause with those pseudo-apostles of freedom, who, after flooding the streets of Paris with noble and ignoble blood, murdered their king, and denied their God: it was then, and not till

then,

then, that Mr. Burke appealed from the Foxes and Sheridans to the old Whigs of 1688.

Mr. Sheridan's desertion of *his* party in 1802 we have already noticed—his alienation from his political friends in 1806, which we have also observed upon, seems, we know not why, to have been still more furiously resented. It is fair, however, that since we happen to have the means of doing so, we should let our readers hear the much-abused apostate's apology for himself.

'I have seen Sheridan weep two or three times (says Lord Byron*): it may be that he was maudlin, but this only rendered it more affecting, for who would see

> 'From Marlborough's eyes the tears of dotage flow
> And Swift expire a driveller and a show?'

'Once I saw him cry at Robins, the auctioneer's, after a splendid dinner full of great names and high spirits. I had the honour of sitting next to Sheridan. The occasion of his tears was some observation on the staunchness of the Whigs in resisting office and keeping to their principles. Sheridan turned round: Sir, it is easy for my Lord G. or Earl G. or Marquis B. or Lord H. with thousands upon thousands a year, some of it either directly derived or inherited in sinecures or acquisitions from the public money, to boast of their patriotism and keep aloof from temptation; but they do not know from what temptations those have kept aloof who had equal pride, at least equal talent, and not unequal passions, and nevertheless knew not, in the course of their lives, what it was to have a shilling of their own—*and in saying this*, HE WEPT.'

With whatever charity we may be disposed to regard Sheridan's conduct on this occasion after the lapse of so many years—we cannot wonder that it should have shaken his reputation with the party whom he deserted or ridiculed, and with the nation at large, who never had any great faith in his sincerity or consistency; but it was not till six years after that he inflicted, with his own hand, the final fatal blow which for ever ruined him not only as a politician, but as a man of integrity. Mr. Moore, in his narrative of the negociations that followed Mr. Percival's death tells the disgraceful story in language which we cannot do better than adopt.

'Lord Yarmouth, it is well known, stated in the House of Commons that he had communicated to Mr. Sheridan the intention of the household to resign, with the view of having that intention conveyed to Lord Grey and Lord Grenville, and thus removing the sole ground upon which these noble lords objected to the acceptance of office. Not only, how-

* MS. Diary, 57.

ever,

ever, did Sheridan endeavour to dissuade the noble Vice-Chamberlain from resigning, but, with an unfairness of dealing which admits, I own, of no vindication, he withheld from the two leaders of Opposition the intelligence thus meant to be conveyed to them; and, when questioned by Mr. Tierney as to the rumoured intentions of the household to resign, offered to bet five hundred guineas that there was no such step in contemplation.'—(vol. ii. p. 426.)*

Mr. Moore goes on to say that he considers this as 'the *only* indefensible part of the whole public life of Sheridan.' We have already seen with what indifference Mr. Moore treats that dishonesty towards what was called the cause of the people, which he admits to have characterized Sheridan's conduct throughout, as to the question of reform in parliament. That deliberate and systematic fraud at least endangered the fortunes and the lives of multitudes, to say nothing of the peril in which it might have involved—nay even yet may involve—the constitution of England. But the single *suppressio veri* of 1812 prevented Earl Grey from being minister—and that, in the opinion of Mr. Moore, was so much the more serious evil, that in comparison with its proximate cause, every other enormity appears venial. So much for the 'saving lights of liberty.' So much more important than 'the cause of the people' do 'the friends of the people' consider those lordly *oftener-if-need-be-ers*, whom Mr. Moore, in his usual Pistol vein, describes as the '*fortresses* that ornament and defend the *frontier* of *democracy*.'

It is very painful to us to be compelled to make even the slightest allusion to the style in which, throughout the whole of his book, but more especially towards the close of it, Mr. Moore has felt himself entitled to introduce the name and comment upon the personal conduct of one whom, as a living and reigning prince, (to say nothing of any other considerations,) every constitutional principle, every English sentiment, and every rule of literary custom and courtesy ought to have effectually protected from such treatment. What kind of right has Mr. Moore, under the pretence of writing the life of Mr. Sheridan, to drag before the public the private life and confidential communications of *any* living person? We really believe that such an inroad on the peace of society is unexampled. Lord Holland, an authority to which Mr. Moore professes so much deference, might have taught him better. His lordship, in defending his publication of Walpole's Memoirs, says, '*no man is now alive whose character or*

* To this charge, solemnly preferred against him in the House of Commons by Mr. Tierney, Sheridan answered by '*a fool born jest.*' 'Aye,' said he, 'but did I offer to stake the money?' and in the laugh which this bitter joke both on his sincerity and his fortunes excited, Sheridan appeared to fancy that he had stifled the voice of public reprobation.

conduct

conduct is the subject of praise or censure in these Memoirs." We need not draw the inference; but we will say that if such conduct be unfair towards *any* man, it is absolutely indecent and unjustifiable towards one whose very station ought to protect him from such attacks, if it were only because it precludes him from the redress which is open to the rest of mankind. There is in the general tone of Mr. Moore's language, in the passages we refer to, a sort of heavy sneer, the *taste* of which—for we shall not trouble ourselves with any thing besides—must, we think, be extremely offensive to all who are likely to peruse the work of so very periphrastic, figurative, and erudite a penman. It is highly edifying to find the 'author of the 'Two-penny Post-bag' and these 'Memoirs of Sheridan,' sighing over the departed politeness of 'political satire,' and lamenting that, in the evil days upon which he has fallen, 'the weapon of personality' has been '*chiefly*' in vulgar hands, which 'have brought upon it a stain and disrepute that will long keep such writers as those of the Rolliad and Anti-jacobin from touching it again.'—(vol. i. p. 424.) 'By no less shining powers than those' (he proceeds) 'can a license so questionable be either assumed or palliated.' We shall not enter into the delicate question about palliation; but some of our recent studies compel us to confess ourselves entirely of a different opinion from Mr. Moore as to the matter of fact point—by whom, namely, such license '*can* be assumed.'

But 'turning these jests out of service, let us talk in good earnest'—Mr. Moore, at p. 437. vol. ii. gives us an account of Sheridan's unsuccessful attempt to be returned again for Stafford in 1812, and goes on to say—'he was now left a lonely and helpless wreck upon the waters.'—

'The Prince Regent offered to bring him into parliament; but the thought of returning to that scene of his triumphs and his freedom, with the royal owner's mark, as it were, upon him, was more than he could bear—and *he declined the offer*. Indeed, miserable and insecure as his life was now, when we consider the public humiliations to which he would have been exposed, between his ancient pledge to whiggism and his attachment and gratitude to royalty, it is not wonderful that he should have preferred even the alternative of arrests and imprisonments to the risk of bringing upon his political name any further tarnish in such a struggle.'

Now—not only is all this unfounded, but the very contrary is the truth. His Royal Highness's friends wished Mr. Sheridan to stand for Westminster on his old principles, and offered him every kind of support. Mr. Sheridan's own unconquerable negligence and indolence defeated this project, and it was then, that the Prince Regent, prompted by feelings which it is impossible

not

not to honour, did give Mr. Sheridan more direct assistance towards coming once more into parliament. His Royal Highness did so, however, on Mr. Sheridan's own earnest statement that it was his ambition to be in the House of Commons; and so far from 'declining the offer' of what was necessary for the purpose, upon the grounds of delicate feeling so prettily described by Mr. Moore, he accepted a considerable sum of money on the distinct understanding that it was to be applied to the purpose in question; and so far was he from any apprehension that he was to bear the '*owner's mark*,' that, as some of Mr. Moore's noble friends might have told him, the seat originally in contemplation was a *whig seat*, though, when that negociation failed, Mr. Sheridan commenced—or affected to commence—another about Wootton Basset. A contemporary journal* has already told the story as regards Wootton Basset, in ample detail; but adds, that Sheridan applied the money to his private uses, '*as he was warranted to do by the permission of the owner.*' This last circumstance is, we are sorry to say, entirely without foundation. Mr. Sheridan had no permission whatever to apply the sum placed at his disposal to any purpose but that for which it was expressly granted, and, indeed, so conscious was the unfortunate and fallen man how egregiously he had on this occasion deceived all his friends and abused the kindness of his royal patron, that a feeling of shame and remorse seemed ever after to weigh upon his mind, and it was observed, that he from that hour avoided, with a pertinacity which, in one point of view, does him credit, every opportunity—for opportunities were offered—of coming into the presence of his Royal Highness.

A few pages farther on we find Mr. Moore describing the misery of Sheridan when he was arrested and thrown into a spunging house,

'an abode which formed a sad contrast to those princely halls of which he had so lately been the most favoured and brilliant guest, and which were possibly at that very moment lighted up and crowded with gay company, *unmindful of him within those prison walls.*' 'Even in this situation (Mr. Moore proceeds) the sanguineness of his disposition did not desert him.' But 'on returning home to Mrs. Sheridan (some arrangements having been made by *Whitbread* for his release) all his fortitude forsook him, and he burst into a long and passionate flood of weeping at the profanation, as he termed it, which his person had suffered.'—vol. ii. pp. 442—444.

Mr. Moore should scarcely have written these paragraphs without referring to the family or confidential friends of the late Mr. Whitbread. Had he done so, he would have found that that gentleman did, indeed, leave his dinner-table, and repair to the

* Westminster Review, No. VIII. p. 403.

spunging-house, the moment Sheridan's note was delivered to him; but he would also have learned that before Mr. Whitbread —the first friend whom Sheridan applied to—could reach the place of confinement, the person of Sheridan was already at liberty—in consequence of the unsolicited and instantaneous interference of Sheridan's royal master, to whose ear a report of the transaction had been by some accident conveyed.*

Our last notice of this part of Mr. Moore's performance shall be equally short and equally conclusive. For the sake of clearness, however, we must quote a passage of some length from the historian's narrative of the illness from which Mr. Sheridan never recovered.

'While death was gaining fast on Sheridan, the miseries of his life were thickening round him also; nor did the last corner, in which he now lay down to die, afford him any asylum from the clamours of his legal pursuers. Writs and executions came in rapid succession, and bailiffs at length gained possession of his house. It was about the beginning of May that Lord Holland, on being informed by Mr. Rogers (who was one of the very few that watched the going out of this great light with interest) of *the dreary situation in which his old friend was lying*, paid him a visit one evening, in company with Mr. Rogers, and by the cordiality, suavity, and cheerfulness of his conversation, shed a charm round that chamber of sickness, which, perhaps, no other voice but his own could have imparted.

'An evening or two after (Wednesday, May 15, 1816,) I was with Mr. Rogers when, on returning home, he found the following affecting note upon his table:—

'"I find things settled so that 150*l.* will remove all difficulty. I am absolutely undone and broken-hearted. I shall negotiate for the Plays successfully in the course of a week, when all shall be returned. I have desired Fairbrother to get back the Guarantee for thirty. They are going to put the carpets out of window, and break into Mrs. S.'s room and *take me*—for God's sake let me see you. R. B. S."

'It was too late to do any thing when this note was received, being then between twelve and one at night; but Mr. Rogers and I walked down to Saville Row together, to assure ourselves that the threatened arrest had not yet been put in execution. A servant spoke to us out of the area, and said that all was safe for the night, but that it was intended, in pursuance of this new proceeding, to paste bills over the front of the house next day. On the following morning I was early with Mr. Rogers, and willingly undertook to be the bearer of a draft for 150*l.*† to Saville Row. I found Mr. Sheridan good natured and cordial as ever; and, though he was then within a few weeks of his death, his

* It is, we admit, *possible*, that about this period Mr. Sheridan may have been twice delivered from a spunging-house, and that on one of the occasions Mr. Whitbread was the deliverer. But even this would not much alter the case of the writer whose paragraph about 'princely halls,' &c. has been quoted in the text.

† 'Lord Holland afterwards insisted upon paying the half of this sum,—which was not the first of the same amount that my liberal friend Mr. Rogers had advanced for Sheridan.'

voice

voice had not lost its fulness or strength, nor was that lustre, for which his eyes were so remarkable, diminished. He showed, too, his usual sanguineness of disposition in speaking of the price that he expected for his Dramatic Works, and of the certainty he felt of being able to arrange all his affairs, if his complaint would but suffer him to leave his bed.

'In the following month his powers began rapidly to fail him;—his stomach was completely worn out, and could no longer bear any kind of sustenance. During the whole of this time, as far as I can learn, it does not appear that (with the exceptions I have mentioned) any one of his noble or royal friends ever called at his door, or even sent to inquire after him!

'About this period Doctor Bain received the following note from Mr. Vaughan:—"My dear Sir, An apology in a case of humanity is scarcely necessary, besides I have the honour of a slight acquaintance with you. A friend of mine, hearing of *our friend* Sheridan's forlorn situation, and that he has neither money or credit for a few comforts, has employed me to convey a small sum for his use, through such channel as I think right. I can devise none better than through you. If I had had the good fortune to have seen you, I should have left for this purpose a draft for 50*l.* Perhaps as much more might be had if it will be conducive to a good end—of course you must feel it is not for the purpose of satisfying troublesome people. I will say more to you if you will do me the honour of a call in your way to Saville-street to-morrow. I am a mere agent."' &c.

'In his interview with Doctor Bain, Mr. Vaughan stated, that the sum thus placed at his disposal was, in all, 200*l.*;* and the proposition being submitted to Mrs. Sheridan, that lady, after consulting with some of her relatives, returned for answer that, *as there was a sufficiency of means to provide all that was necessary* for her *husband's comfort, as well as her own*, she begged leave to decline the offer.

'Mr. Vaughan *always said, that the donation, thus meant to be doled out, came from a Royal hand;—but this is hardly credible.* It would be safer, perhaps, to let the suspicion rest upon that gentleman's memory, of having indulged his own benevolent disposition in this disguise, than to suppose it possible that so scanty and reluctant a benefaction was the sole mark of attention accorded by a "gracious Prince and Master" to the last, death-bed wants of one of the most accomplished and faithful servants, that Royalty ever yet raised or ruined by its smiles. When the philosopher Anaxagoras lay dying for want of sustenance, his great pupil, Pericles, sent him a sum of money. "Take it back," said Anaxagoras—"if he wished to keep the lamp alive, he ought to have administered the oil before!"'

'About the middle of June, the attention and sympathy of *the Public* were, *for the first time*, awakened to the desolate situation of Sheridan, by an article that appeared in the Morning Post,—written, as I understand, by a gentleman, who, though on no very cordial terms with him,

* 'Mr. Vaughan did not give Doctor Bain to understand that he was authorized to go beyond the 200*l.*; but, in a conversation which I had with him a year or two after, in *contemplation of this Memoir*, he told me that *a further supply was intended.*'

forgot every other feeling in a generous pity for his fate, and in honest indignation against those who now deserted him. "Oh delay not," said the writer, without naming the person to whom he alluded—"delay not to draw aside the curtain within which that proud spirit hides its sufferings." He then adds, with a striking anticipation of what afterwards happened:—"Prefer ministering in the chamber of sickness to mustering at 'The splendid sorrows that adorn the hearse;' I say, *Life* and *Succour* against Westminster Abbey and a Funeral!"'

'This article produced a strong and general sensation, and was reprinted in the same paper the following day. Its effect, too, was soon visible in the calls made at Sheridan's door, and in the appearance of such names as the Duke of York, the Duke of Argyle, &c. among the visitors. But it was now too late, &c. On the following Saturday the Funeral took place. The Pall-bearers were the Duke of Bedford, &c. &c. Where were they all, these Royal and Noble persons, who now crowded to "partake the gale" of Sheridan's glory; where were they all, while any life remained to him? This is a subject on which it is difficult to speak with patience. If the man was unworthy of the commonest offices of humanity while he lived, why all this parade of regret and homage over his tomb?'

This quotation is a long one; but it was necessary to place the whole statement at once before the eye of the reader ere we called on him to consider, along with us, coolly and dispassionately, the conduct of the gentleman who has thought fit to write and to publish it.

Mr. Moore has obviously three distinct objects in view in this elaborate narrative; firstly, and chiefly, to create an impression that the abject poverty and misery of Sheridan's death-bed were well known to THE PRINCE REGENT, and that his Royal Highness did nothing, or at all events nothing worthy either of himself or of Sheridan, for the relief of the dying man: secondly, to charge THE WHIGS with cruel and shameful neglect of Mr. Sheridan under the same circumstances: and thirdly, to separate from the Whig party on this occasion one or two of its members, and contrast *their* fidelity and generosity with the carelessness and meanness of all the rest.

In reference to *all* the individuals whom the statement attacks, it must, in the first place, be observed, that Mr. Moore himself distinctly says, 'public attention' was, for the *first time*, called to the melancholy circumstances of Sheridan's death-bed by a paragraph which appeared in the newspapers 'about the middle of June.' The noble Whigs whom Mr. Moore abuses called at his door, according to the same authority, immediately upon the appearance of the paragraph—and called too late to be of any real service, Sheridan dying on the 7th of July. Now Mr. Moore's own book accounts most amply and satisfactorily for a cessation of personal intimacy between Sheridan and the leading men of the

party

party which Sheridan had fatally injured and foully betrayed in 1812. Sheridan continued to live, and actually died, in a fine house in a fashionable street; his family never gave any hint of his lamentable condition, but, on the contrary, denied, on all occasions, that he was in need of any personal comforts.* The friend, Mr. Rogers, to whom alone he appears to have revealed any part of his distress, gave him *exactly* the sum, and no more, which he named as necessary for a *particular* purpose, and, according to Mr. Moore's statement, did not communicate the fact of Sheridan's distress, except to two persons—namely, Lord Holland, who did no more than subsequently take on himself one half of the expense, (viz. £75,) which he, Mr. Rogers, had already incurred—and *Mr. Moore himself*, who did no more than carry Mr. Rogers' cheque to Saville Row. Why did not Mr. Rogers, Lord Holland and Mr. Moore, who alone appear to have been in communication with Saville-Row—why did not they tell what they knew? Why did *they* leave it to the writer in the Morning Post to inform the public of the facts of the case *for the first time* in the middle of June? The only charitable conclusion (and we are sure the *just* one) is, that even these gentlemen, 'the only individuals whose friendship had not waited for the call of vanity to display itself,' were *altogether ignorant* of the real nature of Sheridan's circumstances *until* the paper in the Morning Post brought the matter *before the public*.

But it is, as we have seen, on the conduct of one illustrious person, that our historian pours the fullest vial of his indignation. If it were worth while to criticize the mere *manner* of perpetrating an outrage such as this, we might ask Mr. Moore to explain why, in his text, he treats the story of his sovereign's interference as an *incredible* fiction, and yet in his note—upon the very same page—distinctly admits himself to have communicated upon the subject with Mr. Taylor Vaughan, 'in contemplation of this Memoir,' and to have been assured by that gentleman, not only of the *fact*, but of some, at least, of the circumstances of that interference? We should like to hear the gentleman who talks so loftily about vulgar satire and degenerated personality explain this matter;—but that is a trifle. Mr. Moore, according to his own account, knew that two hundred pounds were offered to Dr. Bain, and that 'a further supply was intended.' A *very little* inquiry indeed

* 'I sent, a few days before he died, for his own man, who was in attendance on him during the whole of his illness, and whom I knew to be faithfully attached to his master. He can testify that I entreated him to inform me if his master was in want of any comforts, for with any thing my means would afford I would furnish him; but not to let him or the family know it came from me. John assured me that his master was in want of nothing, and that those who had reported to the contrary, and made up libellous and injurious tales upon the subject, spoke falsely, and were base calumniators.'—*Kelly's Reminiscences*, vol. ii. p. 307.

would have put him in possession of the fact, that not only 'a further supply was intended,' but *no limit whatever* was affixed to the supply in question by its royal donor. His Royal Highness had not seen Mr. Sheridan for years, *because* Mr. Sheridan chose that it should be so. He dreamed no more than Mr. Rogers or my Lord Holland, or any man in his senses would have done, of engaging to pay the debts, universally believed to be enormous, of the man on whom his princely bounty had been *lavished* in vain during half a life-time; but he, *the instant* he was informed of Sheridan's real circumstances, desired that every relief should be immediately administered. His Royal Highness desired that any sum or sums necessary for this purpose should be furnished from his privy purse—and Mr. Vaughan was to apply such sums as he from time to time should think proper, nor had he any other limit or instruction than that he was not to disclose the source of a benefaction which, it was apprehended, Sheridan's consciousness of having so lately abused the Prince's generosity might have rendered painful to his feelings.

The whole truth of this story, however, has never as yet been told. The fact is, that Mr. Taylor Vaughan was requested, in the first instance, to be the bearer of £500 from Carlton House to Saville Row. He refused, saying that any such sum was altogether needless for the only purpose which any rational friend of Sheridan's could have in view at the moment, and he ultimately was persuaded, with difficulty, to take even £200. How much of that sum he actually carried to Saville Row is uncertain—the business was left entirely to his discretion;—but that he did carry a considerable part of it thither, and that that part, whatever it might be, was accepted there, on the instant, is certain. Some time elapsed before Mr. Vaughan returned to Colonel M'Mahon with his £200, and told how the money had at first been received—how he had *witnessed with his own eyes* the beneficial effects of the application of that money—and how, suspicions and pride having been afterwards awakened, money had by some means or other been raised by the family, and the debt *that actually had been incurred* extinguished by a repayment into his hands. These are the facts of the case, and we happen to have ascertained that these were perfectly known from the period of Sheridan's death to several persons with whom Mr. Moore might have communicated, and ought to have communicated, ere he wrote the last chapter of his Memoirs of Sheridan.

Thus closed in darkness and degradation the career of a man who, had his principles been as fixed as his original feelings were exquisite and his talents splendid, might have bequeathed to posterity one of the noblest of English names. That Sheridan was at heart a bad man we never shall believe, but, on the contrary, have

have no doubt that his history might be terminated not unsuitably in the words with which Johnson sums up the Life of Savage; 'negligence and irregularity long continued make wit ridiculous and genius contemptible.' The embarrassment of his pecuniary affairs, the fruit of his original want of capital and of his subsequent obstinate neglect of every rational rule of conduct, appears to us to have led him through debauchery on to profligacy, and gradually worked like poison on a mind originally cast in nature's happiest mould, until at length the temper was soured* and embittered, and at the same time the power to distinguish betwcen right and wrong almost extinguished amidst recollections of shame, scenes of abasement, and prospects of gloom. But we are glad to drop the veil over the errors of departed genius——

The works of Dr. Watkins and Mr. Moore are, as it appears to us, inexplicably, and almost equally, deficient in anecdotes of Mr. Sheridan's private history. The absurd notion that politics were the principal concern to be dealt with, seems to have influenced both authors in the same unfortunate manner. The stateliness of their historical vein stoops reluctantly to even the occasional record of the personal adventures or domestic habits of their hero, although these were precisely the matters that ought to have occupied the chief part of their attention.

We have already made one or two citations from 'the Reminiscences of Michael Kelly, of the King's Theatre, and the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane,' and we have no hesitation in saying, that the reader will find more numerous and far more happy sketches of Sheridan's personal manners—more illustrations of his character and of his wit—in that little work than in all the four elaborate volumes of Dr. Watkins and Mr. Moore put together. Mr. Kelly's book is, in truth, a highly amusing one throughout, and indeed we consider it as by far the best addition that has been made to our theatrical history since the time of Colley Cibber's Apology. Some anecdotes, new to us at least, and highly diverting, occur also in the compilation entitled 'Sheridaniana.'

We have scarcely left ourselves room to say a word in regard to Sheridan as a dramatist; but it gives us pleasure to be able to state that on this head Mr. Moore has satisfied almost every expectation which the announcement of his work excited. Here he has written not only *con amore* and with all requisite means of information, but in total freedom from the operation of certain feelings that have influenced, unhappily enough, his narrative of many passages both in the private and in the political life of his

* 'Sheridan's humour, or rather wit, was always saturnine and sometimes savage. He never laughed, at least that I saw, and I watched him.' So says Lord Byron in his MS. Diary already quoted. How different a picture would Lord Byron have drawn had he known Sheridan in his earlier days!

hero; and the consequence is, that, in spite of its general *style*, there is one part of his History of Sheridan which will always gratify critical curiosity.

We cannot at present follow Mr. Moore into the details of this, the most valuable, part of his book. The principal novelty which he brings out (and he illustrates it very copiously) is the painful and laborious process of polishing through which Mr. Sheridan's dramatic works passed before he ever ventured to submit them to the public eye. It appears that his parliamentary speeches, such of them as made any sort of impression, were prepared with the same elaborate carefulness. The most amusing discoveries relate to the *wit* of Sheridan; his management of which reminds one of the parsimony in pecuniary matters that not unfrequently marks the conduct of the richest men. He seems to have recorded good things in his common-place book with an accuracy of which we could not have suspected him, and drawn upon these selected stores with great caution and moderation, and without the least tendency to improvident expenditure. The story of the Scotch dramatic author, who, when Garrick assured him his genius lay neither for tragedy nor comedy, insisted on knowing 'where the deil it did lie?' lurked in Sheridan's scrap-book for many a long year, till a favourable opportunity occurred for firing it off at Henry Dundas. It is singular enough that the treasures of wit which Sheridan was thought to possess in such profusion, should have been the only species of wealth which he ever dreamt of economizing.

But, after all, we shrewdly suspect that more has been made of this matter than it deserved. If the sweepings of every author's study were to be thus picked and catalogued, many an easy writer would be found to have been strangely laboured; and we believe that Mr. Moore really does injustice to the natural vein of Mr. Sheridan. If he did delight in contemplating a hidden hoard, he assuredly was never at a loss for ready coin drawn from very different sources. In truth, for every one prepared joke recorded by Mr. Moore, it would, we are persuaded, be no difficult thing to adduce a hundred better specimens that must have been entirely extemporaneous. At all events this is true of Sheridan the *bon-vivant*, if not of Sheridan the dramatist.

But this is a matter of mere curiosity. The question of real importance refers, not to the mode of preparation, but to the result. The dramas of Sheridan have their existence apart from him and from all the circumstances of his life. They have placed him at the head of the genteel comedy of England; and while truth of character and manners, chastised brilliancy of wit, humour devoid of the least stain of coarseness, exquisite knowledge of stage-effect, and consummate ease and elegance of idiomatic

idiomatic language are appreciated, there can be no doubt that the name of Sheridan will maintain its place.

His reputation as an orator may be said to rest substantially on his two speeches against Mr. Warren Hastings; and it unfortunately happens, as we have already hinted, that both of these are miserably reported in the parliamentary debates. When he delivered those far-famed philippics he was a new man in St. Stephens'—the extent of his genius and the truth of his character were yet to be developed; and we must be permitted to doubt whether, if he had spoken the same words a few years later, the world would ever have heard so much about the matter. Whenever Sheridan attempts any serious passion in his dramas he fails deplorably: and his life was a jest;—is it possible that he could ever command, or at least sustain, that genuine enthusiasm without which declamation may flourish—but oratory cannot be? In his maturer career of public life he avoided any attempts of this kind, contented to let his natural wit and shrewdness take their own way, and make him perhaps the most pleasing, though not by many steps the most powerful speaker that has, within our own recollection, addressed the most fastidious audience in the world.

We should have had much pleasure in quoting largely from the judicious and interesting comments on Sheridan's speeches and dramas with which Mr. Moore has favoured us. And if we have dwelt more at length upon less agreeable matters, Mr. Moore may be assured that we have done so, not out of any desire to press severely upon him, but because we felt it to be our duty to take the earliest opportunity of correcting errors of fact, which, if they be not pointed out on their first appearance, are too apt to take root in public opinion, and after a few years pass for sober truth and legitimate history.

Dr. Watkins's Memoir of the *Politician* appears to us to be the better work of the two, as decidedly as Mr. Moore's is of the *Author*. But an adequate, or even a tolerably faithful life of Sheridan in the whole scope and combination of his character—is still, and may probably long continue to be, a *desideratum*.

Note.—We take this opportunity of expressing our regret, that in a note to Article IV. of our Sixty-Fourth Number, we confounded Mr. Lindsey, formerly of Essex Street, the well-known apostle of Unitarianism, with a minister of very different character, Dr. James Lindsay, of Monkwell Street chapel. We were led into this error by a misspelling of the name in the pamphlet from which we were quoting.

Erratum.—Page 503, line eleventh, for *lands* read *lords*.

NEW

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ANTIQUITIES, ARCHITECTURE, AND THE FINE ARTS.

Disquisitions upon the Painted Greek Vases, and their probable connexion with the Shows of the Eleusinian and other Mysteries. By James Christie. 4to. 2l. 2s.

The Antiquary's Portfolio; or, Cabinet Selection of Historical and Literary Curiosities, on subjects principally connected with the Manners, Customs, Morals, Civil, Military, and Ecclesiastical Governments, &c. of Great Britain, during the Middle and Latter Ages. By J. S. Forsyth. 2 vols. post 8vo. 18s. with Portraits of Stow and Evelyn.

Half a Dozen Hints on Picturesque Domestic Architecture, in a Series of Designs for Gate Lodges, Gamekeepers' Cottages, and other Rural Residences. By T. F. Hunt. 4to. 15s. or 21s. India proofs.

The Beauties of Claude Lorraine. 4to. on Colombier paper, 1l. 16s.

Gems of Art. Vol. I. 4to. 6l. 6s.

Specimens of Ancient Decorations from Pompeii. By J. Goldicutt. Imp. 8vo. 2l. 8s. 4to. 4l. 4s.

A Panoramic View of Liverpool, on Two Sheets. Drawing Colombier. 1l. 11s. 6d.

A Chronological Series of Ancient Baptismal Fonts. Part. I. Imp. 8vo. 10s. 4to. 16s.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of Erasmus, with Historical Remarks on the State of Literature between the Tenth and Sixteenth Centuries. By Charles Butler, Esq. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Memoirs of Jane Taylor. 2 vols. Cr. 8vo. 16s.

Mary, Queen of Scots: her Persecutions, Sufferings, and Trials, from her Birth till her Death. 7s. 6d.

A General and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the United Kingdom, for the Year 1826. By J. Burke, Esq. 8vo. 1l. 4s.

Autobiographical Memoirs of Ferdinand Franck. In a pocket volume. 4s.

The Remains of John Briggs, late Editor of the Lonsdale Magazine. 12mo. 7s. 6d.

The Life of Edward Lord Herbert, of Cherbury, written by himself, and continued to his Death, with Letters written during his Residence at the French Court, now first published from the Originals; a New Edition, with Additions. 8vo. 12s.

The Annual Obituary and Biography for 1825. 8vo. 16s.

Traditions and Recollections, Domestic, Clerical, and Literary. By the Rev. R. Polwhele. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 5s.

Literary and Miscellaneous Memoirs. By J. Cradock, Esq. 8vo.

Bishop Hall, his Life and Times. By the Rev. J. Jones. 8vo. 14s.

Memoirs of the Margravine of Anspach, written by herself; comprising numerous anecdotes of distinguished characters, and sketches from personal observation of the Courts of St. James's, Paris, Vienna, Warsaw, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, Anspach, Berlin, Naples, Lisbon, and Madrid. In 2 vols. 8vo. with Portraits. 1l. 8s.

Memoirs of the Countess de Genlis. 8vo. Vols. VII. and VIII. 16s. In French, 14s.

A Note on the Suppression of Memoirs, announced by the Author in June 1825; containing numerous Strictures on Contemporary Characters. By Sir Egerton Bridges, Bart., &c. &c. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Adventures of a Young Rifleman, in the French and English Armies, during the War in Spain and Portugal, from 1806 to 1816; written by himself. Post 8vo. 9s. 6d.

Alexander I. Emperor of Russia; or a Sketch of his Life, and of the most important Events of his Reign. 8vo. 15s.

CLASSICAL LITERATURE.

A New Greek and English Lexicon, principally upon the Plan of the Greek and German Lexicon of Schneider. By James Donnegan, M.D. 8vo. 1l. 11s. 6d.

P. Virgilii Maronis Bucolica; containing an Ordo and interlineal Translation accompanying the Text; a Treatise on Latin Versification; and References to a Scanning Table. By P. A. Nuttall, LL.D. 8vo.

A Translation of the First Book of the Georgics of Virgil, in Blank Verse, with Notes. By Robert Hoblyn, M.A. 8vo. 12s. 6d.

The Letters of Marcus Tullius Cicero to Titus Pomponius Atticus; translated into English, with Notes. By William Heberden, M.D. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 8s.

Corpus Poetarum. Fasciculus II. Propertius et Ovidius. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

DRAMA.

DRAMA.

The Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare, with Notes, original and selected. By W. Singer, F.S.A. And a Life of the Poet. By C. Symmons, D.D. 10 vols. Royal 18mo. with Plates, 4l.

Shakspeare's Plays, in one very small pocket Volume, printed by Corrall, and embellished with a Vignette of "Shakspeare between Tragedy and Comedy," and a Portrait by Stothard. 1l. 1s. or, illustrated with 38 Engravings, 2l. 2s.

Another Edition, with 38 Engravings, principally from Designs by Stothard, in 9 extremely small volumes.

King Henry the Fourth, being a Specimen of Shakspeare's Plays, furnished (in imitation of the Waverley Novels) with the Manners and Customs of the Age in which the Drama's plot is laid. 2 vols. 8vo. 16s.

Sylla, a Tragedy, in five Acts, from the French of M. Jouy. By H. Brandreth, Jun. Esq., A.M. 5s. 6d.

Love's Victory, or a School for Pride; a Comedy, in five Acts. By George Hyde. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

The Three Strangers; a Play. By Harriet Lee. 8vo.

Malvina; a Ballad Opera. By Joseph Macfarren. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

A Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries, anciently performed at Coventry, by the Trading Companies of that City. By Thomas Sharp. 4to. 3l. 3s. Large paper, 6l. 6s.

EDUCATION.

The Complete Governess; a System of Female Education, equally adapted for public Establishments and private Families. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

A Dictionary of English Synonymes. By the Rev. J. Platt. 5s. bds, or 5s. 6d. bound.

The Geography of the Globe. By J. Olding Butler. 4s. 6d.

Thoughts on Academical Instruction in England. 8vo. 5s.

A View of the System and Merits of the East Indian College at Haileybury. By R. Grant, Esq. 3s. 6s.

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

An Historical Outline of the Greek Revolution. By W. M. Leake, Esq. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

A General Map of India, in two large Sheets. 15s.

A New Map of the Burmese Empire, constructed from Authentic Documents. By J. Wyld, Geographer to the King.

A New Geographical Dictionary; with Views of the principal Cities and Towns in the World. By J. W. Clarke. Parts XI. and XII. 4to. 5s. each Part.

Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; adapted to the use of Families and Young Persons; in which the Civil, Political, and Military Transactions of the Empire are given in the powerful language of the Author; but the indecent expressions, and all allusions of an improper tendency, have been erased. By Thomas Bowdler, Esq. F.R.S. in 5 vols. 8vo. price 3l. 3s. boards.

History of the Conquest of England by the Normans, its Causes and Consequences. Translated from the French of M. Thierry. In 3 vols. 8vo. 1l. 16s.

A History of the French Revolution, accompanied by a History of the Revolution of 1335, or of the States-General under King John. By A. Thiers and Felix Bodin. Translated from the French. In 3 vols. 8vo. 1l. 16s.

The Reign of Terror; a Collection of authentic Narratives of the Horrors committed by the Revolutionary Government of France under Murat and Robespierre. By an Eye-Witness. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l 4s.

A History of the United States of America, from their first Settlement as Colonies to 1815. 8vo. 15s.

Reports of the Parliamentary Proceedings of last Session, systematically arranged; with Critical Essays on the following Subjects:—Ireland; Scotch Law; Colonial Trade Bill; Negro Slavery; India; Budget and Taxation; Foreign Trade; Navigation Laws; Export of Machinery; Corn Laws; Country Banks; Joint Stock Companies; Combinations; Law; Mr. Martin's Bills; Game Laws; Quarantine Laws; Private Committees, &c. &c. 8vo. 1l. 10s.

Annals of the House of Brunswick. By Sir Andrew Halliday, M.D. 2 vols. 8vo. With Plates.

LAW.

LAW.

The Report made to His Majesty by the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Practice of Chancery.

A Collection of the most interesting State Trials, prior to the Revolution of 1688: Revised and Illustrated by S. M. Phillips, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 8s.

Sir William Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England; with Practical Notes, and a copious Index, by J. Chitty, Esq. 4 vols. 8vo. 3l. 13s. 6d.

The Statutes at Large. Vol. X. Part I. 4to. 2l.

Archbold's Practice in King's Bench. Second edition. 2 vols. 12mo. 1l. 4s. bds.

The New Bankrupt Act, 6 Geo. IV. cap. 16; with copious Notes, Analytical Tables, &c. By A. R. Warrand. 12mo. 9s. bds.

Coke's Reports in Verse; with Portraits. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

Grant's Chancery Practice, on an entirely new plan. 2 vols. 12mo. 1l. 18s. bds.

Eagle and Younge's Tithe Cases; with the Statutes, &c., and a copious Digest. 4 vols. royal 8vo. 5l. 12s. bds.

MEDICINE, ANATOMY, AND SURGERY.

An Essay on Craniology. By the Rev. R. W. Hamilton. 8vo.

A Review of the different Modern Operations performed on the Eyes. By William Cleoburey. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Anatomy of the Foetal Brain, by F. Tiedemann. Translated from the French of A. J. L. Jourdan; with Additions by W. Bennett, M.D. 8vo. 12s.

Myographical Plates on a peculiar construction. By E. W. Trison. Part I. Folio. 12s. plain; 18s. coloured.

Sketches of the most prevalent Diseases of India. 8vo. 18s.

A Practical Treatise on the Arterial System. By T. Turner. 8vo. 8s.

Researches into the Nature and Treatment of Dropsy in the Brain, Chest, Abdomen Ovarium, and Skin. By J. Ayre, M.D. 8vo. 8s.

Original Experiments and Practical Observations on Hydrophobia and Canine Madness. By R. White. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

A Letter to Sir Astley Cooper, Bart. on certain Proceedings connected with the Establishment of an Anatomical and Surgical School at Guy's Hospital. By J. H. Green. 8vo. 3s.

An Essay on the Application of Lunar Caustic, in the Cure of certain Wounds and Ulcers. By J. Higginbottom. 8vo. 6s. 6d.

Medical Essays. By Marshall Hall, M.D. 8vo. 4s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Statements respecting the Profits of Mining in England, considered in relation to the Prospects of Mining in Mexico; in a Letter to Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq. M.P. By J. Taylor. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Lessons in Criticism to William Roscoe, Esq. and to a Quarterly Reviewer. By the Rev. W. L. Bowles, M.A. 8vo. 7s.

An Inquiry into the Moral Character of Lord Byron. By J. W. Simmonds, Esq. 8vo. 4s.

A Comparative View of the different Institutions for the Assurance of Lives. By Charles Babbage, Esq. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

New Tables of Life-Contingencies; containing the Rate of Mortality among the Members of the Equitable Society, and the Value of Life Annuities, Reversions, &c. computed therefrom. By Griffith Davies. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

A Practical Treatise on Life Assurance, in which the Statutes and Judicial Decisions affecting Unincorporated Joint Stock Companies, &c. &c. are fully considered and explained. By F. Blayney. 8vo.

Anderson's London Commercial Dictionary, and General Sea-Port Gazetteer; with the Duties of Customs and Excise brought down to the Present Time. A new edition. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

Notes on the Present Condition of the Negroes in Jamaica. By H. T. de la Beche, Esq. 8vo. 3s.

Elements of Mechanical Philosophy, for the Use of Students; suited to the capacities of Mechanics. By W. Marratt, M.A. Member of the Literary and Philosophical Society, New York. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

The Gardener's Magazine; conducted by J. C. Loudon, F.L.S. &c. 8vo. No. I. 2s. 6d.

The

The Theory of the Infantry Movements. By Captain Baron Suaso. 3 vols. 8vo. 2l. 2s.
Letters on Fashionable Amusements. 18mo. 2s. 6d.
The Naval Sketch-Book; or, Service Afloat and Ashore, with Characteristic Reminiscences, Fragments and Opinions. By an Officer of Rank. 2 vols. post. 8vo. 18s.
Sketches selected from the Note-Book of the late Charles Hamilton, Esq. By J. K. Hervey. 8vo.
The Spirit of the Journals for 1825; being an Impartial Selection of the best Essays, Jeux-d'Esprit, and Tales of Humour, in Prose and Verse. Illustrated with a fine Portrait of Sir Walter Scott, and numerous Cuts. 10s. 6d. bds.
Is this Religion? or, a Page from the Book of the World. By the Author of 'May You Like It.' Foolscap 8vo. 7s.

NATURAL HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, AND BOTANY.

An Introduction to Entomology; or, Elements of the Natural History of Insects. With Plates. By W. Kirby, M.A. F.R. and L.S. Rector of Barham, and W. Spence, Esq. F.L.S. Vols. III. and IV.
Botanical Sketches; or, the Twenty-Four Classes of the Linnæan System; with Fifty Specimens of English Plants. 8vo. 15s.

NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

Richelieu; or, the Broken Heart: an Historical Novel. 8vo.
Hebrew Tales, selected and translated from ancient Hebrew works. Foolscap 8vo. 7s. 6d.
The Subaltern; originally published in Blackwood's Magazine. 12mo. 7s.
Granby; a Novel. 3 vols. post 8vo. 27s.
Christmas Tales for 1825. 12mo. 7s. To be continued Annually.
Stories for Christmas Week. 2 vols. 12mo. 14s.
November Nights; a Series of Tales, &c. By the Author of 'Warreniana.' 8vo. 10s. 6d.
The Discarded Son. 5 vols. 12mo. 30s.
The Abbot of Montserrat; a Romance. 2 vols. 12mo. 10s. 6d.
German Popular Stories. Vol. II. 12mo. 2s.
Sephora; a Hebrew Tale. 2 vols. 8vo. 14s.
Montville; a Novel. 3 vols. 12mo. 16s. 6d.
Obstinacy; a Tale. 12mo.
The Rebel; a Tale. 2 vols. 12mo. 14s.
Eustace Fitz-Richard; a Tale of the Barons' Wars. 4 vols. 12mo. 24s.
The English Baronet. By Leonora de Straella. 3 vols. 12mo. 16s. 6d.
The Traveller; or, Adventures on the Continent. 3 vols. post 8vo.
Don Esteban; or, Memoirs of a Spaniard. Written by Himself. 3 vols. post 8vo. 21s.
Brambletye House; or Cavaliers and Roundheads: a Novel. By one of the Authors of 'The Rejected Addresses.' 3 vols. post 8vo. 1l. 11s. 6d.
The Last Man; a Romance. By the Author of 'Frankenstein,' 'Castruccio,' &c. 3 vols. post 8vo. 27s.
Tales round a Winter Hearth. By Jane and Anna Maria Porter. 2 vols. 12mo.
The Story of Isabel. By the Author of the 'Favourite of Nature.' 3 vols. 12mo. 24s. bds.

PHILOLOGY.

A Gaelic Dictionary, in Two Parts; 1. Gaelic and English; 2. English and Gaelic. By R. Armstrong, A.M. 4to. 3l. 13s. 6d.

POETRY.

The Lusiad, an Epic Poem. By Luis de Camoens. Translated from the Portugueze. By Thomas Moore Musgrave. 21s.
Poetic Hours; consisting of Poems, original and translated; Stanzas for Music, &c. &c. By G. F. Richardson. Post 8vo. 8s.
The Saviour; a Poem, founded on the Rev. Samuel Wesley's Life of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By a Clergyman. 12mo. 7s.
The Fourth Volume of Mr. Rose's Translation of the Orlando Furioso. Post 8vo. 9s. 6d.
The Seven First Cantos of the Messiah. By F. T. Klopstock. Translated into English Verse. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The

The Songs of Scotland, Ancient and Modern; illustrated with Notes, a Critical Introduction, and Characters of the most eminent Writers of Scotland. By A. Cunningham. 4 vols. post 8vo. 1l. 16s.

Epistles to a Friend in Town, and other Poems. By Cha. Leigh, Esq. Foolscap. 7s.

The Spanish Anthology, being a Translation of the Choicest Specimens of the Spanish Poets, with their Biographical Notices. By J. H. Wiffen. 8vo.

Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered; translated by J. H. Wiffen. 3 vols. 8vo. 2l. 2s.

POLITICS AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Letters to a Friend, on the Roman Catholic Question, the State of Ireland, and the Merits of Constitutional Religious Distinctions. By E. A. Kendall, Esq. F.S.A. 8vo. Parts I. II. and III. 1l. 16s.

Observations on the Proceedings of Country Bankers, during the last Thirty Years, and on their Communications with Government, &c. in a Letter addressed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. By John Mitford, jun. 8vo. 2s.

Considerations on the State of the Currency. By Thomas Tooke, Esq. F.R.S. 8vo. 6s

The Present Critical State of the Country developed; or an Exhibition of the True Causes of the calamitous Derangement of the Banking and Commercial System, at the present alarming Crisis: shewing the essential Distinction between the Solidity of the National Bank of England and that of Country Banks. 8vo. 4s.

Inquiry into the Paper Currency. 8vo. 1s.

A Letter to the Duke of Norfolk on the Catholic Question. By R. W. Horton, Esq. 8vo.

Statistical Illustrations of the Territorial Extent and Population, Commerce, Taxation, Consumption, Insolvency, Pauperism, and Crime of the British Empire. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

The British Trade. By C. Moreau. French and English. 10s. 6d. In a case for the pocket, 14s. On rollers, 17s.

The Bank of England Defended; or the principal Causes of the High Prices demonstrated. 8vo.

Letters of Daniel Hardcastle to the Editor of the Times, on the Bank of England, Currency, &c. 8vo. 3s.

Reflections upon the Value of the British West-Indian Colonies, and of the British North American Provinces. 8vo.

Observations upon the Importance of the North American Colonies to Great Britain. By an Old Inhabitant of British America. 8vo.

THEOLOGY.

A Vindication of the Book of the Roman Catholic Church. By Charles Butler, Esq. 8vo. 9s. 6d.

Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. A Defence of the Book of the Church, in Reply to the preceding Work. By Robert Southey, L.L.D. 8vo.

Letters to Charles Butler, Esq. on the Theological Parts of his Book of the Roman-Catholic Church, with remarks on certain works of Dr. Milner, and Dr. Lingard, and some Parts of the Evidence of Dr. Doyle before the Two Committees of the Houses of Parliament. By Rev. Henry Phillpotts, D.D. Rector of Stanhope. Second Edition. 9s. 6d.

A Supplemental Letter to Charles Butler, Esq. on some Parts of the Evidence given by the Irish Roman-Catholic Bishops, particularly by Dr. Doyle, before the Committees of the Two Houses of Parliament, in the Session of 1825: and also certain Passages in Dr. Doyle's 'Essay on the Catholic Claims.' By Rev. Henry Phillpotts, D.D. Rector of Stanhope. 6s.

Deism Refuted: or Plain Reasons for being a Christian. By Thomas Hartwell Horne, M.A. Seventh Edition, corrected and enlarged, in order to meet the perpetually varying Attacks of Infidelity. 12mo. 5s.

The Works of Nathaniel Lardner, D.D. A new edition in 10 vols. 8vo.

Horæ Sabbaticæ, or an Attempt to correct certain Superstitions and Vulgar Errors respecting the Sabbath. By G. Higgins, Esq. 8vo.

The Book of Churches and Sects; or, the Opinions of all Denominations of Christians differing from the Church of England traced to their Source. By the Rev. T. C. Boone. 8vo. 14s.

Essays on the Evidences, Doctrines, and Practical Operation of Christianity. By J. J. Gurney. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Sermons

Sermons of the late Rev. John Jortin, D.D. Archdeacon of London, &c. Abridged by the Rev. G. Whittaker, M.A. 3 vols. 8vo.

Christian's Retirement, or Spiritual Exercises of the Heart. 12mo. 6s.

Sermons by the Rev. W. Carus Wilson, M.A. Vol. II. 12mo. 5s.

Tracts, by the Rev. W. Carus Wilson, M.A. 12mo. 2s.

Ministerial Zeal; a Visitation Sermon, by the Rev. W. Carus Wilson, M.A. 1s.

Suspirium Sanctarum, or Holy Breathings; a series of prayers for every day in the month. By a Lady. 8vo. 8s.

Lectures on the Essentials of Religion. By Henry Foster Burder, M.A. 8vo. 9s.

Essays on the Universal Analogy between the Natural and Spiritual Worlds. 8vo. 8s.

The Papal Power; or an Historical Essay on the Temporal Power of the Pope, &c. Translated from the French. 2 vols. 8vo. 20s.

Remarks on certain Parts of Mr. Granville Penn's Comparative Estimate of the Mineral and Mosaical Geologies, and on other Geological Writings, which affect the right Interpretation of the Text of Scripture. 8vo. 3s.

The Works of James Arminius, D.D. formerly Professor of Divinity in the University of Leyden, translated from the Latin, with Brandt's Life of the Author and Notes. By James Nichols. Vol. I. 8vo. 12s.

The United States of America compared with some European Countries, particularly England, in a Discourse delivered in Trinity Church, New York. By the Right Rev. J. H. Hobart, D.D. 8vo. 2s.

Christian Devotedness; or the Consideration of our Saviour's Precept, 'Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth.' 8vo. 2s.

Helps to Devotion; or Morning and Evening Prayers for every Day in the Week. By the Rev. H. Tattam, M.A. &c. 8vo. 2s.

Remains of the late Rev. Charles Wolfe, B.A. with a Memoir by the Rev. J. A. Russell. 8vo. 12s.

Family Lectures on the Principles and Practice of the Christian Religion. By John Pridham, M.A. 2 vols. 12mo. 12s.

TOPOGRAPHY.

The Tourist's Grammar; or Rules relating to the Scenery and Antiquities incident to Travellers. By the Rev. T. D. Fosbrooke. 12mo. 7s.

The Beauties of Ireland; being Original Delineations, Topographical, Historical, and Biographical, of each County. By J. N. Brewer, Esq. Illustrated by numerous Engravings. Vol. I. 1l. 4s. half-bound; or, on large paper, with Proof Impressions of the Plates, 1l. 16s.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Recent Discoveries in Africa, made in the Years 1823 and 1824, by Captain Clapperton, R. N. and the late Dr. Oudney, extending across the Great Desert to the Tenth Degree of Northern Latitude, and from Kouka in Bornou to Sackatoo, the Capital of the Soudan Empire. 4to.

Six Months in the West Indies, in 1825. Post 8vo. 9s. 6d.

The Mission to Siam and Hué, the Capital of Cochin China, in the Years 1821-2. From the Journal of the late George Finlayson, Esq. With a Memoir of the Author, by Sir T. S. Raffles, F.R.S. 8vo. 15s.

An Autumn in Greece: and, Greece to the Close of 1825. The former by H. L. Bulwer, Esq. the latter by a Resident with the Greeks, recently arrived. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

A Winter's Journey through Lapland and Sweden, with Observations relating to Finmark. By Arthur de Capell Brooke, M.A. &c. 4to.

Letters from the East. Written during a recent Tour through Turkey, Egypt, Arabia, Palatine, Syria, and Greece. By John Carne, Esq. 8vo. 18s.

Annual Cabinet of Voyages. 18mo. 14s.

Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, Lake Winnepeek, Lake of the Woods, &c. performed in the Year 1823, by Order of the Hon. I. C. Calhoun, Secretary at War, U.S. under the Command of Stephen H. Long, Major U. S. T. E. Compiled from the Notes of Messrs. Long, Say, Keating, and Colhoun, by William H. Keating, A.M. &c. Professor of Mineralogy and Chemistry in the University of Philadelphia, Geologist and Historiographer to the Expedition. With several Plates, and a Map of the Route. In two vols. 8vo. 28s.

Visit to the Falls of Niagara in 1800. By John Maude, Esq. In one vol. royal 8vo. with numerous Engravings. 1l. 2s. 6d.

INDEX

TO THE

THIRTY-THIRD VOLUME OF THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

A

Absentee landlords in Ireland, not a recent evil, 469—remarks on Mr. M'Culloch's theory, that the income of an absentee landlord is really as much expended in Ireland as if he resided there, 459—461—the expediency of imposing a direct tax upon the lands of absentees, considered, 470, 471—from which the lands of resident landlords should be exempted, 471.

Africa, account of discoveries in, by Dr. Oudney and others, 518, 519—excursion of Dr. Oudney and Lieutenant Clapperton to the frontier town of the Tuaricks, 520—notice of the Tuaricks, *ib.*—remarks on the language, 520, 521—its wide diffusion accounted for, 521—arrival of Major Denham and his associates among the Kanem people, 522—flocks of birds on the borders of the lake Tsad, *ib.*—reception of the travellers by the Sheikh of Bornou, 523—armour of his negroes described, 523, 524—description of his court, 524—and army, 525, 526—notice of the market of Angornow, 525—interview with the Sultan of Mandara, 526—description of the people of Musgow, 527—and of the army of Mandara, 528, 529—notice of Lieutenant Clapperton's excursion to Soudan, 530—hospitality of the Felatahs, 531, 532—market of Kano, 532, 533—manners of the inhabitants, 534—arrival of Lieutenant Clapperton at Sackatoo, the capital of the Felatah country, 535—his reception by the sovereign, 535, 536—interviews with him, 536, 537—account of the death of Mungo Park, 538—return of Lieutenant Clapperton and Major Denham to England, 539—remarks on the native tribes of the interior of Africa, 539, 540—anecdotes of the Sheikh of Bornou, 540, 541—and of the Sultan and people of Soudan, 542—remarks on the geography of northern Africa, 543, 544—and on the supposed course of the Niger and Nile, 545—547.

African bishops, 1 John V. 7. why probably quoted in the confession of, 83, 84.

Albert de Capitaneis, horrible cruelties of against the Vaudois, in Dauphiny, 161—he is defeated by them in Piedmont, 162.

Albigenses, unjustly confounded by Romish writers with the White Companies, 153—persecutions of, by the Romish church, 155.

American colonies, importance of, to Great Britain, 417—424.

Andrews, (W. E.) Review of Fox's Book of Martyrs, character of, 7, 8.

Angornow, market of, 525.

Antommarchi (Dr.), Derniers Momens de Napoleon, 176—appointment of the editor to be physician to Buonaparte, 179—his account of Napoleon's disease, with remarks, 181, 182—and of the appearances on dissection, 183—185—the disease a cancerous ulcer of the stomach, 185—the case of Buonaparte latterly mistaken by Antommarchi, 186.

Arabia, introduction of the plague in, 247, 248. *note.*

Athens, number of law courts in, 333—description of the Heliæa, 335—character of the Greek judge and jurymen, 336, 337—evils and inconveniences of this judicial system, 338—342—mode of getting up false witnesses, 344, 345—number of slaves in Greece, and particularly at Athens, 346—cruel treatment of them, 347—defectiveness of the Grecian courts of law, as tribunals for the distribution of justice between man and man, 348—deplorable financial system of Athens, 349—venality of witnesses, 350—persons put to death without the formality of a trial, 351, 352—trial sometimes allowed to the dead, 352.

B.

Bancroft (Dr.), opinion of, that the plague is contagious, 234.

Baptist missions in India, causes of the failure of, 38—40.

Barbados, state of the slave population of, 495—497—the landing of Bishop Coleridge there, described, 492.

Ben David, Three Letters of, to the Editor of the Quarterly Review, 64—design of them, 103—remarks thereon, *ib.*

Bentham's (Jeremy), Defence of Usury, remarks on, 188, 189.

Bentley (Dr.), Observations of, on the genuineness of 1 John V. 7. 65—observations

servations thereon by Bishop Burgess, 65, 66—remarks on the bishop's observations, proving that Bentley had determined against the genuineness of the verse, 66—69.

Birds of Demerara, description of, 323, 324—particularly of the goatsucker, 324, 325—the humming-bird, 326—the mocking-bird, *ib.*

Bishops, beneficial effects of the appointment of in the West Indies, 490.

Bite of the vampire, 327.

Boleyn (Queen Anne), character of, calumniated by Roman catholic writers, 12, 13—vindication of her, especially from the charges of Dr. Lingard and Mr. Butler, 13—16.

Bornou, anecdotes of the sheikh or sultan of, 540, 541—reception of English travellers by the sheikh, 523—armour of his negroes, 523, 524—his court and army, 524, 525, 526.

Boudhists, tenets of, 49, 50—funeral honours paid to deceased priests of Boudh, 58.

British flag, respect paid to, at Tripoli, 519.

Buonaparte (Napoleon), first indication of illness in, 177—treatment of his case by Mr. O'Meara, 177—179—Dr. Antommarchi appointed his physician, 179—abstract of his treatment of Buonaparte, with remarks, 181, 182—observations on the dissection of Buonaparte, 183—the disease which proved fatal to him a cancerous ulcer of the stomach, 185.

Burgess (Right Reverend Thomas, Bishop of St. David's), Vindication of 1 John v. 7. from the Objections of Griesbach, Second Edition, with a Preface in Reply to the Quarterly Review, 64—remarks on the principal alterations in the Vindication, 69—71—and on his Preface, 71—proof that Walafrid Strabo did not understand Greek, 71, 72—reasons for thinking that he was not the author of the Commentaries on the Prologue to the Canonical Epistles, 72, 73—nor of the Glossa Ordinaria, which bears his name, 73, 74—the Prologue to the Canonical Epistles, evidence as to Latin MSS. but not as to Greek, 74—the original sources of all our knowledge of the Greek Testament examined, 75—77—Erasmus the first editor of the Greek Testament, 77—why he omitted the disputed clause, 77, 78—which was also omitted by Luther, 78—the bishop's reason for investing the Latin Version and the Latin Fathers with an authority from which there is no appeal, 79—examination of them, 79, 80—83—the probable introduction of the disputed clause into the Confession of the African bishops, accounted for, 83, 84—and also its gradual reception into the sacred text, 85—the verse *not* quoted by Eucherius, 86—suspicious circumstances attached to the supposed quotation of it, by Fulgentius, 87—feeble arguments from the Greek Fathers, in defence of the verse, 87—examination of the internal evidence for the verse, 88—it is not necessary to the context, 88—the grammatical difficulties of construction, not removed by its introduction, 89, 90—remarks on Mr. Porson's rejection of this verse, 91—93—and on the circumstances that led him to appear in this controversy, 93—examination of the testimonies of Selden and Bishop Pearson, quoted by Bishop Burgess, 94, 95—renewal of the controversy in 1715—between Emlyn, and Martin, and Calamy, 96—and between Mace and Twells, in 1729, 97.

Burgess (Right Reverend Thomas, Bishop of St. David's), Letter of to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. David's, 64—remarks on his conjecture that the disputed verse was quoted by Constantine, 100—on its supposed existence in a MS. in Lincoln college, 100, 101—and on the supposed quotation of it, in the Symbolum Antiochenum, 101, 102

Burman Empire, American Baptist mission to, 37—difficulty of the Burman language, accounted for, 39—and also the little success of the mission, 42, 43—state of the Burman empire, 45—character of the Burmans, 46—47—cruelty or their judicial executions, 46—conversation of a missionary with his Burman teacher, 48, 49—population of the Burman empire, 57—funeral honours paid to deceased Burmese priests, 58—ceremonies and establishment of the White Elephant, 59—remarks on the expedition of the British army against the Burman empire, 61—63.

Butler (Charles), The Book of the Roman-Catholic Church, 1—character of it, 4, 5—(See *Reformation.*)—his denial, that Dominic took an active part in establishing the Inquisition, refuted by facts, 157.

Buxton's (Mr.), speeches on Slavery, remarks on, 496, 497.

C.

Campbell (Tho.), Letter to Mr. Brougham on a London University, 257—character and design of his pamphlet, 259, 260—abstract of his plan, 260—270—remarks

on the absence of religious instruction in it, 271, 272.
Canada, present flourishing state of 425, 426—conquest of, by the United States, not a very easy affair, 426, 427—improbability of the Canadians throwing themselves into the hands of the United States, 427.
Castlemaine (Lady), Anecdotes of, 291.
Catherine (Queen), divorce of, by Henry VIII. and her cruel treatment by him, not chargeable upon the Reformation, 9.
Catholic emancipation, erroneous notion of, entertained by the Irish peasantry, 473—the removal of political disabilities, though it would be a relief to the higher classes of Irish Roman-Catholics, would not meliorate the condition of the peasantry, 472, 473.
Cayman, capture of, described, 321, 322.
Charles II., venality of, 301—want of attention, to his personal accommodation, 305—profligacy of the noblemen about his court, 307—deplorable state of morals among the people, 308—attempts a alteration in the national dress, 309—a scene at his court described, 291.
Chinese at Pulo Penang, character of, 106, 107—and at Singapore, 115.
Church of England, obligations of, to the Vaudois, 139, 140.
Clapperton (Lieutenant), excursion of to the country of the Tuaricks, 520—account of the researches made by him and his associates. See *Africa*.
Climate of St. Helena, salubrity of, 177 *note*.
Cobbett's History of the Reformation, character of, 9.
Coleridge (Bishop), landing of, at Barbados, described, 492.
Colonies, reveries of some modern political economists, concerning, 410, 411—importance of the West Indian colonies, 413—416—and particularly of the North American colonies, 417—424.
Constantine's supposed quotation of 1 John v. 7. disproved, 190.
Contagion, by what signs to be distinguished, 219—221—examination whether these signs are discoverable in the plague, 222—238.
Cotton manufacture, beneficially introduced into Ireland, 463, 464.
Coulacanara, an enormous snake, capture of, described, 319, 320.
Courts of justice in Greece, survey of the evils and defects of, 333—355.
Cranmer (Archbishop), conduct of, in the affair of Henry VIII.'s divorce from Queen Catherine, set in its true light, 9—12—falsely charged with bigamy, 16, 17—his public character and conduct vindicated, 18—21—his interference in behalf of the Princess Mary, with Henry VIII., 21—how far he promoted the Reformation during his reign, 22—24—prudence of Cranmer in promoting the Reformation during the reign of Edward VI., 24.
Crawford's (Mr.) Mission to Siam and Hué, failure of, 122—130—remarks thereon, 131—133.
Cromwell (Oliver), interference of, in behalf of the Vaudois, 170—172.

D.

Deity, contradictory tenets of ancient philosophers respecting, 361, 362—remarks thereon, 363—365—modern philosophers obliged to take many things for granted concerning the Deity, which the light of nature never could discover to them, 365, *note* ‡.
Denham, (Major, and others,) discoveries of, in Africa, 518—his account of an Arab song, 522.
Desgenettes (M.), opinion of, as to the contagious nature of the plague, 235.
Diseases, causes of the prevalence of, 219.
Dominic, the first inquisitor general, 154—cruel penance imposed by him on Ponce Roger, 155—pretended miracles wrought by him, 156.

E.

Elephant (white), honours paid to, in the Burman empire, 59—and in Siam, 124.
Elizabeth (Queen), theory of the reign of, devised by Roman-Catholic writers, 26—insinuations against her private character, *ib.*—repelled, on Roman-Catholic authority, by a review of her moderate and conciliatory measures at the commencement of her reign, 27, 28—proofs that the seminary priests, put to death in her reign, were capitally punished for treason, 29—32.
Emigration, a means of reducing overgrown population, 465.
Erasmus, the first editor of the Greek Testament, 77.—why he omitted the disputed verse 1 John v. 7., 78.
Erysipelas, instances of its being contagious, 220.
Esteban (Don), or Memoirs of a Spaniard, 205—strictures thereon, 206—217.
Eucherius did not quote 1 John v. 7. 86.
Evidence of slaves, the refusal of, by colonists, considered, 506, 507.

F.

Felatahs, hospitality of, 531, 532—their manners, 534—reception of Lieut. Clapperton by their sovereign, 535—537.

Ferguson (Dr. R.), Letter to Sir H. Halford on Vaccination, 550—progress of vaccination on the continent compared with that in England, 550—mortality of small pox before inoculation, *ib.* 551—examination of the question, what is the proportion of the vaccinated who are liable to the small pox, 551—557—discussion of the protecting power of vaccination, 557, 558—Dr. Ferguson's design of producing a mild disease by vaccinating a few days before inoculation with small pox, 559—remarks thereon, 559, 560.

Finlayson (George), Mission to Siam and Hue, 104—character of his work, 105—character of the Chinese at Pulo Penang or Prince of Wales's Island, 106, 107—culture of pepper and nutmegs there, 107, 108—depopulated state of Malacca under the Dutch government, 108, 109—description of the island of Singapore, 109—account of the rapid increase and prosperity of the settlement there, 109—111—importance of this colony, 112—remarks on the heat and moisture of intertropical climates, 113—vegetable productions of Singapore, 114—character of the Chinese emigrants there, 115—of the Malays who live at sea, 116—and of those inhabiting the land, *ib.*—arrival of the mission in the kingdom of Siam, *ib.*—sail up the river to the capital, described, 117—servility of the Siamese to their superiors, 118, 119—description of the royal audience, 119—121—difference between the reception given to the ambassador from Cochin-China and the ambassador from the governor-general of India, 122—departure of the mission from Siam, 126—visit to the city of Saigon, in Cambodia, 127—differences between the accounts of Mr. Finlayson and Captain White, 127—probable solution of those differences, 128—reception of the mission at Saigon, *ib.*—description of a fight between an elephant and a tiger, 128, 129—remarks on the conduct of the envoy, 130, 131—failure of the mission and its return, 132, 133.

Fox, the martyrologist, veracity of established, 8.

Fox (C. J.), opinion of, on the abolition of slavery, 501.

Fulgentius's supposed quotation of 1 John v. 7., remarks on, 87.

G.

Genet (Abbé), editor of the Revelations of Sister Nativité, appointed her spiritual director, 379—extracts of the revelations and confessions made by her to him, with remarks, 380—410.

Gilly (W. S.), Excursion to the Mountains of Piedmont, 134—circumstance that led him to visit the Vaudois, *ib.*—his arrival at the village of Pomeretto, 136—description of his visit to M. Peyrani, the moderator of the Vaudois, 136—141.

Goat-sucker of South America, described, 324, 325.

Granby, a fashionable novel, remarks on the plan and execution of, 488—490.

Greece, evils and defects of the courts of justice in, 335—355.

Guicciardini's definition of a good pope, 3.

Gwynne (Nell), anecdotes of, 293.

H.

Haliburton (Mr.), Observations upon the Importance of the North American Colonies to Great Britain, 410. See *Colonies*.

Henry VIII.'s divorce, and his cruel treatment of Queen Catherine, proved not to be chargeable on the Reformation, 9—16.

Howard (Mr.), opinion of, that the plague is contagious, 233.

Hué, fortifications of, 131, 132.

Hume (Mr.), sophistry of, refuted, 369.

Humming bird of South America, 326.

I.

Incomprehensibility of certain revealed doctrines no argument against Revelation itself, 369—374.

India, failure of the Baptist Missions in, accounted for, 38—40—benefit to be expected there from our church establishment, 41.

Inns for students, origin of, 263.

Inoculation, the plague propagated by, 238.

Ireland, probable effect of introducing the poor laws into, 454—observations on the system of sub-letting and sub-dividing land there, 456—evils of this system, 457—which are aggravated by the non-residence of the proprietors of the soil, *ib.*—most disturbance where there is most poverty, 458—remarks on Mr. M'Culloch's theory, that the income of an absentee landlord is really as much expended in Ireland, as if he were living in it, 459—461—dispeopling of estates, in various degrees, resorted to as a means of checking the excess of population, 461—misery of the removed families, 462, 463—benefit resulting from the introduction of the cotton manufacture into Ireland, 463, 464—the encouragement of emigration, a means of reducing the overgrown population, 465—a state of things like that which at present exists in Ireland, formerly prevalent in Scotland,

land, *ib.*—removed by the landlords gradually disincumbering their estates of the overgrown population, *ib.*—noble improvements, in this respect, made by the Marquis and Marchioness of Stafford, 466—but with a generous regard to the welfare of the cottiers, 467—beneficial results of these improvements, 467, 468—non-residence of Irish landlords, not a recent evil, 469—considerations on the expediency of imposing a direct tax on the lands of absentees, 470, 471—from which resident landlords should be exempted, 471—the removal of political disabilities, though a relief to the higher class of Irish Roman Catholics, would not be productive of any benefit to the Irish peasantry, 472, 473—their notion of Catholic emancipation, a division of property, 473—the peasantry misled on this subject, *ib.*

J.

John's (St.) First Epistle, ch. V. v. 7. disputed clause in, considered. See *Burgess.*

Judges of ancient Greece, character of, 336.

Judson (Ann H.), Account of the American Baptist Mission to the Burman Empire, 37—character of her work, *ib.*—the little success of that mission accounted for, 42, 43—biographical notice of Mr. and Mrs. Judson, 43, 44—her reflections on their situation at Rangoon, 45—conversation of Mr. Judson with his Burman teacher, 48, 49—her reflections on the death of their only child, 51—kind and sympathizing conduct of the viceroy's lady on this occasion, 52—little success of the missionaries, 52, 53—order of another viceroy against them, 53—the missionaries obtain permission to approach the sovereign, 54—description of their audience, 55, 56—they are rejected, *ib.* 57—return of the missionaries to Rangoon, 57—apprehensions for the fate of Mr. and Mrs. Judson, 60.

Jurymen of ancient Greece, character of, 337.

Justice, defective distribution of, in Greece, 340.

K.

Kano, market of, 532, 533.

Katherine, Queen of Charles II, anecdote of, 305.

L.

Land, evils of minute subletting of, in Ireland, 456, 457—similar evils formerly existed in Scotland, 465—how removed, *ib.*—particularly on the estates of the Marquis and Marchioness of Stafford, 466—469.

Landlords (absentee). See *Ireland.*

Larrey (Baron), on the contagious nature of the plague, 235.

Latin version of the New Testament, and the Latin fathers, *not* of paramount authority in the criticism of the Greek Testament, 80—83.

Law-courts in Athens, number of 333—description of the Heliæa, 335—and of the evils of their constitution and judicial system, 335—355.

Learning, state of, in the early universities of Europe, 261, 262.

Licentiousness, how checked in the English universities, 263, 264.

Lingard's (Dr.) History of England, vols. iii. and iv. character of, 5—instances of his glossing over facts, 6, 25—his theory of the reign of Elizabeth, 26—refuted by a statement of facts, 27—32.

London University, remarks on the plan of, 250, 261. 268—270—on the absence of religious instruction in it, 271, 272.

Luther's omission of the disputed clause in 1 John v. 7. accounted for, 78.

M.

M'Culloch (J. R.), remarks on the theory of, that the income of an absentee landlord is really as much expended in Ireland as if he resided there, 459—461.

M'Grigor (Sir James), opinion of, that the plague is contagious, 234.

M'Lean (Dr.) why sent to Constantinople by the Levant Company, 239—remarks on his publication and evidence as to the non-contagion of plague, 240—refutation of his arguments, 240—255—absurdity of many of his answers before the committee of the House of Commons, 255, 256—remarks thereon, 256, 257.

Mackenzie (Dr.), opinion of, that the plague is contagious, 232.

Macmichael (Dr. W.) The progress of opinion on the subject of contagion, 218. See *Plague.*

Macoushi Indians, preparation of poison, by, 329.

Maitland (Sir Thomas), opinion of, that the plague is contagious, 236.

Malacca, decline of, under the Dutch government, 108, 109.

Malays, settled at Singapore, account of, 110.

Malta, account of the plague at, in 1813, 228—230—remarks on it, 230, 231.

Mandara, interview of English travellers with the sultan of, 526.

Manes, tenets of, 145—150—the Waldenses proved not to be Manicheans, 151, 152.

Marseilles, account of the plague at, in 1720, 222—225.

Matilda, a fashionable novel, remarks on the plan and execution of, 485—487.
Merlin (or Milner, John), Strictures on the Poet Laureate's Book of the Church, 1—character of that work, 5.
Milton, sonnet of, on the massacre of the Vaudois, 169.
Mocking bird, description of, 326.
Mompesson (Rev. Mr.) honourable anecdote of, 247.
Montford (Simon de), crusade of, against the Albigenses, 1—ordinances drawn up by him for his conquests, 158.
Moore (Thomas), Memoirs of the Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan, 561—remarks on the style and execution of his work, 562—567—on his account of Mr. Sheridan's marriage with Miss Linley, 568—570—of his conduct as a public man, 572, 573—particularly with respect to his advocating the Roman Catholic claims, 575, 576—parliamentary reform, 577, 578—the regency question, 579—581—remarks on Mr. Moore's representation of the munificent conduct of the Prince Regent to Sheridan, 584—590.
Moscow, account of the plague at in 1771, 226—228.

N.

Nativité (Sœur) Vie et Revelations de, 375—extravagant commendations bestowed upon her revelations, *ib.* 376—biographical sketch of, 376—379—extracts, with remarks, of her revelations concerning man in Paradise, 382—predestination, 383—the incarnation, *ib.*—the ministers of the church, 385—antichrist, and his persecutions of the church, *ib.* 386—the final consummation, 387, 388—the resurrection and day of judgment, 390—392—observations thereon, 393—395—incidental particulars, furnished by her reveries, relative to the monastic state, 397—398—revelation of St. Francis to her, 398, 399—on the stigmata of St. Francis, 399, 400—other revelations pretended to be made to her, 400—403—remarks on her style, 403—account of the latter years and death of Sister Nativité, 405—409.
Navy, state of, in the reign of King Charles II. 302.
Negro baptisms and marriages, description of, 493, 494—and of a negro nursery, 495—condition of them in the island of Barbados, 496.
Nicol (James), an Essay on Scripture Sacrifices, 356—remarks on the work and on the conduct of the author, 356, 357.
Niger and Nile, remarks on the supposed course of, 545—547.
Novels of Fashionable Life, remarks on, 474—plan and execution of 'Tremaine,' 474—485—of 'Matilda,' 485—487—of 'Granby,' 488—490.

O.

Oudney (Dr.) excursion of to the country of the Tuaricks, 520, 521—results of his researches and of those of his associates, 521—529—his death, 529. See *Africa*.

P.

Park (Mungo), notices of the death of, 538.
Pearson (Bishop), character of, 95—remarks on his quotation of 1 John v. 7. *ib.*
Pepys (Samuel), Memoirs, edited by Lord Braybrooke, 281—biographical notice of, 285, 286—comparison of his Diary with that of Evelyn, 288—291—description of a scene at the court of Charles II. 291—anecdotes and character of Nell Gwynn, 293—of Mrs. Pepys, 294—anecdotes of Pepys, illustrative of his character, 295, 296. 298—his partiality for fine clothes, 297—his reflections on first riding in his own coach, 299—venality of Charles II's. reign, 301—state of the navy, 302—specimens of Pepys' literary taste, 303—Charles II.'s want of personal accommodations, 305—anecdotes of his queen Katherine, 306—archiepiscopal amusement, 306—profligacy of the noblemen about the court, 307—deplorable state of morals among the people, 308—alteration in the national dress attempted by the king, 309—uses of Pepys' Memoirs to antiquaries, 310, 311, 312—description of a run upon the bankers in Lombard Street, 313.
Peyrani (M.), moderator of the Vaudois, interesting account of, 136—141—notice of his family, 142.
Philosophers (ancient), contradictory opinions of, respecting the First Cause, 361, 362—remarks thereon, 363—365.
Philosophers (modern) take many things for granted respecting the Deity, which the light of nature never could have discovered to them, 365, *note* ‡.
Plague, proved to be contagious by an account of the plague at Marseilles in 1720, 222—225—also of that which prevailed at Moscow in 1771, 226—228—and of that at Malta, in 1813, 228—230—remarks on it, 230, 231—testimonies of medical men and others that the plague is propagated by contact, 232—of Dr. Mackenzie, from the plague at Constantinople in 1751, *ib.*—of Orræus and Samoclowitz, 233—of Mr. Howard, *ib.*—of Dr. Bancroft, 234—Sir James M'Grigor, *ib.*—M. Desgenettes, 235—Baron Larrey,

Larrey, *ib.*—Dr. Sotira, *ib.*—Sir Thomas Maitland, 236—proofs that the plague is communicable by inoculation, 238—examination and refutation of Dr. M'Lean's arguments that the plague is not contagious, 239—255—absurdities of many of his answers to the committee of the house of Commons, 255, 256—remarks thereon, 256, 257.

Poor Laws, origin of, 429—432—husbandry acts of Henry VII. with remarks, 432—434—evils of sub-dividing land, 435, 436—real effects of the dissolution of monasteries, 437—in what manner the poor were relieved before the act of the 43d of Elizabeth, 439—observations upon that statute and its effects, 440—446—injustice of paying wages of agricultural labourers out of the poor-rates, 447—449—effect of the 36 Geo. 3. in increasing paupers, 450—and crime, 451—the poor rates a rent charge, 454—the evils of the poor laws caused by the impolitic manner in which they have been carried into effect, 451.

Pope, a good one defined, 3—profligate characters of many of the popes, 2, 3.

Population of the Burman empire, 57—the influence of the poor laws upon the population of England, 443—445—the increased population found chiefly to be among those who are engaged in manufactures and commerce, 446—dispeopling of estates in various degrees, resorted to as a means of checking the excess of population in Ireland, 461—misery of the families so removed, 462—the encouragement of emigration a means of reducing the excess of population, 465.

Porson's (Professor), rejection of 1 John v. 7. remarks on, 91—93—and on the circumstances which induced him to embark in the controversy respecting its genuineness, 94.

Prince Regent, noble conduct of to Mr. Sheridan, 584, 585—abused by the latter, 585.

Publications (new), list of, 276. 594.

Puerperal fever, sometimes contagious, 220.

Pulo Penang, or Prince of Wales's island, character of the Chinese at, 106, 107—culture of pepper and nutmegs there, 107, 108.

Pyee, or Prome, ruins of, 54, 55.

Q.

Quarantine laws, beneficial effects of, 218.

R.

Reason, defined, 358—the source of the improvements in society, 357—the process and use of reason with respect to material objects, 358—difficulties which reason experiences in judging of spiritual objects, 359—reason may enable us to infer the existence of a First Great Cause, but not the mode of the existence of the Deity, 360—this evinced by the discordant notions of ancient philosophers respecting the Deity, 361, 362—remarks thereon, 393—365—modern philosophers take many things for granted concerning the Deity which the light of nature never could have discovered to them, 365, *note*. The proper office of reason, with regard to revelation is, to ascertain whether it came from God, 366, and with this view to inquire into the authority of the messenger, 366, 367—then to discover the nature of the communication, 367.

Red ants, bite of, 327.

Reformation in England, attacks of Roman Catholics on, 1, 2. 7—not chargeable with the odium of Henry VIII.'s first divorce, 9—12—vindication of the character of Archbishop Cranmer from the charges and insinuations of Romanists, 17—24—prudence with which he conducted the Reformation during the reign of Edward VI. 24—sanguinary reign of Mary, 25—charges and insinuations of Roman Catholic writers against Elizabeth, 26—repelled by a review of her moderate and conciliatory measures at the commencement of her reign, 27, 28—proofs that the seminary priests, who were capitally punished, suffered for treason, 29—34.

Revelation, defined, 358—the proper office of reason with regard to it, 366—368—the incomprehensibility of certain doctrines contained in it no legitimate ground of objection against revelation, 369, 370—372.

Roger (Ponce), cruel penance imposed on by *Saint* Dominic, 155.

S.

Scotland, state of, from the minute subletting of lands, formerly similar to the present state of Ireland, 465—that state now removed, *ib.*—noble improvements made by the Marquis and Marchioness of Stafford upon their Scottish estates, 466—469—existence of personal slavery in Scotland until a few years since, 499, and *note*.

Selden's canon of criticism, remarks on, 94.

Seminary priests, execution of, in the reign of Elizabeth, proved to have been for treason, and not for religion, 29—34.

Sheridan (Rt. Hon. R. B.), remarks on the marriage of with Miss Linley, 568—571—some biographical particulars of him,

571—remarks on his public life as a senator and statesman, 572—575—particularly his conduct respecting the Catholic question, 575, 576—on parliamentary reform, 577—579—and on the regency question, 579—581—his alienation from his political friends in 1806, 582—noble conduct of the Prince Regent towards him, 584, 585—Sheridan abuses the kindness of his patron, 585
he is arrested and thrown into a spunging-house, *ib.*—account of his last illness, 586—588—remarks thereon, 588—590—and on Sheridan's character as a dramatist, 592, 593.

Siam, productions of, 123—character and pursuits of the Siamese, *ib.* 124—religion, 125, 126—their superstitious worship of the White Elephant, 122—servility of the Siamese to their superiors, 118, 119. 124—description of the royal audience given to the British ambassador, 119—121—and to the ambassador from Cochin-China, 122.

Singapore (Island), description of, 109—rapid increase and prosperity of the settlement at, *ib.* 110, 111—importance of this colony, 112—vegetable productions of Singapore, 114—character of the Chinese emigrants there, 115—and of the Malays, 116.

Slaves, number and treatment of, at Athens, 346, 347—notices in the scripture relative to slaves and their treatment, 502, 503—opinions of the abolitionists of slavery in 1805, 1807, and 1825, 500, 501—remarks thereon, 501, 502—marriage scene among the slaves at Barbados, described, 493, 494—state of the slaves on that island, 495, 496—the average condition of slaves better than is generally believed, 505, 506—considerations on the refusal of the colonists to receive slave evidence, 506, 507—and on the giving of a slave a legal right to demand his freedom for a given sum, 508—516—remarks on the conspiracy among the slaves in Jamaica, 516, 517.

Sloth, the habits of, 328.

Small-pox, mortality of, before and after inoculation, 550, 551—its prevalence in Norwich in 1819, 552—comparative view of the proportion of those who are vaccinated, who are liable to this disease, 552—557—remarks on the protecting power of vaccination, 557, 558—a new mode suggested of disarming small-pox of its virulence, 559—remarks thereon, 559, 560.

Sotira (Dr.), on the contagious nature of the plague, 235.

Soudan, observations on the sultan and people of, 542.

St. Kitts, beautiful scene in the island of, described, 498.

Stafford (Marquis and Marchioness of), noble improvements made by, on their property in Scotland, 466—469.

Stephen (Mr.), opinions of, on the abolition of slavery, 501.

Strabo (Walafrid), did not not understand Greek, 71, 72—not the author of the Commentaries on the Prologue to the Canonical Epistles, which bears his name, 72, 73—nor of the Glossa Ordinaria, 73, 74—the Prologue to the Canonical Epistles, evidence only as to Latin MSS. 74.

Switzerland, effects of the minute sub-division of land in, 455, 456.

Smybolum Antiochenum, supposed quotation of 1 John v. 7. disproved, 101, 102.

T.

Testament (New).—The original sources of our knowledge of its Greek text, examined, 75—77—the Greek Testament first edited by Erasmus, 77.

Transubstantiation, a stumbling-block to the enemies of Christianity, 568, *note.*

Tremaine, a Fashionable Novel, remarks on the plan and execution of, 474—485.

Trinidad (Island of), a marriage scene among the negroes there, described, 493, 494—notice of the Spanish missions there, 492, 493.

Tripoli, respect paid to the British flag at 519, 520.

U.

Universities of Europe, early state of learning in, 261, 262—origin of inns, or receptacles of scholars, 263—licentiousness, how checked in the English universities, 263, 264—remarks on the system of education there pursued, 265—268—and on the plan for a London University, 260, 261. 268, 269, 270—absence of provision for religious worship in it, 271, 272—on the present capacity of the English universities, 272—274.

Usury Laws, Thoughts on the Repeal of, 186—design of the work, 187—remarks on Mr. Bentham's defence of usury, 188, 189—and on the evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1818, 189, 190—exposition of the injustice of the legislature's restraining the moral liberty of the subject, by fixing a rate of interest, since it is not morally wrong to lend money at the market rate of interest, 191—194—examination of other cases put in support of the usury laws, as a security against fraud, 195—197—consideration of the objection to the

the repeal of the usury laws, founded on the supposed influence of such repeal upon the landed interest, 197—200—and on the trading interest, 201—203—the advantage, supposed to be conferred by the usury laws upon the government in its pecuniary transactions, shewn to be imaginary, 203, 204—the usury laws unnecessary, 205.

V.

Vaccination, progress of, on the continent, compared with its progress in England, 550—examination of the proportion of the vaccinated who are liable to small-pox, 551—556—the protecting power of vaccination considered, 557, 558—a new method suggested of vaccinating a few days before inoculation, with a view to generate a mild disease, 559—remarks thereon, *ib.* 560.

Vampire, bite of, 327.

Vaudois, or Waldenses, unjustly stigmatised as seditious fanatics, 134—and as obscene Manicheans, 150—origin of, 143—were not Manicheans, 144—151—appealed only to Scripture, 151, 152—crusade against them by Simon de Montford, 157—his ordinances against heretics, 158—persecution of the Vaudois, in Piedmont, 159—and in Savoy, in 1490, *ib.*—on the French side of the Alps 159, 160—Thuanus's testimony to their exemplary character, 161—horrible cruelties of Albert de Capitaneis Dauphiny, *ib.*—he is defeated in his attacks on the vallies of Piedmont, 162—cruelty of the Duke of Savoy against them, 163—the first Protestant French Bible printed at their expense, 164—persecution of the Vaudois by Francis I. king of France, *ib.*—by Henry II. 165—by the duke of Savoy, on the restoration of Piedmont, 165, 166—heroic defence of the Vaudois, 167—insidious arts employed by the Romish missionaries, 168—horrible cruelties inflicted on the Vaudois in 1655, *ib.* 169—interference of Oliver Cromwell in their behalf, 170—172—noble subscription raised for them in England, 172—diverted from its course by the profligate Charles II. 175—the persecution renewed by Victor Amadeus, 173—gallant return of the exiles to their vallies, 174—character and present state of the Vaudois, 174.

W.

Wages of Labour, Report of the Select Committee on, 429—remarks on the injustice of paying wages of agricultural labourers out of the poor rates, 447—449.

Waldenses. See *Vaudois.*

Waterton (Charles), Wanderings in South America, &c. 314—sketch of his travels, with remarks, 315—318—account of his taking a coulacanara, an enormous snake, 319, 320—he takes a young one of the same species, 321—captures a Cayman, 321, 322—description of the birds of Demerara, 323, 324—particularly of the goatsucker, 324, 325—the hummingbird, 326—the cassique, or mocking bird, *ib.*—bite of the vampire, 327—and of the red ants, *ib.*—habits of the sloth, 328—account of the effects of the Wourali poison, 329—331—concluding hints to Mr. Waterton, 332.

Watkins (Dr.), Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. R. B. Sheridan, 561—character of his work, *ib.* See *Sheridan.*

West Indies, importance of, to Great Britain, 413—416—benefits resulting from the appointment of bishops for, 490—account of Bishop Coleridge's landing at Barbados, 492—notice of two Spanish missions at Trinidad, *ib.* 493—a marriage scene among the negroes there, described, *ib.* 494—consternation of a smuggler at the first sight of a steam-vessel, 494, 495—remarks on the slave population of Barbados, 495, 496—beautiful scene in the island of St. Kitts, described, 498—opinions of abolitionists of slavery in 1805, 1807, and 1825, 500, 501—remarks thereon, 501, 502—general wisdom of the measures proposed by ministers in reference to the West Indies, 504—the average condition of slaves proved to be much better than is generally believed, 505, 506—the refusal of the colonists to receive slave evidence considered, 506, 507—and also the giving of a slave a legal right to demand his freedom at a given price, 508—516—observations upon the conspiracies among the slaves in Jamaica, 516, 517.

Wilberforce (Mr.), opinion of, in 1805, on the abolition of slavery, 500.

Witnesses, false, how procured in Greece, 344, 345—venality of witnesses, 350.

Workhouses, remarks on the present system of, 452, 453.

Wourali poison, effects of, 329—331.

Y.

Yam, an enormous one, notice of, 127.

END OF THE THIRTY-THIRD VOLUME.